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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

EDITED BY ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

July, 1879.

- I. Our Success at Paris in 1878.... RICHARD C. McCORMICK.
- II. The Revolution in Russia..... A RUSSIAN NIHILIST.
- III. The Public Schools of England. Part II.... THOMAS HUGHES.
- IV. The True Story of the Wallowa Campaign.. Gen. O. O. HOWARD.
- V. The Psychology of Spiritism..... GEORGE M. BEARD.
- VI. The Education of Freedmen. Part II.. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.
- VII. Recent Essays..... THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

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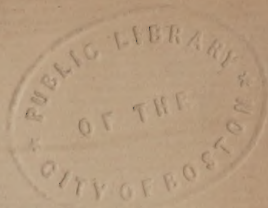
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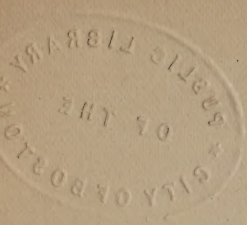
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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCLXXII.

JULY, 1879.

I.

OUR SUCCESS AT PARIS IN 1878.

MEASURED by the standard of what the United States might and doubtless would have done had Congress accepted the invitation of the French Government at the proper time, our demonstration at Paris in 1878 was but a relative one, and insufficient to give to Europeans a correct idea of the great natural resources and industrial progress of our country, so impressively shown at the Centennial Exhibition.

Judged, however, by the exhibits of other nations, made under favorable circumstances, and by the range and results of our participation in former foreign Expositions, the success of our exhibitors at Paris was positive, substantial, and remarkable. In the amount of space occupied, but four nations were in advance of the United States—France, England, Belgium, and Austria ; but by no other country was so much material crowded within equal limits. Every foot of the area appropriated to the United States in the Main Building, the Art Gallery, and the Agriculture annex, was made use of, and it was admitted on all sides that the exhibits were uniformly good and attractively presented.

The bulk of material from the United States was twice as great as that sent to Paris in 1867, or to Vienna in 1873. The comparative number of exhibitors and of awards is shown by the following official figures, viz. :

EXPOSITIONS.	EXHIBITORS.	AWARDS.	PER CENT.
Paris, 1867.....	700	291	41
Vienna, 1873.....	643	349	54
Paris, 1878.....	1,200	825	68

In 1867 the total number of gold medals granted to United States exhibitors was eighteen ; in 1878 the number was one hundred and forty, exclusive of eight gold medals of unusual size given as "grand prizes" to the following named exhibitors, viz.: Thomas A. Edison, phonograph ; Elisha Gray, telephone ; Tiffany & Co., silver-ware ; Brewster & Co., carriages ; Cyrus H. McCormick, reaper and binder ; Wheeler & Wilson Manufacturing Co., sewing-machines ; Jerome Wheelock, steam-engines ; Bergner & Engel, lager beer.

Besides the awards for educational material and progress, the gold medals were given for the following widely diversified products of our soil and industries, as represented at the Exposition, viz. :

Axes, agricultural machinery, bolts, belting, books, blank-books, biscuit, crucibles, cereals, chocolate, carpets, culinary utensils, cotton, coal, carriages, circular loom, canned meats, fish, and fruits, dental material, electric pens, flour, furniture, furs, gold pens, hats, hardware, horseshoe-nails, iron-ware, iron safes, jewelry, locks, lard, leather, lead pencils, lager beer, machine-tools, microscopic lenses, machine-guns, minerals, metal-working machinery, organs, oils, orcs, phonograph, photographs, paper, playing-cards, rifles, revolvers, ranges, silver-ware, stoves, shoes, starch, screws, saws, scales, snuff, spokes, sewing-machines, street cars, steam-engines, textile fabrics, telephones, tobacco, trunks, wheat, wool, whisky, wheels, watches, wooden-ware, wood-working machinery.

The silver and bronze medals, and the certificates of honorable mention, numbering in all about six hundred, cover a much wider range of products and industries. In fact, the awards of all classes given to the United States were so many as to excite surprise in many quarters and jealousy in some. Several English journals (not of great prominence) attributed the success of our exhibitors to "Yankee management," and others said it came from the determined purpose of one republic to glorify another for political effect. These intimations were, it is perhaps unnecessary to say, entirely unwarrantable. The system of classification at the Exposition included nine groups and ninety classes. Thirty-four jurors were allotted to the United States (more than twice as many as at

the Exposition of 1867), and yet fifty-six juries were without an American representative. These juries, composed not of French republicans alone, but of the representatives of many nations, each anxious for recognition, well knew that every award given to the United States lessened the number of prizes for other countries, and it is not reasonable to suppose that they granted our exhibitors any advantage through sentiment or favor.

The Art Gallery.

It was not to be expected that the United States could furnish an art gallery fit to compare with the galleries of Great Britain and the Continental countries, and the want of time made it impossible to afford artists opportunity for especial preparation. The Advisory Art Committee in New York, consisting of the following named well-known public-spirited citizens, viz., E. D. Morgan, J. W. Pinchot, N. M. Beckwith, Parke Godwin, Robert G. Dun, J. Taylor Johnston, Robert Gordon, H. G. Marquand, John H. Sherwood, and Charles H. Smith, to whom the whole matter of selecting pictures for exhibition was left by the Commissioner-General, had less than two months in which to work. The artists had but few pictures upon their easels ; but, fortunately, the patrons of art in New York and vicinity came to the rescue, and about eighty pictures painted since 1867, as required by the Exposition regulations, were placed at the disposal of the Committee. The Committee in Paris, appointed by the Commissioner-General, and consisting of Augustus St. Gaudens, Maitland Armstrong, and C. E. Detmold, received from American artists living in Europe one hundred and twenty-nine works, of which less than half were accepted, so that our art-catalogue embraced a total of one hundred and twenty-seven oil-paintings, sixteen water-colors, seven drawings, and twelve etchings and engravings, or more than double the number exhibited by the United States at Paris in 1867. It will be remembered that to the Vienna Exposition in 1873 the United States sent less than a score of paintings.

Four awards were secured in 1873—a silver medal to F. A. Bridgman, for his “Funeral of a Mummy” ; a bronze medal to S. P. W. Dana, for his “Solitude,” considered by many to be the finest marine painting at the Exposition ; an honorable mention to John Lafarge, for his “Paradise Valley, near New York” ; and an honorable mention to Walter Shirlaw, for his “Sheep-shearing in the Bavarian Highlands.”

The following pictures from the American Gallery were sold to the French authorities for the grand lottery, organized at the close of the Exposition, viz. : "A Patrician Lady," by F. Dielman ; "Return of the Cows," by W. Bolton Jones ; "Lake Champlain" (from Ferrisburg, Vermont), by J. B. Bristol ; "Approach to Venice," by W. Gedney Bunce ; "Old Bridge at Grez," by H. R. Bloomer ; "Study of a Head," by F. P. Vinton ; "The Sabot-Maker," by E. M. Ward ; "New England Homestead," by H. W. Robbins.

The criticisms, even of art journals of the highest repute, were so much at variance concerning the merits of the American pictures that they would make a most amusing chapter if brought into contrast. The foreign critics generally, however, spoke of the collection as the best yet seen from this country, and at least one of their number, and an eminent one, Philip Gilbert Hamerton, said the pictures were well selected, and found much to praise in them. His only objection to the American exhibition was one which has been made by others, namely, its curious lack of nationality. "It is evident," said he, "that the Americans are not without natural artistic aptitudes, probably quite as good as those of any nation in Europe, but as yet they are too docile pupils of European teachers, and give us little that is decidedly and originally American. Perhaps in course of time a national art may disengage itself, but it must be on condition that American artists cease to fix their residence in France and Italy."

Silver-ware and Watches.

The original and sumptuous exhibition of silver-ware made by Tiffany & Co., of New York, was not shown in the Art Gallery, but it might have been with all propriety, for it abounded in artistic triumphs, and was admitted to be much the finest display of its class at the Exposition.

"It is a modern mistake," said the London "Spectator" (September 21, 1878), "to assume that the production of good silver-work demands neither special training nor high artistic power. It will not suffice to study old models, however excellent, unless fresh inspiration be gathered from nature, assimilated by the trained mind, and wrought out by the skillful hand into forms of fresh and seemly design. . . . We confess we were surprised and ashamed to find at the Paris Exhibition that a New York firm had beaten the old country and the Old World in domestic silver plate."

Having decided at so late a day to exhibit that there was not sufficient time to prepare special objects, Tiffany & Co. were obliged to secure, through the favor of customers who had purchased them, articles of silver that were of the best quality in their respective styles of design : a dessert service in Renaissance and Assyrian style ; a tea service of *repoussée* work of Oriental character, and a pair of candelabra of strictly American character and design ; to these they added a selection of the most available objects in their salesrooms and from those in progress in their workshops.

The articles made in the developed Japanese style were marked by simplicity and boldness of form, and entire independence from the moldings, flutings, and other extra refinements which make up the Renaissance and the Louis XVI. style. They were decorated in the manner taught by the Japanese, which is an outgrowth of their subtle appreciation of contrast and effect, and their love of nature, which, with its simple and truthful application of plants, blossoms, flowers, and other natural objects, stands in marked contrast to the decorative mannerisms prevailing in Europe.

This decoration was rendered more varied and attractive by the use of metallic colors, the natural ones of gold, silver, platinum, and the artificial ones produced by alloys, while chemical processes have also been explored and drawn upon.

This decorative coloring is also derived from Japanese art, but has been so developed by Tiffany & Co., through the aid of chemistry and machinery, that they now possess a greater variety, and, in some instances, finer qualities of color than the Japanese.

The specimens of work made of the new metal formed by the lamination of all the noble metals and their alloys astonished even the Japanese, from whom the method was learned, many articles being purchased by them ; their chief commissioner buying one of the principal specimens for his Government.

An important factor in this display was a complete service for twenty-four persons, made to the order of Mr. Mackay, of silver from his own mine in Nevada. The designs and models are all original, and are not to be duplicated, dies even being expressly cut to make the spoons, forks, etc. In size, originality, and variety this service has certainly never been approached by any made in this country. The design is a combination of Oriental styles, producing richness and harmony of effect, and, while unity of character has been preserved throughout the whole service, individuality has been given to each piece, either in form or decoration.

Although the gold medal for jewelry is not so high an honor as the grand prize for silver-ware secured by Tiffany & Co., yet to have obtained it under the circumstances is just as notable a success. The exhibit was composed entirely of goldsmith's work, no diamonds or other precious stones being used to assist it by their color and brilliancy, thus placing it simply on its merits as to design and workmanship. Much of it was influenced by the same spirit of Japanese design which pervaded the silver-ware, with the same originality in methods and effects.

But what chiefly attracted attention were the exact copies of pieces of Phœnician jewelry, selected from those which were found by General Di Cesnola, at Curium (Cyprus), the originals of which are now in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. These copies were so faithfully executed as to be distinguishable from the originals only by the trade-stamp of the house.

The Tiffany pavilion was a favorite resort of the royal President of the British Commission, the Prince of Wales, and his lovely Princess, who were enthusiastic in their admiration of what they called "the American novelties," and who headed a long list of royal, noble, and critical purchasers from all parts of the earth, of which Tiffany & Co. may well be proud. Pieces of specimen work in silver were also sold to the following museums and art galleries, viz. : The Dublin Science and Art Museum ; the Stuttgart Museum ; the Tokio Museum, Japan ; Le Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris. Specimens of jewelry were sold to the Berlin Museum ; the Imperial Museum, Vienna. And last, but not least complimentary recognition of its artistic merit, was the purchase of various pieces of Tiffany silver-ware by British, French, German, and Russian silver-smiths.

The American Watch Company, of Waltham, Massachusetts, in a rich and appropriate show-case, exhibited five hundred gold watches, three hundred silver watches, and two hundred movements without cases, the product of their factory, and made by machinery as distinguished from hand-labor processes. The great advantages of this system of manufacture, now so general in the United States, and known in Europe as "the American system," by which the component parts and pieces of any article in use are reproduced by thousands in exact imitation of one model, are too well understood to need illustration. The system, so far as its application to watches is concerned, originated with this company, which, from small beginnings in 1850, now controls the largest watch-

making establishment in the world, giving a daily product of four hundred and fifty watches, and employment to over a thousand persons.

The watches sent to Paris were, within the first week of the Exhibition, all sold to dealers in Great Britain and upon the Continent, and the British Government has ordered from the company upward of four hundred watches for the use of the conductors and engineers upon the state railways in India.

No American exhibit was observed with more curiosity by the French than that made by the American Watch Company. A disposition to treat it fairly was evidently accompanied by more or less apprehension that the traditional preëminence of Europe in the manufacture of watches for the world could not long be maintained in view of the success of the American system of manufacture. When the International Jury awarded the American Company a gold medal, the ingenuity of French and Swiss manufacturers—none of whom had received a higher award—was greatly exercised to devise a plan for securing some more distinctive recognition. The jury was finally induced to accord grand prizes to the collective exhibits of those countries. The United States, of course, could not compete, having but one exhibit of watches.

Educational Division.

Multum in parvo might well have been the motto of the Educational Division of our department. When Dr. John D. Philbrick, of Boston, was summoned to the preparation of a collective educational exhibit it was so late that the Commissioner-General could not definitely assign him any space, but promised to do the best he could upon his arrival in Paris. A prominent position was finally secured, but its limits were provokingly contracted. No one but an enthusiast would have thought of crowding within them such a varied and valuable mass of material illustrating every branch of education in the United States, embraced in the three Classes of Group Two, viz., Class Six, "Education of Children, Primary Instruction"; Class Seven, "Organization and Appliances for Secondary Instruction"; and Class Eight, "Organization, Methods, and Appliances for Superior Instruction."

Our public-school system was illustrated by models of school-buildings and of school furniture, by apparatus, by the work of scholars, and by files of the annual reports of teachers and superintendents. Of the remarkable collection of eighty-three handsomely

bound volumes of scholars' work in all grades of the public schools of Cincinnati, the following mention is made in M. Levasseur's review of our educational division, published in the "*Revue Pédagogique*" for August, 1878 :

A French teacher with a knowledge of English could certainly derive great benefit from the examination of these documents, which give an account of the entire public-school system of one of the most important cities of America, from the primary school, where the children enter at the age of eight years, to the high school, where they remain until they are sixteen to eighteen years of age. The work was prepared in a very short time, and each teacher had to pick out about twenty of the best specimens, which have been compiled without previous correction in various volumes arranged according to the branches of instruction—grammar, composition, history, geography, drawing, etc.

The specimens of drawing are, above all, worthy of note; they show a striking progress during the last few years. The Americans have recently laid great stress upon this branch of instruction.

The methods of our high schools, colleges, and public libraries were well shown, as were the peculiar systems and practical workings of such institutions as the Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind, the National Deaf-Mute College, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the Illinois Industrial University.

Educational literature was largely represented in the shape of copies of standard educational works, and of all text-books issued by contemporary American publishers for elementary and secondary instruction, and also by text-books for superior professional instruction, especially in the departments of medicine and technology.

The collection of books with embossed type, contributed by the American Printing House for the Blind, of Louisville, Kentucky, was pronounced the most complete ever seen in Europe.

Of our school-books generally M. Levasseur says, in his review already quoted from, "They far surpass in luxury of type, and often in shape, most of the books used in France."

The total number of awards to our collective educational exhibit exceeded one hundred, and was much larger than that given to any other country excepting France. Several authors who did not appear as exhibitors, but whose works upon education were exhibited by publishers, were complimented by the jury of Class Six. Professor Arnold Guyot, Dr. Henry Barnard, and Mr. William Swinton each received a gold medal.

The National Bureau of Education, although not authorized

under the act of Congress to make a distinctive exhibit, contributed valuable material, and rendered, through its Chief Commissioner (Hon. John Eaton), most effective assistance to Dr. Philbrick. The Bureau received two diplomas, equivalent to gold medals, from the International Jury.

The French Minister of Public Instruction, at an early date, requested that the collection, or so much of it as could be left in Europe, should be presented to him for public use; while Sir Charles Reed, President of the London School Board, earnestly asked that it might be sent to London, "where it would be of great service in the cause of popular education." There were equally urgent requests from other quarters; but M. Buisson's elaborate and exhaustive report upon primary instruction in the United States, as shown at the Centennial Exhibition, had so well prepared the French authorities and people to appreciate the compliment, that Dr. Philbrick, with the sanction of the Commissioner-General, determined to comply with the wish of Minister Bardoux. Accordingly, a very considerable part of the exhibit was left in Paris, and now occupies a room in the new Pedagogical Library and Museum, which is designated as the "American Educational Room." In it will be placed, from time to time, additional material received from the United States, all of which will be accessible to those who are interested in the study of educational problems.

It will be a much-frequented room, judging from the number of French educators, both Catholic and Protestant, who visited Dr. Philbrick's division, and eagerly examined and noted everything pertaining to our theory of popular instruction, and of whom the Doctor said to Miss Kate Field:

No two came for the same purpose. Some came to take notes, and went away to write articles for educational journals. Perhaps no exhibit excited more attention than that of the higher education of women, represented by Vassar, Wellesley, Mount Holyoke, and the Georgia College. Madame Jules Simon and Deputy Camille Sée came repeatedly for investigation with reference to the preparation of a bill for establishing higher education for women in France. This bill has since been brought before the Assembly, and is now under consideration. From the representations of the wife of Dr. Bower, Professor of the Vienna Polytechnic School, and member of the educational jury, a Viennese lady representing a woman's organization came to study our systems, and was furnished with every facility. An enterprising Portuguese teacher who reads English visited us repeatedly to examine text-books and pedagogical books, and to get advice as to a selection to order from America for his private library. The Commissioner from New South Wales was most

earnest in seeking information on the subject of school architecture. Our samples of desks were taken to the Sorbonne to illustrate the lecture on school furniture given to the delegate body of French teachers gathered in Paris by the Minister of Public Instruction, to study education at the Exposition. The charts and books devoted to vocal music were pronounced the best in the world, an opinion coinciding with that expressed at Vienna, in 1873, by experts from Sweden and Spain.

Machinery Division.

The mechanical ingenuity of our people is so generally conceded and admired in Europe, that it was a surprise that the Exposition authorities had not given the United States a larger space in the Machinery Gallery. Happily, the chagrin over their neglect to do so was tempered by the fact that we had so little time for preparation, and that other nations exhibited so much machinery of American invention.

Mr. Pickering, the experienced Superintendent of Machinery, after a careful examination of the several foreign sections, stated that, if no machinery had been sent from the United States, he could have found within the limits of the Champ de Mars more than enough of American origin to have made a very handsome and creditable display. Not less than eight steam-engines, made upon the Corliss models and patents, were shown in the French and Belgian sections. Many imitations of our agricultural implements and railway plant, as well as of our locks and machine-tools, were discovered.

Padlocks made by Mallory, Wheeler & Co., of New Haven, and from which their private numbers and trade-marks had not been wholly removed, were exhibited by a Continental firm as of their own manufacture. Professor Blake, an American juror, detected the fraud, and had the award of a medal canceled.

Copies of the Browne & Sharpe "Universal Milling-Machine," which was first exhibited at Paris in 1867, and of which imitations were found at the Vienna Exposition, were numerous. Their presence, however, did not prevent the sale, by the Browne & Sharpe Manufacturing Company, to French manufacturers, of their fine machines, which were a feature of our Exhibition.

At the Exposition of 1867 the motive-power for the American machinery was supplied by a French engine. In 1878 an American engine, made by Jerome Wheelock, of Worcester, Massachusetts, furnished it, and also that for the galleries of Sweden and Norway.

This horizontal, non-condensing steam-engine, of one hundred and twenty-five horse-power, won a "grand prize," and created a genuine sensation among mechanical experts. It is safe to say that no engine in the Exposition was more worthy of study, or better fitted to stand a searching inspection. It is a reduction to the simplest expression of the instantaneous cut-off valve which forms the chief feature of the Corliss engine. Instead of four ports Mr. Wheelock uses but two, one at each end of the cylinder, and, by various simple expedients, stuffing-boxes and much of the gear hitherto supposed to be necessary to a perfect engine are dispensed with.

The engine was sold to a firm at Lille, who also bought the right to manufacture in France. Since the close of the Exposition Mr. Wheelock has had orders from England, and has sold the right to manufacture in that country.

The wonder and applause of crowds of men, women, and children who visited our division were daily excited by the movements of the wood-working machinery of J. A. Fay & Co., of Cincinnati (gold medal); of the machines for working sheet-metal, of Bliss & Williams, of Brooklyn (gold medal); of that of Clough & Williamson, of Newark, New Jersey (silver medal), by which a straight piece of wire is transformed into a corkscrew in the twinkling of an eye; of the Goodyear machinery for making boots and shoes (gold medal); of the Reed circular loom for weaving multiple fabrics (gold medal); of the Adam & Taggart machines for making paper bags (silver medal); of the various sewing-machines and typewriters; and of the Stow flexible shaft (silver medal), which the London "Times" (August 22, 1878), in an elaborate and highly complimentary review of the machinery from the United States (which no American should fail to read), pronounced the finest type of a Yankee contrivance for transferring power round corners and to out-of-the-way places:

One sees the operator holding what seems at first sight to be a small garden hose, but furnished with an auger at its extremity, with which he thrusts and bores in every direction—over his head, under his feet, to the right, to the left—it upsets all one's ideas of rigidity. Pharaoh could not have been more surprised at seeing Moses's rod turn to a serpent than we were to see this rope-like affair eating into the planks set on all sides for it to work on. It is as good as a piece of legerdmain. It is really a "flexible shaft"—a cable of steel wires wound coat over coat, each successive coating in the reverse direction from the preceding, until the strength required is attained, and in which longitudinal flexibility is combined with circumferential rigidity.

The Wheeler & Wilson sewing-machine, made like the American watches, with interchangeable parts, was the only one of its class at the Exposition, and, as might have been expected, commanded a "grand prize."

The exhibition of saws and saw-tools by Henry Disston & Sons, of Philadelphia (gold medal), was a peculiar credit to our country, as were the various exhibits of machine-tools of all kinds. In one class every American exhibitor received an award, and in several classes more awards were given to the United States than to any other country.

The Collins Company, of Hartford, and the Douglass Company, of Boston, made a grand display of axes and hatchets. No exhibits were more tastefully arranged, or better fitted to illustrate the perfection of American manufacture.

When Madame Thiers, widow of the illustrious President of the Republic, gave several hours to a critical examination of the American department, she was asked what she would like to have as a memento of her visit. She answered, to the surprise of many, that she would much like to possess two of the fine hatchets made by the Douglass Company. Her desire was communicated to the representative of that company, and at the close of the Exposition the hatchets were sent to her by the Commissioner-General, and a letter of thanks, of which the following is a translation, was in due time received :

PARIS, November 25, 1878.

SIR : I have requested M. Caubert to be the bearer of this letter, through which I particularly desire to thank you for the two "hatchets," which are so neatly made, and which you were pleased to send me.

I shall keep them as a souvenir of your kind reception of me in the American section of the Exposition, where the immense progress of the industry of your great country was so well shown.

Accept, sir, the expression of my best and most distinguished sentiments.

E. THIERS.

Commissioner-General McCORMICK.

Agricultural Division.

The large building especially erected by the Commissioner-General for the agricultural products and machinery from the United States was a center of great interest to foreign visitors. The American mowing and reaping and binding machines have attained such world-wide celebrity that the fresh honors showered upon their makers were accepted as a matter of course. It is surprising, after

many years of active imitation upon the part of British and Continental manufacturers, how small an approach has been made by them to the production of machinery of equal merit, either in ingenuity, simplicity, durability, or cost. It may be said that nearly all other agricultural implements seem clumsy and crude when compared with those made in the United States. Upon the occasion of the field trials in connection with the Exposition, held near Paris, in July, the appearance of the American machines upon the ground was sufficient, before operations were begun, to lead the English exhibitors who had entered for competition to withdraw and abandon the contest. The honors of the day were easily won by the Americans, headed by Cyrus H. McCormick and Walter A. Wood, and, of twelve objects of art offered by the Agricultural Society of France for the most successful machines as demonstrated in these field trials, seven were awarded to exhibitors from the United States. So highly was our display of agricultural implements thought of by the French journalists, that the editor of a leading Parisian paper soundly berated the Exposition authorities for permitting it to be put in an annex rather than giving it a conspicuous place in one of the main buildings.

Under the resolution of Congress, the only Government department authorized to prepare an exhibit was the Department of Agriculture. A collection of specimens of the wood of American forest-trees, and of vegetable fibers employed in the manufacture of paper and textile fabrics, and an assortment of miscellaneous agricultural products, filled a large ornamental structure prepared in Washington and erected in the center of the Agricultural Annex. The collection was brought together too hurriedly to allow many of the States to forward contributions, but it was so comprehensive and inviting as to attract the careful examination of a never-ceasing tide of visitors, and to secure two grand prizes, and two diplomas equivalent to gold medals, at the hands of the jurors. Around the structure referred to there were rows of cases filled with well-chosen samples of tobacco in the leaf (in great variety), of sorghum sugars and sirups, of wheat, of corn in the ear, of rice, and of barley. A pyramid or trophy of bales of American cotton, including Sea Island and other varieties, contained a greater bulk of the staple than the combined exhibits of all other nations, and the highest prize given at the Exposition for cotton was awarded to the Memphis Cotton Exchange, for a bale of short-staple upland raised by William Taylor, of Arkansas. Three gold, three silver, and thirteen bronze

medals were awarded for American wool, of which there were over fifty samples shown, and in which great interest was manifested by foreign wool-growers. The United States made a very close contest for the grand prize for wool, which finally was given to Australia.

From the distant State of Oregon there was a choicé variety of wheat, barley, oats, flax, grass-seed, dried fruits, ferns, flowers, and hops, all attractively displayed upon an ornamental stand of chaste design, and made of native woods highly polished, and some of them exceedingly rich and rare.

The brief time allowed for preparation, however, debarred the Pacific States from representation at the Exposition, excepting in a few classes. Mr. George F. Hooper, of Sonoma, California, sent a creditable exhibit of wine. General John Bidwell, of Chico, contributed superb specimens of wheat, for which he was awarded a gold medal, the only one given in our department for wheat. An Executive Committee of citizens of San Francisco, after they had, with much pains, made an extensive collection of minerals, supposing that the Legislature would provide for the cost of sending it to Paris, were disappointed in their hopes, and, but for the generosity of Mr. Mackay, the "Bonanza King," the collection must have remained in San Francisco. That gentleman, hearing of the dilemma in which the Committee were placed, came forward with characteristic liberality and furnished means for the transportation of the collection, for proper cases for its display at the Exposition, and for the expenses of Mr. Henry G. Hanks, geologist, who took it to Paris. It embraced more than twenty-five hundred choice and valuable specimens, carefully classified and labeled, many of which were comparatively unknown in Europe. At the close of the Exposition, at the request of the French Commissioner-General, all the specimens from California that Mr. Hanks felt authorized to dispose of were presented to the School of Mines. The value in which they are held is well shown by the following letter recently addressed to Mr. Hanks, by M. A. Daubrée, Member of the Institute of France and Director of the School of Mines :

SCHOOL OF MINES, PARIS, *January 2, 1879.*

DEAR SIR: In the name of the School of Mines I have the honor to address you, as well as the Executive Committee which you so worthily represented at the Universal Exposition, the expression of my recognition for the collection of ores and rocks of the State of California which you have so graciously given for the museum of this institution. I desire to have my gratitude extended to the State of California. This beautiful collection, which

contains a large number of new and very interesting specimens, is placed in our galleries under the name of the State of California, which has so generously given it to us. The manner of its classification, the information which accompanies it in the printed catalogue, the exceptional interest which it presents to the miner and the mineralogist, still add to the scientific value of this imposing series. I have informed the Minister of Public Works of the munificent gift, requesting him to officially address his thanks to the Governor of the State of California.

Other Notable Exhibits.

It was to be expected that the inventions of Edison and Gray would excite universal interest. The exhibit of the former consisted of the phonograph, quadruplex electric pen, speaking telephone, musical telephone, pressure relay, and electro-motograph. The latter sent apparatus for transmitting musical and other sounds by telegraph, including the multiple acoustic telegraph, way duplex telegraph, the musical telephone, and the speaking telephone. From Edison's stand, telephonic communication was established with Versailles, distant fifteen miles from Paris, and visitors were freely allowed to test the instrument, which they did with evident wonder and delight.

The offices of the Commissioner-General were connected with the Agricultural Building, and with all parts of the United States section, by telephonic wires and instruments furnished from the exhibit of Gray.

Since the Exposition a company has been formed in Paris for the introduction into France, and throughout the Continent, of the various inventions of Edison and Gray. There is an increasing demand from all parts of Europe for the speaking telephones, of which sixty thousand are already in use in the United States.

The American Society of Civil Engineers, in a tasteful structure prepared in New York, brought together a number of plans and models, and also drawings and photographs, illustrating the most important engineering works in the United States. Some sections of the huge wire cables used in the construction of the East River Bridge were a surprise to visitors, and in much demand for British and Continental museums. The observations of the International Jury upon the carefully prepared and valuable exhibit of the American engineers are so concise that they may be given in full :

The American Society of Civil Engineers has exhibited, collectively, designs and photographs of a very large number of the most remarkable works lately executed in America, or which are in course of construction.

These works comprise foundations for bridges of different systems, and notably by that of compressed air; dams, lockages on inclined planes, pivot drawbridges, bridges and great viaducts of metal, suspension-bridges, steam-dredges, etc., etc.

These works, and in particular the metal viaducts and suspension-bridges, present astonishing boldness of conception, great simplicity of form, extreme lightness, and thorough understanding of the use of iron and its working to attain a maximum resistance with a minimum of metal utilized.

The jury, impressed by the continued spirit of initiation and progress shown by the works exhibited by the American Society of Civil Engineers, request that an exceptional prize may be awarded. The jury regret that the collective character of the exhibit prevents the award, to each one of the engineers whose works are represented, of the medals which they merit.

No department of our Government having offered to send to the Exposition the great works upon public explorations and surveys, Mr. Julius Bien, of New York, whose lithographing establishment has provided most of the maps and charts for such works, was asked to furnish specimens of the same for exhibition. In a public spirit which the American people should appreciate, he forwarded a well-chosen collection. It embraced the choice illustrations made for the reports of Clarence King upon the explorations of the fortieth parallel, and for those of the Coast Survey, and of Hayden, Powell, the United States Engineers, and the unique census charts of General Walker. The lithographic work was pronounced equal to any of its class produced in Europe, and was the subject of constant admiration upon the part of scientific men. Mr. Bien was awarded two silver medals, and the London "Times" said of his maps: "For clearness and for beauty of workmanship they are wonderfully good. The maps of our English survey can not bear comparison with them in this respect."

To Messrs. Woolworth & Graham, of New York, export agents for American paper-makers, belongs the chief credit for the admirable display of paper made by the United States. At the eleventh hour, those gentlemen were requested to make a collective exhibit representing the leading paper manufacturers of the United States. They brought together a large variety of grades, including news, book, plate, lithographic, and writing papers, from the low-pressed, engine-sized, to the finest account-book and bank-note papers; besides specialties in carpet-lining, and imitations of leather. The collection was one of unusual interest to visitors familiar with paper, and was critically examined by such from all parts of the world. The jury for the class was an exceptional one, in that so many of its

members were well qualified by study and experience to appreciate the merit of the goods, and those members best qualified were the most emphatic in their approbation. Of twenty American paper-makers, strictly speaking, eighteen received awards, five winning gold medals.

The chief points of excellence in our papers were the purity of the material, its thorough manipulation and careful preparation for the intended use. This was true of all the different grades, from the fine account-book paper (where it was manifest that the material had been carefully selected, and so cleansed, sized, worked, and dried that the result showed a hard, clean, unfibred, thoroughly sized and dried paper, fit for protracted and severe use in any climate), to an article of wrapping paper, where the same cautious use of a different class of material gave results equally good. Comparison with papers exhibited in other sections of the Exposition showed that, as a class, our paper-makers excel those of other countries in supplying an article intrinsically better and uniformly purer. Under the existing French tariff, trade with France is not possible, and an effort was therefore made to secure the attention of buyers from other countries. The effort has been, upon the whole, successful, resulting in an increased trade with Germany, Sweden, and the British colonies.

Through some misunderstanding, the full-sized Pullman sleeping-car, destined for exhibition in our département, did not reach Paris until the month of June. Before that time the rails within the grounds had been covered, and it was only with great difficulty and much expense that the car was brought to the place assigned to it. Once there, it was covered with an ornamental shed, and, in connection with the street cars of the John Stevenson Company, of New York, proved a most interesting exhibit. It was surrounded by visitors at all hours of the day, and curiously examined. It was much admired; but the hostility of Continental manufacturers of similar cars, though not nearly so convenient or complete, prevented a higher award than a silver medal.

In connection with our railway apparatus, the Westinghouse air-brake is deserving of mention. It commanded a gold medal, which at least one of the foreign jurors, and an eminent one, pronounced an inadequate recognition of its great merit.

The carriages exhibited by Brewster & Co., of Broome Street, New York, embraced a collection of thirteen highly finished vehicles, from a racing-sulky to a full-built English stage-coach, and, in competition with most extensive exhibits of carriages from Eng-

land and France, received the highest recognition at the hands of the International Jury. The frequent remark of European visitors, that the Yankee builders "were very sparing of their iron and wood," was perhaps the best compliment, though not intended as such, that could have been paid to the light and graceful, but also strong and serviceable, carriages of this celebrated firm, of whose establishment M. Guet, a French member of the jury, at Philadelphia, in 1876, wrote, in his official report, "It is a grand organization, of which we can have, in France, no conception in this branch of industry."

The specimen American Post-Office, erected and operated during the season by the Yale Lock Manufacturing Company, of Stamford, Connecticut, delighted all classes of visitors, and was utilized for the benefit of the American Commissioners and exhibitors, who, for a nominal charge, were assigned lock-boxes, and, by an arrangement with the French postal authorities, received their mail matter through this unique office. Nothing of the kind had before been seen in Europe, and the officers of the company write that since the close of the Exposition their box system has been adopted, experimentally, by the Governments of Holland, Belgium, Germany, and Mexico. The new Post-Office at Antwerp, recently opened, has seven hundred and sixty-eight of the Yale boxes. The United States Consul at that city informs the Department of State that, after several months of use, the greatest satisfaction is expressed with the novel and convenient arrangement. The lock-boxes have also been introduced into the Post-Offices at Amsterdam and Bremen.

In alimentary products (Group Seven) the United States made a conspicuous and unsurpassed display. The processes for preserving meats, fish, and fruits, used in this country have been for years admitted to be among the best, if not the best, known to the world. The canned meats exhibited by Thurber & Co., of New York, and by Libbey, McNeal & Libbey, and the Wilson Packing Co., of Chicago, were awarded gold medals, and acknowledged to be beyond competition. For the first time at a foreign Exposition a prize was taken for biscuits or crackers, those exhibited by E. J. Larrabee & Co., of Albany, New York, receiving a gold medal.

The exhibits of lard, which were objected to by certain American newspaper critics as "coarse and repulsive," were not only of much interest to Europeans, but illustrative of a trade so important to the United States and to the world that their omission would

have been a serious oversight. The reader, unless his attention has been called to the subject, will hardly be prepared to believe that the amount of lard exported from the United States, which was in 1870 but 35,800,000 pounds, had increased in 1878 to 342,667,000 pounds; or that the export value of lard for the year ending June 30, 1878, was \$30,000,000. The works of W. J. Wilcox & Co., of New York, to whom a gold medal was awarded for lard, have a capacity for turning out per year 450,000 tierces of lard, 28,000 tierces of stearine, and 28,000 barrels of oil, and the exports of that firm have been very heavy for years. The quotations of sales of their lard are given in the English, French, and German newspapers with as much regularity as the price of American bonds.

The collection of textile fabrics and clothing from the United States (Fourth Group) was not large nor important. A number of the New England mills furnished material for a collective exhibit, which filled several cases, and consisted of bleached and unbleached cotton goods, printed calicoes, cambric linings, etc., and gold medals were secured by the Nashua Manufacturing Company (Nashua, New Hampshire), and by the Wamsutta Mills of New Bedford.

For moquette carpeting the Bigelow Carpet Company, of Clinton, Massachusetts, received a gold medal—a well-merited honor, and the first of its kind won by this country.

The oil-cloths “of all kinds and for all purposes” sent by Blabon & Co., of Philadelphia, compelled hearty commendation from manufacturers from all parts of Europe, who admitted that they could not equal the designs or colors.

The Meriden Flint-Glass Works, of West Meriden, Connecticut, sent some fine cut table and decorated glassware—a creditable indication of what must, before long, become an important branch of manufacture in this country.

Decorations.

From a European standpoint, the most distinguished honor paid to the United States at the Exposition of 1878 would doubtless be found in the decoration of its citizens. At the Exposition of 1867, twelve Americans connected with our department were given the Order of the Legion of Honor. At the Exposition of 1873 (at Vienna), ten were given the Order of Francis Joseph.

At the Exposition of 1878, the decoration of the Legion of Honor was conferred upon twenty Americans, as follows, viz.:

With the rank of Commander: the Commissioner-General.

With the rank of Officer: F. A. P. Barnard, Andrew D. White, and William W. Story, Commissioners; Cyrus H. McCormick and Walter A. Wood, exhibitors.

With the rank of Chevalier: William P. Blake and Edward H. Knight, honorary Commissioners, and the following named exhibitors: Thomas A. Edison, Elisha Gray, Charles L. Tiffany, Henry Brewster, F. A. Bridgman, J. Van D. Reed.

Also the following named members of the staff of the Commissioner-General: Auguste H. Girard, Secretary; Henry Pettit, Engineer and Architect; John D. Philbrick, Superintendent of Educational Division; Maitland Armstrong, Superintendent of Art Gallery; Thomas R. Pickering, Superintendent of Machinery Division; and Lieutenant Benjamin H. Buckingham, naval *attaché*.

The gold palm of an Officer of Public Instruction was given to Mr. Philbrick, and to Commissioner Eaton, of the Bureau of Education; and the silver palm of Officer of the Academy of France was given to Dr. W. T. Harris, of St. Louis; to Mr. Henry Kiddle, of New York; and to Mr. J. O. Wilson, of Washington, D. C., Superintendents of Public Instruction in their respective cities, and each of whom contributed to the success of our Educational Division.

Commercial Results.

While the foregoing reference to some (although not nearly to all) of the notable exhibits from the United States and the handsome recognition they met with may have interested the reader, he will naturally ask, "What commercial benefits are known to have resulted from our participation in the Exposition of 1878?"

Incidentally, as in the case of the American Watch Company, the Yale Lock Company and the paper manufacturers, allusion has been made to an increase of foreign sales since the Exposition. It is still too soon to be able to speak definitely or conclusively as to general commercial results, yet other instances of advantages already gained have been communicated from several sources.

Tiffany & Co. write: "The exhibition of our wares in Paris has proved a success far greater than any one had expected. It is evidence, we think, not only that our workmen excel in adaptability of methods and invention of tools and machinery, but is proof of the growth of our people in art knowledge and education. The public will not buy what it can not appreciate, and the favorable reception of our work by the best-informed people of the Old World

—in many instances by our competitors—is a flattering acknowledgment of the high standard in art culture that our people have attained.

“We can hardly estimate the beneficial effects of the Exhibition; but it has, for us at least, opened a demand which did not before exist, and which, a few years ago, would have been deemed an utter improbability, if not laughed at as an impossibility.”

The Russell & Erwin Manufacturing Company made one of the largest and most interesting exhibits in the United States section, including articles of builders' hardware, with artistic house-fittings in bronze, nickel, and enamel, for architectural decoration. An officer of this company writes :

“While the advantages accruing to us through the Paris Exposition can hardly be specified, we are in receipt of inquiries from all parts of Europe concerning our goods, and in most cases they refer to our exhibition at Paris. It has undoubtedly brought our house prominently before European consumers, and opened the door to trade with countries that have no prohibitory tariff. This particularly applies to England, also to Belgium, Holland, Italy, Russia, and Spain, who have been buying largely of France and England. Our recent success in England has undoubtedly been due, in part, to our exhibition at Paris. There has been considerable stir in that country over the use of American locks by the Government. The matter was brought up in the House of Commons, and, in answer to inquiries, it was found that quality as well as price had influenced the Government in using them in preference to locks of English manufacture. The goods in question were furnished by our firm.”

Advices from Italy speak of the triumphal progress of the great locomotive of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company which was a worthy companion of the Pullman car at the Exposition. It is to remain in Italy, where a decided preference is shown for locomotives and cars of American manufacture, and where a market has opened for American anthracite coal of which the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company sent a quantity to Paris and established its merit by trials which won for them a gold medal.

E. & T. Fairbanks & Co., and the Howe Scale Company, whose exhibits of highly finished scales of all kinds, from those for weighing letters to those for weighing cattle, were unequalled at the Exposition, and won gold, silver, and bronze medals, report a de-

cided increase in their foreign trade, which before the Exposition had extended to nearly all markets.

The more prominent pianoforte makers were so deeply involved in the controversies growing out of their contest at the Centennial Exhibition, that they did not exhibit at Paris. A Baltimore manufacturer, Charles M. Stieff, secured a silver medal for upright pianos, and has since received from England and the Continent a number of orders.

The Mason & Hamlin Organ Company, of New York, whose cabinet and parlor organs attracted much attention, and were awarded the only gold medal given the United States for musical instruments, report an increase of foreign business.

These instances are sufficient to show that benefits more substantial and important than the winning of medals, diplomas, or decorations—however gratifying that may have been—have resulted, and may be expected to result, to our exhibitors from their appearance at Paris in 1878.

RICHARD C. McCORMICK.

II.

THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA.

[As the readers of the "North American Review" are well aware, the editor accepts no responsibility for the opinions of his contributors. In most cases, their signatures sufficiently indicate the authenticity and accurately fix the responsibility of their views. For obvious reasons, this can not be required of the author of the article on Russian Nihilism, who is both a Russian and a Nihilist ; and the editor, therefore, may be excused, perhaps, for emphasizing, in this instance, the general rule of the "Review." A paper on Russian Nihilism, by a Russian Nihilist, is of value only so far as it truthfully and completely states the positions and throws light on the purposes of the Russian Nihilists. Since Colonel Sexby perished in prison for disseminating in England the tractate in which Colonel Titus undertook to show that killing would be no murder in the case of the Protector Cromwell, no such deliberate plea for assassination, as a political weapon, has been put forth in Europe as is embodied in the programme of the Russian Nihilists. Recent events have but too clearly shown that it is their intention to carry this dreadful doctrine into effect whenever and wherever it may seem to them necessary so to do. It is of the highest interest, therefore, to know on what grounds and by what reasoning it is that men not belonging to the criminal classes of society in Russia have brought themselves to reject one of the most sacred and fundamental principles of our Christian civilization.—EDITOR.]

" Wo Begriffe fehlen,
Da stellt ein Wort zur rechten Zeit sich ein."

THESE words of the world-wise Mephistopheles may well be adapted to what is now universally called Russian Nihilism or Nihilists. The word, the name exists and is now ringing throughout the whole civilized world, but the thing itself, the idea underlying the name, is vague and indefinite in the minds of nearly all those who read or write accounts on the matter. The word, as is

well known to the reading public, originated in Turgenieff's celebrated novel "Fathers and Sons." But the peculiar social formation which was designated by it had existed long before; it had already then (1863) been for many years a puzzle and an offense to all the "orderly" and conservative classes of Russian society, and it wanted but a name to become a universally recognized element of Russian public life. Turgenieff found that name, and it became for years and is now still a stigma for every eccentricity in demeanor or every manifestation of national or social progress in Russia which went beyond the comprehension of the half-educated mass.

The story of that name and of the different things to which it has been affixed within the last fifteen years might furnish by itself the materials for an interesting essay on the hollowness and unsteadiness of what is termed public opinion. A man or a woman not going to church on Sundays; a man wearing a beard or long hair; a woman wearing her hair cut short, or walking in the streets in a black-woolen dress of a particular cut; anybody talking politics in a manner not especially reverential to the supreme power of the Czar, or wearing spectacles of blue glass—all these were by turn stigmatized, laughed and sneered at as Nihilists! Some ten years ago the Governor of Nizhni Novgorod, General Odinzoff, actually issued an order prohibiting all ladies from wearing short black-woolen dresses, blue spectacles, and short hair—these being, as the order expressly stated, the sure emblems of Nihilism. Thus "Nihilism" became a popular epithet, utterly devoid of any definite or express meaning, but admirably suited to the purpose of mocking or stigmatizing every originality or eccentricity. The name was generally used in a derisive and contemptuous sense. The "respectable" classes of society looked down on the Nihilists with a mingled feeling of contempt and pity, but without any fear, as on a set of willful, incorrigible children who are not a danger, but a great nuisance.

Gradually, however, this feeling changed. Karakozoff's attack on the Emperor, in 1866, was, so to speak, the signal-shot for a complete change of scene in the development of Russian Nihilism. Gradually it acquired a more definite, earnest, and above all a more alarming shape in the mind of the Government, and of the conservative portion of Russian society. From a wretched farce, to be despised and laughed at, it suddenly became a dread phantom on the political horizon, threatening society with assassination, pillage, and universal destruction. The tactics adopted by both the Govern-

ment and the higher classes toward the Nihilists changed abruptly. The latter suddenly appeared in the eyes of Government as a small but well-organized body of educated and intelligent proletarians, with rather indefinite but violent Jacobin and socialistic tendencies—an organization desperate enough to become dangerous, and yet not strong enough in numbers not to be exterminated by severe measures of repression. Since that year the attempts to “exterminate” Nihilism were renewed on the part of the Government regularly every year. Innumerable Nihilist trials followed in quick succession, hundreds of young men and women were sent to Siberia, raids were made regularly twice a year by the secret police on all persons suspected of holding the slightest intercourse with the “Nihilists,” and thousands of them were sent without trial to some distant part of the empire. And after every trial, after every wholesale banishment, the Minister of Police most respectfully reported to the Czar that “Nihilism had at last, through his (the minister’s) exertions, been torn out by the roots from the blessed soil of Holy Russia.” And every year he had to begin anew his tedious work, like a modern Hercules, cutting off the heads of the hydra of Lernay.

When, after the close of the Russo-Turkish war, the present movement broke out in Russia, displaying a versatility and richness of resources, an energy of purpose, and a degree of self-devotion on the part of its followers nearly unparalleled in the history of revolutions, then the cry of “Nihilism” rang through the whole world. The phantom, which till then had scarcely attracted any attention beyond the borders of Russia, now assumed gigantic international proportions. The outbreak of public discontent in Russia took the world by surprise, and, measuring the force and energy of the “Nihilists” by the generally entertained notion of the Czar’s power which they attacked, public opinion in all countries at once jumped to the conclusion that the “Nihilists” were a powerfully organized and centralized secret organization, guided by a few eminently intelligent and energetic men, and adorned with all the ordinary paraphernalia of secret political societies—oaths, pass-words, secret signals, and the rest of it. In the offices of many enterprising newspapers in Europe and America there suddenly sprang up mysterious “Nihilists,” eager to be interviewed, and especially anxious to have their names and places of residence carefully concealed. Nihilism became “the thing”; every respectable newspaper was somehow obliged to have “our own Nihilist,” as it had its Washington correspondent or its city editor; long accounts of

the origin and the principles of Nihilism filled many a column, giving the reader such valuable information as that Hertzen, the celebrated Russian refugee, had taken part in the conspiracy of December, 1825 (at nine years of age !); that one of the leaders of the present Nihilistic movement was a mythical creature named the "Princess Tambovsk"; that both great popular movements of Stenka Razin and of Pugatcheff took place during the reign of Catharine II.; that the purpose of the Nihilistic revolution is the revival of Old Russia, such as it was before Peter the Great, and that to attain this purpose the Nihilists are firmly resolved to absorb and to assimilate, if need be by force, all such nationalities forming a part of the present Russian Empire as might be unwilling to enter this old Slavonic paradise. Nihilism has suddenly become a universal bugbear, which every one seems to consider himself called upon to discuss and to depict in the most sensational and appalling colors.

Giving due allowance to the sensational character of most of the reports concerning Nihilism, it still remains unquestionably true that, beyond the passing excitement of events, there exists at present in all civilized countries a powerful and genuine interest in the Russian revolutionary movement, an interest perfectly justified by the historical importance of this movement not for Russia alone but for the whole of Europe.

Thus it becomes for every observer, interested in the future destinies of mankind, a paramount necessity to solve the questions :

What is Nihilism?

Of what elements is it composed?

What objects does it pursue?

By what means does it propose to attain these objects?

In the sense now generally used the word "Nihilist" comprises all the revolutionary elements, working at the overthrow of the present political and social order of things in Russia. In this sense Nihilism does not present any definite political or social creed, but comprises an heterogeneous mass of various political tendencies, which are bound together by one tie only—a profound feeling of discontent with the present political condition of Russia. In this broad sense of the word every intelligent Russian may at the present moment be termed a Nihilist, for every intelligent and well-educated Russian citizen is a natural foe of the present system of government, and takes a more or less active part in the movement directed to the overthrow of that system. In the ranks of this powerful army

of discontent we find the Liberals, mostly recruited from the noblest families of the empire, such as the Princes Vassiltchinoff, Urussoff, Trubetzkoi, and others ; the Slavophiles, headed by the celebrated Moscow journalist Ivan Aksakoff ; and even some of the staunchest aristocrats and conservatives, who are striving to obtain an aristocratic constitution. Some of the highest military functionaries, and several of the young generals who have distinguished themselves during the last war, secretly support the movement. Every class, every political party, has sent out its representatives into the present struggle with the tottering power of the Czar. What is now going on in Russia is not a conspiracy, but a great national revolution ; and if all those who take any part in this revolution are to be termed Nihilists, then all Russia, or at least the better educated portion of it, is Nihilistic.

However, all these comparatively moderate and passive elements are not the true Nihilists—they do not deserve, neither are they worthy of that name, which belongs alone to that energetic, self-sacrificing, undaunted group which forms the vanguard of the movement, taking upon itself all the danger and all the odium of the struggle, sending out from its ranks those bold executioners whose acts of violence spread an almost superstitious terror among the representatives of official Russia.

Who are these men ? What do they seek to attain by such awful means ?

The ordinary answer to these questions is simple enough : they are common assassins, and what they aim at is a senseless destruction of all existing social or political forms of life, the abolition of religion, morality, family life, property, as well as of every kind of political organization.

This definition of Nihilism, however, is as absurd as it is unjust. In truth, Nihilism is nothing else than *Russian Socialism*, and as such it stands ahead of all other parties ; it is the natural leader of the present revolution, and will retain this place until at least part of its claims shall be realized.

Russian Socialism, it is true, is destructive in its tendencies, fierce and unrelenting in its hate for all it strives to destroy. But, before judging and condemning the Russian Socialists, public opinion would do well to solve the question against what their attacks are directed, and in the name of what principles.

What Russian Socialism wants to destroy may be defined in two words—Russian czardom, the chronic cancer on Russia's body poli-

tic, with all the minor social diseases it has engendered. In this sense they are Nihilists, and they pride themselves in that name, given to them by their bitterest enemies : they recognize *nothing* in the forms of social and political life created under the Czar's rule. They wage a merciless war against the state, such as the Czar's power has shaped it, with its lawlessness, corruption, and secret police. They deny religion, but what religion ? That miserable organization of the Greek-Russian Church, the head of which is the Czar—that religion which has long ago ceased to have any vitality, and would now fall to pieces if it were not protected by police regulation. What the Nihilists want is an absolute liberty of conscience ; what they want to destroy is an order of things under which, for instance, a change of faith is punished with the loss of all civil rights. The Nihilists want to destroy the family : yes, this is also true. But what family ? Everybody who has had the occasion of observing to what a degree of corruption and dissolution family life in Russia has now sunk, will easily answer this question. Ignorance and misery in the working classes, idleness and luxury among the upper classes, have done more toward destroying the family than the most subversive communistic theories could have achieved. Thus every element of Russian public life which the Nihilists are accused of wishing to destroy is *de facto* already decayed and corrupted to the core, and is stimulated to a sort of artificial life only by a system of artful lies and hypocrisy. The same may be said of the property right which is also generally named among the different things which Nihilism is about to destroy. Not the true property right, not the right of each man to the full produce of his labor, is what the Russian Socialists are opposed against, it is the monopoly of landed property which a few families of the nobility enjoy, and which, based on the slave-work of former years, is equally pernicious to the peasant and unproductive for the proprietor. In this, as in every other respect, the purpose of Russian Socialism is to bring the development of Russian public life, of the political and social institutions of the country, into the old normal historical channel out of which it has been violently driven by the Mongol invasion, the despotism of the Khans, and of their Christian successors, the Czars of Moscow.

The reproach frequently addressed to the Nihilists, that their theories and aspirations are unpractical and entirely at variance with the character and history of the Russian people, is utterly unjustified. On the contrary, precisely in that peculiar social move-

ment which has been christened Nihilism, the Russian people may be said to have for the first time awakened to a full consciousness of its own past and future. Russia is about to rise from a lethargy which has lasted over six hundred years, and during which the iron hand of the semi-Asiatic despots, who had taken the knout out of the hands of the Moslem invaders, had almost succeeded in stifling every spark of life in the national body. The important fact must not be forgotten that, before the rise of the Czardom of Moscow, the political and industrial life of the Russian people had already attained a high degree of development, and assumed characteristic national forms. Decentralization and communal property of the land were the chief features of this budding civilization. Russia was divided into a great number of principalities; at the head of each of these stood a prince, elected by the people, and subject to a constant control of the *Vetchy*, or National Assembly. The townships and village communes of each principality enjoyed an almost unlimited self-government in all local affairs. Many cities in northern Russia—foremost Novgorod and Pskov—formed independent republics, and attained a high degree of culture and prosperity. Novgorod maintained extensive commercial relations with western Europe, and was a member of the celebrated “Hansa Bund.”

—All these germs of a powerful political and industrial development were killed by the Czars. The liberty of the free cities was drowned in oceans of blood; the boiars, from a true aristocracy jealous of its rights and privileges, were gradually, with the most artful Machiavelianism, converted by the Czars into a class of fawning courtiers and greedy office-seekers; the peasants, who had till the sixteenth century been freemen, were enslaved and given to the nobles as a compensation for the loss of their aristocratic privileges; in short, Russia was converted into a jail, into a slave-market, in which the only master and the only free man was the Czar, the knout and torture-chamber the only law. This state of things has remained essentially unaltered to the present day. The outward forms have changed with the times, but the spirit, the essence of Russian czardom is the same as it was three centuries ago.

The Russian people never submitted passively to the tyranny of the Czars. Since the sixteenth century the social history of Russia is the history of severe and protracted struggles between the people and the Czar. These struggles bore a twofold character: they were either conducted consciously, in the name of liberal doctrines, by

representatives of the intelligent class ; or else unconsciously, instinctively, by the mass of the people. The movement among the intelligent class for the recovery of liberty, justice, and a truly national government, began almost as soon as czardom had acquired its full power, and was transmitted from Kotoshichin, the first political satirist of Russia, under the reign of Czar Alexis Michaelovitch (the father of Peter the Great) to Novikoff and his contemporaries, who were exiled to Siberia by the Empress Catharine II., "Voltaire's friend," for demanding the liberation of the serfs—to Pestel, Ryleeff, Muravieff, and the other so-called "Decembrists" who, in 1825, attempted to gain political liberty for Russia by an armed *coup de main*—to Herten, Granovsky, Turgenieff, Belinsky, and others, who, by their literary works, spread the ideas of liberty and justice among the Russian people.

More violent, but, in consequence of their undisciplined and instinctive character, less important in their results, were the protests of the people itself, of the peasantry, against the Czars' administration. These protests took mostly the shape of frightful convulsive throbbings which shook the whole frame of the nation, of bloody *Jacqueries* directed against the two immediate and especially hateful enemies of the peasant—the *barin* (noble), and the *tchinovnik* (officeholder). That these two were, after all, but the tools of the Czar, was a conclusion at which the Russian serf was naturally unable to arrive : utterly ignorant and brutalized by oppression, he naturally regarded the Czar with that awe and veneration with which a great power always inspires an uncultivated mind. The two most important movements of this kind were those headed by Stenka Razin, in the reign of Alexis Michaelovitch, and by Emeljan Pugatcheff in the reign of Catharine II. The last-named riot might, for the formidable proportions it assumed, well be termed a revolution. The peasantry of nearly two-thirds of the empire rose in arms against the nobles, the *tchinovniks*, and the Empress herself, and followed the lead of Pugatcheff. In both these movements the rallying-cry for the masses was the same which is now used as a motto by the Nihilists : "*Zemla e Vola!*" ("Land and Liberty!")—land, as the communal property of those who cultivate it ; liberty, as the annihilation of all centralized administration, of the ever-greedy and ever-grasping *tchinovnik*.

Peasant riots, always bearing the same motto on their flag, have continued throughout all the consecutive reigns since Catharine II. Under the iron rule of that maniac of despotism, Nicholas I.,

they were especially frequent, and their repression particularly brutal.

These two currents of discontent—the intelligent and the instinctive—ran on abreast without, however, the possibility of mingling their forces against the common enemy. The gulf which had been opened by centuries of slavery, between the serfs and the educated classes who owned them, was too wide for any mutual understanding: the Russian peasant still saw in the Russian liberal nothing else than the *barin*, the slave-owner, and regarded him accordingly with hatred and distrust. The noblest minds among the educated classes were well aware of this fact, and directed, therefore, all their exertions, all their energies, toward the abolition of slavery, as the very first postulate, the *conditio sine qua non* of all further development. They accomplished their purpose in 1861 by forcing upon the Government the Emancipation Act. However insufficient for the welfare of the peasant the provisions of this act doubtless are, it had at least one immediate, important result—the overthrow of the artificial barriers which had hitherto existed between the educated and uneducated classes: it thus gave the former the opportunity of mingling with the people without constantly meeting with a preconceived hatred and distrust; and the latter, the possibility of acquiring that knowledge which is the true and only effective power in all great national movements.

The emancipation was the first step toward mingling these two currents of discontent and uniting them into one powerful stream—the result of this first step was the birth of Nihilism. Sons of peasants, or of representatives of other poor classes, whose mode of life and surroundings scarcely differ from those of the workingmen, such as village priests, school-teachers, petty officeholders, thronged the high schools and universities almost to the exclusion of the young generation of aristocrats, who preferred to confine themselves to a few privileged “noble” schools, such as the St. Petersburg Lyceum and Law School. This young generation, full of energy and vitality, and eager to use at last their long-pent-up intellectual force, sought in science and learning exclusively a sure and practical remedy for the wrongs and sufferings of the people with which they were personally familiar. Thus history, natural and social sciences took the foremost place in their studies. Each ray of light which penetrated into the dark life of the Russian people made it appear still darker and more disconsolate, its sufferings still more intolerable. The emancipation had not bettered its con-

dition materially—on the contrary, in consequence of the hypocritical manner in which the redemption of the peasant-land was carried out, and by a simultaneous raising of all the Government taxes, the great majority of the liberated peasants found themselves ultimately in a more precarious economical condition after the emancipation than before. The conditions for the formation and development of a powerful revolutionary party were most favorable. The long-pent-up wrath of the people against their oppressors, their half-conscious tendencies toward common property and national self-government found a clear and scientific expression in the writings of such men as Tchernyshevsky, Dobroliuboff, Michailoff, Lavroff, Kavelin, and others. The old battle-cry of the Russian popular movements, "Land and Liberty!" was revived, and the task and purpose of the revolution were set forth in the formula: "Destruction of the Russian Empire; reorganization of Russian society on the basis of the old Slavonic forms of federation; and communal property, modified and developed according to the doctrines of modern socialism."

It does not enter into the scope of this article to explain more fully this formula of Russian Socialism, or to show how its different elements are to be practically realized. My purpose in dwelling at some length on the history of the great strife between Czar and people in Russia has been to show—1. That the generally entertained belief in the traditional and absolute loyalty of the Russian people must be accepted with a good deal of allowance; 2. That "Nihilism" is far from being a movement opposed to the Russian historical traditions, but is, on the contrary, the natural and necessary outgrowth of the previous social development of the nation; 3. That "Nihilism" is not by any means only destructive in its tendencies; on the contrary, its sole purpose is to lead Russia back into the old channel of its normal growth, in accordance with the precepts and social forms elaborated in western Europe.

—If all other arguments failed us, however, one glance at the high intellectual standard, the great moral force, and boundless self-sacrifice of the so-called "Nihilists" would suffice to show that they can not possibly be absolute non-believers, or crazy destroyers of "all things existing." The best and ablest representatives of all classes of society are to be found in the ranks of the "Nihilists." What generally astounds foreign observers most is the great number of persons belonging to the noblest families of the empire who become Nihilists. To all, however, who are acquainted with the true nature

of Russian aristocracy this fact is easily explained. The Russian aristocrats have for centuries past never formed an independent, closely organized order, bound together by traditions of glory, honor, and dignity. Thus the chief conditions for the development of a conservative party, strong and earnest in its principles, failed entirely, and the Russian aristocracy became a servile class, exclusively and slavishly devoted to the Czars—not by principle, but for selfish interests. Is it, then, surprising that the honest, independent, and patriotic members of the Russian aristocracy have at all times renounced their own class, and embraced with enthusiasm the most extreme and radical doctrines?

If false notions are generally entertained about the character and purpose of the Nihilistic movement, a still greater error prevails as to the means by which the Nihilists propose to attain their purpose. It is universally taken for granted that brute force is the Alpha and Omega of this movement; that its only aim is to seize upon the supreme power by any means, fair or foul, and then impose the new order of things on the people by sheer force.

In reality, nothing of the kind is the case. The fundamental principle of the Russian Socialists is this: all for and by the people. They are well aware that even the partial realization of their hopes lies in a distant future, that no social revolution of such a vast import as that which they contemplate can possibly be undertaken with any chance of success before the active and intelligent co-operation of the great majority of the people is assured. There is, it is true, a small Jacobin fraction among the Nihilists whose organ is the "Nabat" (Tocsin) in Geneva, and who advocate some such tendencies as are generally ascribed to the whole party, but this fraction has been repeatedly and most emphatically disavowed by all the serious and influential organs of Russian Socialism, such as the "Vpered" (Forward), edited by Paul Lavroff in Paris, the "Obstchina" (Commune) in Geneva, and the "Zemla e Vola" ("Land and Liberty") published clandestinely in St. Petersburg. In the numbers nine and ten of the "Commune" there appeared a protest, signed by all the most influential names of the Nihilist emigration, disavowing all attempts on the part of the "Nabat" to ascribe to the Russian Socialist Revolutionary party Jacobin tendencies and a dictatorial organization, and declaring emphatically that "all the different sections of the party are not subjected to any central controlling power, but are organized on federative principles and acknowledge one ruling doctrine—that the libera-

tion of the people can and must be accomplished by the people itself."

Thus it becomes evident that, if Russia enjoyed at present anything approaching a normal condition of public life, the Socialist movement would enter into the peaceful channel of action open to every party in a free land, and would confine itself to the ordinary means of propaganda through the press, through public meetings, and other legally recognized methods of agitation. Even now it would be still in the power of the Emperor Alexander to avert all the horrors of a violent revolution by granting to the people freedom of speech, of person, and of conscience, by muzzling all the wild beasts he has let loose upon his country in the shape of police officials, by giving the Russian people at least the same moderate portion of liberty which he has awarded to the Bulgarians at the price of half a million of Russian lives. The Czar, however, remains deaf to all the teachings of common sense and of history—a passive tool in the hands of the miserable court *camarilla* which surrounds him; he, to whom fawning courtiers and sentimental idiots have already awarded the surname of "Liberator," sanctions the perpetration of such horrors and exercises such tyranny as even his father never practiced; he therefore reaps now the natural consequences of his mad obstinacy. When not only the public speech is stifled, but the innermost thoughts of the citizen are searched and pried into by a barbarous inquisition, then the time has come for the dagger and the pistol to speak. Violence becomes a necessity, a duty, and revenge becomes retribution. To use Milton's words, "it is but reason that he who trod down all law should not be vouchsafed the benefit of the law." It would be idle to discuss here the theory of political assassination: it is to the best of my belief an element of public life which stands out of the reach of any scientific theory. It is simply a fact which under certain conditions must make its appearance with the elementary force of a law of nature. As any man has the unalienable right of shooting a robber who attacks him, so has the citizen an equally unalienable right of destroying the infamous tools of a system which shamelessly tramples on humanity and justice. The question of right and wrong in this matter reaches beyond all ordinary standards of morality, and depends mainly on the manner in which the people itself looks upon the deeds of violence. In reference to Russia the acquittal of Vera Sassulitch and the unaccountable disappearance of nearly all the other emissaries of the Nihilists clearly demonstrate that public

sympathy is on the side of the culprits, not on that of their victims: thus their deeds are no longer murders, but acts of national justice.

They assume still more this character when we consider against what monsters of cruelty and depravity most of these attacks were directed. Prince Krapotkin, the ex-Governor of Kharkov, by whose order more than three hundred political prisoners were treated in the city prison in such a manner that every one of them perished within three months; Kotlarevsky, the public prosecutor of Kiev, by whose order several ladies were flogged by soldiers; Renfeld, the chief of the Archangel police, who with his own hand ill treated almost to death a young girl whom he suspected of Nihilism; and many more names of such tyrants as these could be mentioned without one case being found in which the victim did not largely deserve his fate.

By what measures the Russian Government attempts to quench the revolutionary movement is well known and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the "liberated" Bulgarians have hardly experienced under the Turkish rule such tyranny, such uncertainty of person and life, as their liberators, the Russians, now experience under the mild hand of the "good little father Alexander Nicholaevitch." Russian autocracy has once more assumed its true figure, it has thrown off that disguise of liberalism it had assumed since the reign of the present Emperor, and stands once more before the world in its true shape—an executioner swinging the knout and streaming with blood.

But of one thing the friends of liberty in all countries may rest assured: all the Draconic measures now adopted by the Russian Government are not only powerless to arrest the revolutionary movement, but act, on the contrary, as the best propaganda in favor of the revolutionists. They carry discontent into all classes of society, and by their violent and barbarous character do more toward showing the utter helplessness and decay of czardom than volumes of revolutionary literature could have accomplished. A government which is compelled for its own safety to place a gendarme or a spy at the back of every one of its subjects can no longer pretend to a national authority, and is indeed on the verge of ruin when it appears to be the strongest.

The Russian Nihilists have proved times and times over that the bitterest persecution is powerless against them. The enthusiasm, the spirit of self-sacrifice which pervades their ranks carries them far above the petty considerations of personal safety and wel-

fare. They are not to be deterred from their purpose by all the horrors of Siberia ; and the examples of Kovalsky and Dubrovin, recently executed with the cry of "Land and Liberty !" on their lips, show that they know how to die like heroes for the cause to which they have devoted their lives.

Supported as it is by the sympathy of all the intelligent classes in Russia as well as by a powerful organization which spreads over all the empire, the party of action is now the true master of Russia. To every act of violence and tyranny on the part of the Czar and his executioners the Nihilists will in future answer in the same manner as they do now ; their vengeance will become still more terrible and merciless. The time for compromise has passed long ago. It is not Nihilism which has inaugurated the reign of terror in Russia, but, once it has come, its followers are ready to accept it with all its horrors, and to return terror for terror, and death for death, until their immediate purpose is attained—the downfall of that czardom which has through centuries been a curse and a shame to the Russian people.

A RUSSIAN NIHILIST.

(Shovitz)

III.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF ENGLAND.

PART II.

IN a former paper a sketch has been given, necessarily imperfect, but still it is hoped sufficient for its purpose, of the organization and method of government and discipline of the chief public schools of ancient foundation in England. Among much variety it appeared that there were certain peculiar features common to all, and these will be now considered ; as it may be at once conceded that, if they can not be shown to be upon the whole the best for the end in view—the training of boys and young men to become good citizens—the system must be condemned ; or at any rate can not be safely taken as a model in societies which are at present without it.

The first of these characteristics, and the one which distinguishes the English public-school system from that of every other system of education in Europe, is, that a large number of boys, between the ages of eleven and nineteen, are left for the greater part of their time to form an independent society of their own, in which the influence that they exercise over each other is far greater than can possibly be exercised by the masters.

The experiment may have been a rash one in the first instance, but it is too late in England to argue about it. That boys of very different ages should be brought together in large numbers, and left to form their own society and manage themselves, without any direct interference or supervision by masters, has become a part of the national faith. The small minority of the upper and middle classes who are opposed to the system do not send their boys to public schools, but their number is insignificant, and as a rule their boys do not share their views. It is difficult in England to find a boy, however nervous or delicate, who does not desire to be sent to a public school, or a man who does not look back on his school-life

as a valuable part of his training, though it may have been neither happy, from a social, nor successful from a scholastic, point of view.

This practical unanimity has been the result of much conflict, and has only been reached through a thorough reform of the system as it existed at the beginning of the century. This reform was mainly the work of Dr. Arnold, himself educated at Winchester, and appointed head master of Rugby in 1828. It was said of him at the time, by those who looked with dismay on the probable effect of his appointment, that he was a man who rose every morning of his life in the belief that everything was an open question. And to this extent the remark was true, that he was a man of superb courage and high principle, and no system, tradition, custom, was sufficiently valuable or venerable in his eyes to protect abuse or injustice. When he found himself compelled to face the question, it was not without much hesitation that he came to the conclusion that the public-school system as he found it must be reformed and not overthrown. But that conclusion strengthened with his experience, and remains, therefore, all the more valuable as that of a man who had doubted at the outset of his career whether the system could possibly be made compatible with the highest principles of education, but through that doubt had reached the conviction that the inevitable time of trial in boys' lives might be more quickly and safely passed at English public schools than elsewhere. (Stanley's "Life," vol. i., pp. 110, *et seq.*)

How to infuse into a society of boys such elements as should raise its tone and character—how to cultivate a free and manly feeling in the individual boys, combining respect for lawful—with contempt for servile submission to unlawful authority—was the problem he set himself, and for attaining it he could find no means so effectual as "the peculiar relation of the highest form to the rest of the boys as it exists in our great public-schools." (Stanley, vol. i., p. 117.) His definition of fagging is perhaps the best extant, viz.: "the power given by the supreme authorities of the school to the sixth form, to be exercised by them over the lower boys, for the sake of securing a regular government among the boys themselves, and avoiding the evils of anarchy, in other words the lawless tyranny of physical strength." For the power thus intrusted to them, he held his sixth form strictly to account, standing by them, however, inflexibly in the exercise of it within the defined limits. There was no point on which he was more frequently or severely attacked, or upon which he was more inflexi-

ble. His determination that lawful authority should be respected, and no unlawful authority recognized, made it necessary at times to remove boys whose size and strength gave them an influence which was not being exercised for the general good. In reply to warnings and threatenings, he maintained that any man who meant to govern a great public school must learn that his first, second, and third duty was to get rid of unpromising subjects. These attacks were directed against points on which his ideas "were fixed before I came to Rugby and are even more fixed now; e. g., that the authority of the sixth form is essential to the good of the school, and is to be upheld through all obstacles from within and from without, and that sending away boys is a necessary and regular part of a good system, not as a punishment to one, but as a protection to others. Undoubtedly it would be a better system if there was no evil; but evil being unavoidable, we are not a jail to keep it in, but a place of education where we must cast it out to prevent its taint from spreading."

The limits which he set to the power of fagging at Rugby may now be taken as the general rule of the public schools, though the practice differs to some extent. Each sixth-form boy has several study-fags who dust his study in the morning, taking the duty in turn, week by week, and do any trifling errand or commission for him. There is a rotation by which two or more boys (according to the size of the house and number of the sixth form in it) are told off for tea and breakfast fags, whose most onerous duty is making toast, or running for more milk or butter. Out of the house, in the playing-fields, all fags are liable to an hour's fielding at cricket, or racquets, and in most schools to compulsory attendance at football matches, though this is largely relaxed in the case of weakly boys. In return for these services the fags are entitled to protection and advice, and the relation between the study, or personal, fags and their masters generally becomes a very pleasant and intimate one. The other duties of the sixth consist in keeping order in the houses and dormitories and playing-fields, and at callings over, putting down bullying, drinking, and all other unlawful practices, and representing the school in its corporate relations with the masters. The power of administering corporal punishment is still generally maintained, though its exercise has been put under stringent rules and is now rarely resorted to. Arnold, though no master was more sparing in its use than himself, or more jealous of its use by the sixth form, stoutly defended it from the popu-

lar charge of being a degrading form of punishment. "I know well," he wrote in the "*Journal of Education*," "of what feeling this is the expression; it originates in the proud notion of personal independence which is neither reasonable nor Christian, but essentially barbarian. It visited Europe with all the curses of the age of chivalry, and is threatening us now with those of Jacobinism. At an age when it is almost impossible to find a true manly sense of the degradation of guilt or faults, where is the wisdom of encouraging a fantastic sense of the degradation of personal correction? What can be more false or more adverse to the simplicity, sobriety, and humbleness of mind which are the best ornament of youth, and the best promise of a noble manhood?"

We will now add the testimony of a few of the ablest of public-school masters, limiting ourselves to those of liberal views, who would have been least likely to regard any system with favor merely because they found it established. Perhaps the most noteworthy is that of Harrow masters, because that school is one of the two most expensive in England, and it would seem likely that the expending classes would not desire to expose their sons to, and that the sons themselves would be likely to resent, any disciplinary system which might seriously interfere with the self-regardant and indulgent habits which surround such homes. The case of Eton (the other rich man's school) no doubt to some extent justifies such an expectation, as the monitorial and fagging system is there reduced to a minimum. But at Harrow it would seem to be regarded, by the ablest and best men who have to work the system, as a tonic of the most healthy kind. Dr. Butler, the present head master, was himself a very distinguished Harrovian, both in the schools and playing-fields. He, while not insensible to the evils incident to any system by which authority is delegated formally to boys over boys—to the possibility that individual boys may be rendered by it stiff and priggish, or imperious, or may be oppressed by a responsibility for which they are unfitted by character and disposition; or that power may be abused, and excessive chastisements inflicted from passion or defect of judgment—nevertheless gives it as his deliberate judgment, in his answers to the Commissioners, that these tendencies are effectually kept in check by public opinion and the tradition of the school, and that any case of cruelty would be sure to come to the knowledge of a master. And so he holds "that the value of such a system as an instrument of government, as an instrument for the education of character, and as a

safeguard against bullying, can hardly be estimated too highly," and declares "in the most emphatic terms his conviction that no great school could long live in a healthy state without it." On the subject of compulsory attendance at games, he has no doubt that they tend to give spirit and vigor to the school. "There is always a certain number of boys who on first coming to the school are, from reserve or diffidence, shy of taking part in the school games. There are other indolent boys who are disposed to lounge about during the afternoons of holidays doing nothing. I think that both these classes gain by being subject to a certain degree of compulsion. So far as I am aware, instances of boys acquiring a distaste for a game in consequence of having been originally compelled to take part in it are very rare." In these views the head master is entirely supported by all his staff who give evidence.

Dr. Temple, now Bishop of Exeter, and head master of Rugby at the time of the Public Schools Commission, gave evidence to the same effect, and his staff also, certainly among the most liberal and distinguished of any body of teachers of our time. The "temporary self-importance" of manner which the position occasionally developed in boys, Dr. Temple declared, soon disappeared, and perhaps even the slight Pharisaism which monitorial authority has been observed by others to engender, in characters not quite congenial with their position, also not unusually led to the real assumption of good habits.

We have no space to cite more witnesses, and will therefore simply add the conclusions at which the Commissioners so often referred to arrived in their report, merely premising that the chairman (the late Lord Clarendon) and the majority of the Commissioners were Eton men, and therefore more likely to be, if anything, biased against both the monitorial system and fagging. Of the former, after discussing its history and the objections to it, they say: "With respect to the principle itself, we do not hesitate to express our conviction that it has borne excellent fruits, and done most excellent service to education. It has largely assisted, we believe, to create and keep alive a high and sound tone of feeling and opinion, has promoted independence and manliness of character, and has rendered possible that combination of ample liberty with order and discipline which is among the best characteristics of our great English schools." Of fagging, after stating how careful their inquiry had been among the younger boys themselves, they say: "On the whole, we are satisfied that fagging, mitigated as it has been, and

that considerably, by the altered habits and manners of the present day, is not degrading to the juniors, is not enforced tyrannically, and makes no exorbitant demands on their time, and that it has no injurious effect upon the character of the seniors. The relation of master and fag is generally friendly, and to a certain though perhaps to a slight extent one of patronage and protection, and it sometimes give rise to lasting intimacies. It is an institution created by the boys themselves in the exercise of the liberty allowed to them, and is popular with them and is tacitly sanctioned by the masters, who have seen the tyranny of superior strength tempered and restrained in this way by rule and custom till it has practically ceased to be a tyranny at all. We recommend only that it should be watched ; that fags should be relieved from services which may more properly be performed by servants ; and that care should be taken that neither the time which a little boy has for lessons nor the time which he has for play should be encroached upon unduly."

We have dwelt upon this part of our subject at far greater length than we can afford to any other, as here undoubtedly is the crux of the question. If boys of English race are to be brought together in large numbers away from their own homes, it seems clear to us that they can not be managed by masters except under a system of military discipline (such as that in force at West Point). But, this being wholly inapplicable to ordinary schools for civilians, there is no alternative between anarchy and some such system as the English boy has invented for himself in this island.

We may now turn to the constitution of public schools, which has been reduced to practical uniformity since 1861, the date of the report of the Public School Commission. Each school is controlled by a governing body, composed mainly of persons connected with the neighborhood or with the school itself, such as landed proprietors and past head masters, with an infusion of members selected by the Crown, the visitor, or the governing body itself, for distinction in literature, science, or public life. In this governing body all the property of the foundation is vested, and by them it is administered. They exercise an absolute ultimate control over expenditure, and fix the salaries of the head and assistant masters and other officers, and regulate the fees for teaching and other charges and the number of boys who shall be admitted. They appoint and remove the head master, and settle the subjects which shall be taught in the school. Theoretically they have also control of the detail of the hours of study and methods of teaching ; but in practice these

are left entirely to the head master, assisted in most cases by a council of the under masters. Indeed, it is now an accepted principle that the governing body settles what shall be taught, but how it shall be taught is left entirely to the head master. The remedy of the governing body is to dismiss him, if necessary ; but while he is there he is absolute over the studies and the internal discipline of the school. As a rule, he selects, appoints, and promotes all his own assistants, who, in grave cases, have a right of appeal to the governing body—a right, however, seldom exercised, and looked upon with scant favor. The members of the governing body have no pecuniary interest whatever in the school, though in some instances, and especially in the case of schools of modern foundation, where the necessary funds have been wholly or in part contributed by a number of subscribers, they may hold—not as members of the governing body, but as life governors—certain rights of nomination which carry with them a reduction of fees.

We will now turn to three schools of modern foundation, which, whether we look at their numbers, their character, or their influence on education, form the most important section of the English group. It is not easy to make a selection, but for our purposes it will be enough to take three of the most successful, which, differing slightly in type, afford remarkable examples of how the traditional system can best be molded to the needs and uses of our time. These shall be the Colleges (as they are called) of Marlborough, Haileybury, and Clifton.

Of these, Marlborough College is the oldest, having been founded in 1843 on this wise : Marlborough is an old county town, on the Bath road, pleasantly situated on the river Kennet, and a sort of appanage of the Marquis of Aylesbury, whose domain, known as Savernake (an ancient forest), bounds the town on the west and south, and to whom the greater part of it belongs. On the opposite side lie the Wiltshire Downs ; so that, what with the tract of virgin forest and the open down country, the situation is well adapted for a big school. Before the Great Western Railway was built from London to Bath, about a hundred four-horse coaches ran daily along the road, almost all of which stopped to change horses, and dine or sup, at the Castle Inn, one of the largest and most famous hostelries of that day. It was called the Castle from a curious old artificial mound in the inn-grounds, which were extensive, stretching from the road down to the Kennet. As elsewhere in England, so at Marlborough, the local magnates opposed the railway, and drove it away from the

town to a longer route along the Thames Valley. The consequence was, that the traffic left the road, all the coaches were taken off, the Castle Inn was shut up, and the town nearly ruined. The Castle Inn consisted of a handsome block of red-and-black brick buildings of the date of Queen Anne, and attracted the notice of a number of gentlemen, chiefly clergy and lawyers, connected with the county, who were anxious to preserve a public-school education for the youth of the professional classes, which the rapidly increasing rate of charge and costliness of habits at the old public schools seemed likely to endanger. They accordingly negotiated for a lease of the Castle and grounds from Lord Aylesbury, and subscribed sufficient funds to start the experiment. For a few years the success was doubtful, but, upon the appointment of Dr. Cotton (afterward Bishop of Calcutta, and one of Arnold's best colleagues) to the mastership, the school rose rapidly to that place in the first rank which it has held ever since. The old inn remains the center of a group of buildings which have gradually risen round the large court which lies between it and the Bath road, and, under the supervision of Mr. Street, R. A., one of the first architects in England, are beginning to assume an appearance not unworthy of the reputation of the school. Every subscriber of £50 to the foundation fund becomes a life governor, with the right of one nomination for every £50 so subscribed, such nomination carrying a reduction of £5 in the school expenses. These are £80 per annum in the college, which covers everything except private tuition and personal expenses, while seventy boys, sons of clergymen, are admitted as foundation scholars at £50 per annum. At first all the boys resided in the college buildings, but, as the school grew, senior masters were allowed to open boarding-houses, at which an extra charge of £20 is made. Home boarders from the town pay £21 a year. There are now 565 boys in the school, of whom some 400 are in the college and the remainder at the boarding-houses. The school is modeled upon Rugby, and has fulfilled the intentions of its founders by continuing to give the highest education at a comparatively reasonable cost. A boy in the highest form may still be kept there for something under £100 a year.

Haileybury was originally a college of the East India Company for the Indian Civil Service, to which students went at the ages of eighteen or nineteen. Mountstuart, Elphinstone, Lord Lawrence, and a host of eminent Indian civilians, living and dead, were trained here, and their memory is preserved in the houses into which the

modern school is divided. The buildings inclose a square space of some six acres, and lie quite by themselves in a fine pastoral country three miles from the nearest large village, and four from the town of Hertford. When the nation took over the control of India, the property was for sale, and was purchased like that at Marlborough by an association of gentlemen desirous of doing for the home counties what the elder school had accomplished for the western. The experiment has been equally successful. Under Drs. Butler and Bradby, both Rugbeians, the school has been carefully modeled on the old lines. The school buildings are already too small, and are being enlarged so as to accommodate five hundred boys, the number hitherto having been limited to three hundred and fifty. The experiment will be an interesting one, as the whole five hundred will live in college, the system of boarding-houses kept by masters who are allowed to make higher charges for board not having been followed at Haileybury, except in the case of one small house containing a few delicate boys. It is this feature which distinguishes it from the older foundations, and from Marlborough, and it is one of the first importance upon which we shall have something to say presently. The charges at Haileybury are slightly lower than those at Marlborough, and may be taken as a standard of the fair cost of such institutions, as it has been framed with the most careful regard to economy and efficiency. They are, for boys not nominated, seventy guineas a year if sons of laymen, sixty guineas if sons of clergymen. The nomination of a donor reduces this payment by ten guineas. The extras are rigidly checked, so that the total yearly cost of a boy at Haileybury is under £90.

The third on our list, Clifton College, is a proprietary school, founded by a company, the capital being held in shares, the ownership of which confers the right of nomination. There are also a limited number of nominations at the disposal of the Council, which to meet the requirements of the public may be rented at the rate of four to ten pounds a year. The school buildings are close to the city of Bristol, and consequently there are a large number of day scholars among the pupils, but the majority of the boys (nearly six hundred in all) board at the head master's house, or at boarding-houses licensed by him. The system is modeled to a great extent on that of Rugby, the compulsory attendance at games and fagging being even more strictly maintained than in the older school. Although still holding to the principle that the study of the classical languages and literature should be retained as the best vehicles for

the culture of grammar and the humanities, Clifton College has gone further than any other of the public schools in acknowledging and endeavoring to meet the demands of the new time in other directions. The college for teaching purposes is divided into a classical side, a modern side, and a military and engineering side. The classical side is worked with special view to boys preparing for the universities ; the modern, with a view to boys preparing to enter civil life at once on leaving school, in commerce or the professions ; and the military and engineering side, with a view to boys intended for the scientific branches of the army or the Indian service, and who would proceed, on leaving Clifton, to the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, or the Indian Engineering School at Cooper's Hill, the instruction being of course equally well adapted to boys intending to enter the lines or to become civil engineers. The changes, in short, which have been looked upon with more or less disfavor, and accepted with more or less reluctance by many of the leading public schools, have been wisely and heartily accepted by the Clifton authorities. At all the schools modern languages and physical science have indeed become a part of the curriculum ; but with rare exceptions they languish, and are looked upon with something of disfavor by the boys even where the masters are loyally bent on giving them a fair chance. It is the rare distinction of Clifton to have passed quite ahead of her sister schools in asserting for these studies the place which they must undoubtedly hold in the near future. Clifton College has attached to it a junior school, under the immediate superintendence of the head master, but with separate schoolrooms, boarding houses, and play-grounds, an arrangement which, though existing to some extent at Haileybury and elsewhere, may be said to be on trial here. The school fees are £25, and the boarding fees for boys over thirteen £72, under that age £60 ; and, as the extra fees for the use of the laboratories and workshops are somewhat heavy (ten guineas in laboratory and £3.15 in the workshops), the average total cost for a boy may be taken as higher than that at Haileybury, and possibly slightly in advance of Marlborough also.

We have taken these three foundations as examples of the best class of schools which the great educational movement of our day has produced in England. The depth and strength of that movement may be illustrated by the following list—by no means a complete one—of schools which have sprung into existence, or have been revived, in the last forty years. It will be seen, by a glance at the

dates given below, that the English educational revival has been almost simultaneous with the political. The reform which put an end to the political ascendancy of the upper ten thousand had practically commenced in 1830, the year in which the first of these schools was founded. The last of them was opened in 1865, thirty-five years later, and only three before the passing of the second Reform Bill, which in turn has put an end to the ascendancy of the middle classes and admitted the great body of the people to a large, if not a preponderating, share of political power. After the second Reform Bill, one of the first and most important of the acts of the reformed Parliament has been to make education practically universal and compulsory. There is this difference, no doubt, between the wave of 1830 and that of 1870, that whereas the schools which stand out as one of the most striking monuments of middle-class supremacy were either the result of voluntary effort or of the reform and adaptation of ancient endowments, the board-schools and national schools of 1870 are in great measure supported by local rates or aid from the state. But this is merely the redressing of an old injustice. The vast educational endowments of Tudor and Stuart times were intended for the nation. They have been diverted from their original destination and monopolized by the upper and middle classes, and it is only fair that the balance should be set right.

The following are the principal schools of modern foundation, which are governed and managed as public schools :

Founded.		Founded.	
Marlborough.....	1843	Brighton.....	1847
Haileybury.....	1862	Radley.....	1847
Clifton.....	1860	St. Nicholas {	Lansing..... 1848
King's College, London.....	1830		Hurstpierpont.... 1849
University College, London.....	1832		Shoreham..... 1858
City of London.....	1837	Bradfield.....	1850
Liverpool College.....	1840	Wellington College.....	1853
Cheltenham.....	1841	Malvern.....	1865
Rossall.....	1844		

There are other schools of which the Somersetshire College, at Bath, founded in 1858, may be taken as a fair specimen, whose special aim is to provide for gentlemen's sons "a course of education similar to that of our best public schools, with more attention to individual boys than their larger numbers render possible," but these are for the most part proprietary, and no one of them has attained such a position in the educational world as would entitle it to be classed with those of the above list.

Old endowed grammar schools, which have been reorganized, and are governed and managed as public schools :

	Founded.		Founded.
Derby.....	1160	Oundle.....	1556
Lancaster.....	1485	Repton.....	1556
Longborough.....	1495	Brentwood.....	1557
Manchester	1515	York	1557
King's Lynn.....	1521	Guernsey.....	1563
Grantham.....	1528	Felsted.....	1564
Durham.....	1541	Highgate.....	1565
Canterbury.....	1542	Ipswich.....	1565
Rochester.....	1542	Richmond (Yorkshire).....	1567
Norwich	1547	Hereford.....	1583
Burton.....	1549	Lincoln.....	1583
Bury St. Edmund's.....	1550	Colchester.....	1584
Sherborne.....	1550	Oakham.....	1584
Louth.....	1551	Uppingham.....	1584
Bedford.....	1552	Preston.....	1585
Birmingham.....	1552	Dulwich.....	1619
Christ's Hospital.....	1552	Exeter.....	1637
Bromsgrove.....	1553	Cowbridge.....	1685
Tunbridge.....	1553		

The above lists, though by no means complete, may be taken on the whole as a fair presentation of the effort which has been made in England to bring the national system of education within the reach of the bulk of the professional and upper middle classes. A further list might be given of county schools specially intended for the sons of farmers and small tradesmen, at which, at a cost ranging from £25 to £50 yearly, a public-school education is brought within the reach of these classes also, who are at last showing signs that they appreciate and desire to avail themselves of it. England may, therefore, be taken as committed to the principle in education, that in all ranks above the lowest it is desirable to separate boys from their homes at an early age, to bring them together in large numbers, and to allow them, within certain limits, to manage their own society, and govern themselves.

It may be at once admitted that the principle by no means carries conviction on the face of it, and probably many of its stanch supporters would acknowledge that, were it possible to carry on the education of boys until they were ready to go out into the world without severing home ties, or dispensing with the humanizing and refining influence of mothers and sisters in daily life, a better result might possibly be obtained. But is it possible in any highly or-

ganized community? It is only in great centers of population that schools offering any high standard of culture can be supported, and by far the greater proportion of those who desire the highest culture for their children do not live within sufficiently easy reach of them; and, such culture being a matter of the first necessity, will be had somehow, and can only be had by a system of home education, or by some form of boarding-school. Private tuition is out of the question, as the supply of competent teachers could not be found in any community, so that there is no alternative but that of boarding-schools; and then the question remains, upon what lines are they to be laid down, and incidentally whether the system of the English public schools is not, on the whole, the best that has as yet been discovered?

It is no doubt one of vital importance in the United States, where the time has fully come that it must be met. It is with deep regret that any person who appreciates free institutions must see the old American public-school system breaking down on so many points. Nothing could be more healthy, or ought to be abandoned more reluctantly, than the old theory upon which these schools were based, that the sons of all citizens sitting side by side on the same benches, perfectly irrespective of rank and wealth, should have the best teaching which could be provided for them by the state. But, whether we like it or not, we can not shut our eyes to the fact that it is breaking down, and that something by way of supplement is needed for at least a large proportion of the children of the gentry in the new even more than in the older States of the Union. The nation may be—indeed, has proved itself to be—capable of very great achievements; but there is one thing which it can not do, and that is to beat nature. America as well as England must have a gentry, an aristocracy, call it by what name you please. This is a step which must be taken in the march of society; for, as the wisest of living Americans has said, and a man whose sound democratic principles are beyond all question, “a race yields a nobility in some form, however we name the lords, as surely as it yields women” (Emerson’s prose works, vol. ii., p. 248, edition of 1870). And this being once admitted, it becomes the duty of all good citizens to consider how the class can be trained so that they may be as helpful as possible to the nation.

This work has to be done, and a profoundly interesting and important one it is; indeed, it is not easy to imagine a worthier field for the exercise of the hearts and brains of men and women than

this of shaping and perfecting the machinery under which the select youth of a nation which owns a continent are to be trained to use worthily their great heritage. And if, as Mr. Emerson and his many followers prophecy, "the center of the British race is to be in America and not in England" (a proposition which, by the way, he adds, no Englishman of any condition can easily entertain, vol. ii., p. 293), the problem is scarcely less interesting for England than for America. For, if the ordinary signs of the times are to be trusted, the exodus of young Englishmen of the middle and upper middle classes, which has already set in, is likely to increase in volume beyond all former precedent in the next few years; and there can be no question that, among the influences which will determine its permanent direction, the possibility in the new home of obtaining for their boys the same kind of education which they are leaving behind them in the old, will not be among the least powerful.

A word, therefore, in conclusion, as to how the English system may be best adapted to new conditions and grafted on a new stock, may not be out of place here. And first as to ways and means. The past history of the United States makes it probable that these will be forthcoming from individuals, and that the supply of Peter Coopers and Ezra Cornells will prove as abundant in the America of the nineteenth century as that of John Colets, Laurence Sheriffs, and John Lyons in the England of the Elizabethan age. In the absence of single founders, however, funds must be provided by subscription, and it will be only necessary to make it clear that these must not be contributed as an investment yielding pecuniary returns. The interests of a proprietary expecting dividends can not be reconciled with those of a community desiring high culture. Some right of nomination, as in the case of the modern English schools of Marlborough and Haileybury, might be given to subscribers of a certain fixed sum, but beyond this there should be no possibility of profit or advantage to subscribers unless it be that they might, as in England, constitute the incorporated body of life governors, from whom the governing council of the schools would from time to time be chosen.

The question of site and buildings comes next in order. For many reasons the site should not be in the immediate neighborhood of any large town. Ample elbow-room for playing-fields should of course be secured, and considerable care taken in leveling and otherwise adapting them to their end. A farm adjoining the playing-fields would be of value in many ways. In connection with the

buildings, the question arises whether the boys should be boarded all together, or distributed in detached houses, and there is much to be said on both sides. On the whole, however, the evidence leans decidedly in favor of the former alternative. The system of allowing under-masters to open boarding-houses in connection with a great school, though almost universal in England, has undoubtedly tended to raise the cost of education, and to develop a particularist if not a caste feeling among the boys, who, like their elders, are only too apt to dwell on that which distinguishes them from their fellows instead of that which unites them. Moreover, where they are divided into a number of small communities the prevailing tone of the school, almost certain to be higher and healthier than that of any section, has less play and power. The main stream may flow on healthy and clear, while the back water in side pools is stagnating. All that is of value in the separate house system may be secured by the division of the school buildings themselves into houses, each supervised by its own master, and all sharing the common life, eating the same food, playing the same games, paying the same fees, and only distinguished by the comparative excellence of their work in the school-room and playing-fields.

As to government, the English principle of the division of responsibility between the governing body and the head master and staff can scarcely be improved upon. The former should have entire control over all questions of finance, and of the subjects of study, while the question of how and by whom they shall be taught should be left to the head master. The power of appointing his subordinates, and of limiting his discretion in details, though jealously maintained in some few cases in England, has been generally discredited. No one but a strong and wise man is fit to govern a great school, and, when he has been found, the only safe plan is to let him alone. How far the monitorial system, the government of boys by boys, and its corollary, fagging, should be established, or allowed, may be safely left to each school to determine for itself. We have already given at some length the best evidence on the subject from English sources, and concur unhesitatingly in the conclusion that in some modified form, not widely differing from that of the best English public schools, it will be found of the highest value, if not absolutely necessary.

One other question may be referred to, viz., that of numbers. It was Arnold's opinion that the extreme limit should be three hundred and fifty. Within that limit he held that a head master

might do his duty thoroughly by individual boys, but that this would be impossible in the case of larger numbers. Most of the leading English schools are now largely in excess of this figure, but those who have given most thought and attention to the question would be slow to affirm that he was not right. No doubt it will always be difficult to maintain such a limit in the case of a thoroughly good school, but the experiment will be found well worth a trial.

"Manners makyth man" was the motto which William of Wykeham, the father of English public schools, wrote up over the gates of his colleges at Oxford and Winchester, where it has remained ever since. "Schools make manners" might well be written over the gates of our modern foundations. The first sentence in Emerson's chapter on manners, in his "English Traits," runs, "I find the Englishman to be him of all men who stands firmest in his shoes." If there be truth in that observation, and value in the characteristic it denotes, the credit must in great measure be carried to the account of England's public schools; and, now that the relations between the two countries seem likely to become more and more intimate and cordial, there is no Englishman who will not rejoice to see foundations on the old model, but stripped of much of the lumber which has accumulated round them in the old country, scattered broadcast over the States from Maine to Texas.

THOMAS HUGHES.

IV.

THE TRUE STORY OF THE WALLOWA CAMPAIGN.

ON reading in the "North American Review" for April the article entitled "An Indian's View of Indian Affairs," I was so pleased with Joseph's statement—necessarily *ex parte* though it was, and naturally inspired by resentment toward me as a supposed enemy—that at first I had no purpose of making a rejoinder. But when I saw in the "Army and Navy Journal" long passages quoted from Joseph's tale, which appeared to reflect unfavorably upon my official conduct, to lay upon me the blame of the atrocious murders committed by the Indians, and to convict me of glaring faults where I had deemed myself worthy only of commendation, I addressed to the editor of that journal a communication (which has been published) correcting misstatements, and briefly setting forth the facts of the case.

Now I find Eastern newspapers insisting that, if Joseph's statements are borne out by the facts of history, General Howard should be removed from his department.

May I say that I am profoundly concerned about this subject of the management of Indian affairs ; and, if I am an obstacle in the way of order, justice, obedience to law, and the advancement of civilization among the Indians, I deserve to be deprived of command ? But is it not a strange idea that the army commander who is subject to the requisition of the Indian Department, of which he forms no part ; who on that requisition is ordered to use the force under his command to stop citizens and Indians in armed array against each other from fighting ; to put bands of roaming and nomadic Indians on reservations set apart for them ; and, finally, to restore the peace where fiendish murders have already begun—is it not a strange idea that he should be held accountable for all the

mischiefs that has been brewing ; for the depredations of the nomads, for the quarrels between the citizens and Indians ; for the dispositions of the Indian Department, and for the horrid murders that inaugurate the war ? This is a very unfair distribution of power and accountability. If I had had the power and the management entirely in my hands, I believe I could have healed that old sore, and established peace and amity with Joseph's Indians. It could only have been done, first, by a retrocession of Wallowa (already belonging to Oregon) to the United States, and then setting that country apart for ever for the Indians without the retention of any Government authority whatever ; and, second, by the removal therefrom of every white settler, making to each a proper remuneration for his land and improvements. But this power I did not have, and the Indian management did not belong to my department.

There were two ways in which I was brought into this matter as department commander : first, by the yearly appeal of the scattered white people for protection against the depredations, misconduct, and threats of the Indians ; these appeals, coming from an alarmed population and taking official form, had to be met. Second, the requisition of the Indian Department through its several channels, resulting in positive military orders.

Now permit me to present a few simple facts which will show whether, in manner or matter, I have failed to meet the requirements of the situation. These facts I wrote and published when the whole subject was fresh in memory, and will endeavor before long to place again at the disposal of the public, in book form, with a more complete account of this notable Indian war.

Governor Stevens and Joel Palmer, in 1855, made a treaty with the Nez Percés, including all the different bands. Joseph's band were parties to the treaty, and Joseph's father signed it. This ceded and relinquished to the United States all land that the Nez Percés claimed outside of the limits then fixed and agreed upon.

This treaty, be it remembered, included Wallowa and Imnaha Valleys. In 1863 the United States, by their commissioners, made another treaty with the Nez Percés—fifty-one chiefs participating. This treaty reduced the limits so as to constitute the reservation in Lapwai, as it now is, and ceded all the land outside to the United States. Wallowa and Imnaha were left out.

Joseph's band, and a few other bands, now known as the Salmon River or White Bird's band, lived east of the reservation, and the

Palouse or Hush-hush-cute's band, west of the same. These, with a few more, on and off the reserve, constitute what are called "non-treaties." The vast majority who made the treaty have kept good faith, and are called "treaty Indians." James Lawyer, the present head chief, is an excellent man; dresses as a white man, and has a good house and farm. Now, notice the difference: Joseph says, "Governor Stevens urged my father to sign the treaty (1855), but he refused"; and then he goes on to give us a graphic account of this refusal and its consequences. He "cautioned his people to take no presents." He "was invited to many councils, and they tried hard to make him sign the treaty, but he was firm as the rock and would not sign away his home," etc. Now, all this is very fine; yet his father did sign the treaty. His name is the third on the list, and there are eleven white witnesses, besides the makers of the instrument.

Governor Grover says in his message, "The reservation named became the common property of the whole tribe." Joseph and his band acknowledged these conclusions also, by accepting the benefit of the treaty of 1855.

Such is the record of history, in precise contradiction to Young Joseph's traditional statement. But he states truly the *claim* (based on the treaty of 1863) of the United States to Wallowa, and Joseph's constant *demurrer* thereto. The underlying cause of all the troubles, finally resulting in the war, is Joseph's assumption that, as sub-chief, he is not bound by this last treaty, inasmuch as he has ever refused to sign it. This disputed territory was finally surveyed, and is within the limits of Oregon. Stockmen began to pasture portions of it, and enterprising frontiersmen settled in and near one of the valleys. They took up land and gained their titles to homesteads in the usual way. Again and again the Government tried to convince the Indians that they all had common right inside of the Lapwai Reserve, but that "the Indian title was extinguished" for those Oregon lands.

Nothing but restlessness and dissatisfaction resulted for a while—no serious outbreak, though the quarrels with settlers, especially in the Salmon River country, were perpetual, several times resulting in loss of life.

Again, the account of Joseph concerning his father's death, and his home, is beautiful and quite affecting. I dislike to mar the effect of it, yet it is a known fact that when the United States agents sought to make some definite arrangement, proposing to give this

land to the tribe as a *home*, the offer was refused. The Governor of Oregon writes in 1873 : "This small band wish the possession of this large section of Oregon simply to gratify a wild, roaming disposition, and *not for a home*." And even up to the last peace council the objection was not that "you take from us our *home*" (for they intended to live part of the year with the remainder of the tribe), but "you take away our liberty ; fix bounds to our habitation, and give law to us. The land is ours, and not yours."

Joseph's pictures of frontier troubles between whites and Indians are graphic and true. The killing of a member of his tribe by a white man he refers to. This came near causing an outbreak. The troops intervened between the settlers and the Indians and the latter quieted down. But the slow process of the civil law, and the prejudice against Indians in all frontier courts, almost invariably prevent the punishment of crimes against Indians. I did what I could to further the ends of justice, in bringing the guilty to trial ; but my efforts in this case resulted in nothing. The Indian has a complaint against us (army and agents) because we can and do punish *him*, but do not and can not punish *white men* who steal the Indian's property and take life.

"But no war was made on my people until General Howard came to our country two years ago," etc. This has all the summary brevity of Shakespeare's history, but is not more accurate. The facts are, that I had been in command of the department since the fall of 1874, and had had many dealings with Joseph and his people.

The "non-treaties" became suspiciously restless during the Modoc troubles. This was quieted by my worthy predecessor, by sending a considerable force among them just after the Modoc war.

General Davis, speaking of a large gathering of Indians that boded difficulty at the Wee-ipe, says : "The troops did not interfere with the council (twelve hundred Indians), but their presence there for about ten days had the effect to disperse it. General dissatisfaction, however, seemed to prevail among the 'non-treaty Nez Percés.' This was particularly the case with Joseph's band, the claimants of Wallowa Valley."

Again, the *same year* (1874), these Indians were so restless and threatening that Major John Green, First Cavalry, was sent to Wallowa Valley with two companies, and remained till the Indians left for their winter quarters.

The next year (1875) I say in my report : "The troubles at Lap-

wai and Wallowa Valley have not thus far resulted in bloodshed ; but it has been prevented by great carefulness and provision on the part of Government agents."

The year following (1876) my report goes into the trouble quite at length, mentioning the grave fact that "an Indian was killed by a white man in a dispute concerning some stock," and winds up with these words : "And renew my recommendation of a Commission to hear and settle the whole matter, before war is even thought of." The Commission was at last ordered, but not till after blood had been shed—not till after the Indians had stood up in battle array against armed citizens in Wallowa ; and a conflict was averted only by the intervention of regular troops. The Commission came, held its memorable sessions at Lapwai in November of 1876, and labored hard and long to get the consent of the disaffected "non-treaty Indians" to some measures of adjustment.

Here are a few of the facts developed by this Commission: "The Dreamers, among other pernicious doctrines, teach that the earth being created by God complete, should not be disturbed by man; and that any cultivation of the soil or other improvements to interfere with its natural productions; any voluntary submission to the control of the Government; any improvement in the way of schools, churches, etc., are crimes from which they shrink. This fanaticism is kept alive by the superstition of these Dreamers, who industriously teach that if they continue steadfast in their present belief a leader will be raised up (in the East) who will restore all the dead Indians to life, who will unite with them in expelling the whites from their country, when they will again enter upon and repossess the lands of their ancestors.

"Influenced by such belief, Joseph and his band firmly declined to enter into any negotiations, or make any arrangements that looked to a final settlement of the question pending between him and the Government ; . . . yet, in view of the fact that these Indians do not claim simply this [rights of occupancy], but set up an absolute title to the lands, an absolute and independent sovereignty, and refuse even to be limited in their claim and control, necessity, humanity, and good sense constrain the Government to set metes and bounds and give regulations to these non-treaty Indians. . . . And if the principle usually applied by the Government, of holding that the Indians with whom they have treaties are bound by majorities, is here applied, Joseph should be required to live within the limits of the present reservation."

The Commission, though firm and strong in the expression of its opinion, was very patient with and kind to the Indians. I was a member of this Commission, and earnestly desired peace. I took Joseph's brother by himself and showed him how much it would be for the Indians' advantage to come to some settlement, and spent a long time giving him and his brother, in the kindest manner, the benefit of my counsel. They appeared at one time almost on the point of yielding, but bad advice intervened to renew the Dreamer sophistry. The Commission promised that they should annually visit Wallowa, and so recommended. But here are a few closing words: "If these Indians overrun land belonging to the whites and commit depredations on their property, disturb the peace by threats or otherwise, or commit any other overt acts of hostility, we recommend the employment of sufficient force to bring them into subjection, and to place them upon the Nez Percé reservation. The Indian agent at Lapwai should be fully instructed to carry into execution these suggestions, relying at all times upon the department commander for aid when necessary."

Now, there was nothing like precipitancy in all this; so that the wonderfully abrupt advent of General Howard, with a fear of the laughter of white men in his heart, and a threat of violence on his tongue, is all a fiction.

Doubtless Joseph was told what the Commission had recommended, "that Wallowa should be held by military occupation," to *prevent* and not to make war, and that I should have the work to do.

This Commission's report was approved at Washington. The Indian Agent, Mr. Monteith, did all that lay in his power to carry out the recommendations at first without military aid.

The Indians called me to an interview first at Walla Walla, afterward at Lapwai. At Walla Walla the talk with Joseph's brother, Ollicut, was exceedingly pleasant. I write of it, "The old Medicine-man looks happy, and Ollicut believes we shall have no trouble. . . ."

"I made the appointment for Lapwai in twelve days, but I went to Lewiston immediately to meet the officers of Fort Lapwai, and Indian Agent Monteith, to read to them carefully the full instructions from the Honorable Secretary of War, General Sherman, and the commanding general of the military division, in relation especially to the agency the military was to have in placing the Indians upon the reservations."

I made a visit to Wallula, and then returned by stage to meet the non-treaties at Lapwai the 3d of May (1877). This is the council to which Joseph invited me, and not I him, as he alleges.

Before giving points in this interview in answer to Joseph's statements, I must state that Mr. Monteith, Indian Agent, had been instructed by his chief at Washington to bring the "non-treaty Nez Percés" upon their reservation. He had made his official demand upon me. I had been positively ordered to give the essential aid. There was now nothing left to parley about, yet, to please the Indians, I had promised to meet them again, and I did.

These picturesque people came in sight, after keeping us waiting long enough for effect. They drew near to the hollow square of the post and in sight of us, the small company to be interviewed. They struck up their song. They were not armed, except with a few tomahawk-pipes "that could be smoked with the peaceful tobacco or penetrate the skull-bone of an enemy, at the will of the holder"; yet somehow this wild song produces a strange effect. Our ladies, thinking it a war-song, ask with some show of trepidation, "Do you think Joseph means to fight?" The Indians sweep around outside the fence and make the entire circuit, still keeping up the song as they ride, the buildings breaking the refrain into irregular bubblings of sound till the ceremony was completed.

After all had finally gathered at the tent, and Father Cataldo had opened by a prayer in the Nez Percé language, I turned to Joseph and said through Mr. Whitman (the interpreter): "I heard from your brother, Ollicut, twelve days ago at Walla Walla, that you wished to see me. I am now here to listen to what you have to say."

Joseph then told me of other Indians coming, and said, "You must not be in a hurry to go till all get in, to have a talk."

I replied: "Mr. Monteith, the Indian Agent, and I have our instructions from Washington. They send us to your people. If you decide at once to comply with the wishes of the Government, you can have the first pick of vacant land. We will wait for White Bird if you desire it. Instructions to him are the same as to you. He can take his turn." And an old Dreamer intimating that they wished a long talk, the answer is: "Mr. Monteith and I wish to hear what you have to say, whatever time it may take; but you may as well know at the outset that, in any event, the Indians must obey the orders of the Government of the United States."

Mr. Monteith then read his instructions from the Indian Bureau

to the Indians, and had them carefully interpreted to them, and also explained how he had already informed them of the orders to come on the reservation through Reuben (then head-chief at Lapwai), and that they had scorned his message. "Now you *must* come, and there is no getting out of it. Your Indians, and White Bird's, can pick up your horses and cattle and come on the reservation. . . . General Howard will stay till matters are settled."

Ollicut replied at length, objecting to considering matters settled.

I rejoined: "Joseph, the agent Mr. Monteith, and myself are under the same Government. What it commands us to do, that we must do. The Indians are to come on the reservation first; *then* they may have privileges, as the agent has shown, to hunt and to fish in the Imnaha Valley. If the Indians hesitate to come to the reservation, the Government directs that soldiers be used to bring them hither. Joseph and Ollicut know that we are friends to them, and that if they comply there will be no trouble."

Everybody at this council was in good humor except two old Dreamers who tried to make a disturbance. I told them pointedly to give good advice. My manner I will not judge of. It is my usual manner, proceeding from the kindest of feelings, and from an endeavor to behave as a gentleman to the weakest or most ignorant human being. The Indians, excepting the two I have named, made no angry remarks. We shook hands and separated, to wait as Joseph had requested.

Joseph has turned this right about in the article published in the "Review," where it is stated that he said, "I am ready to talk to-day," etc. (page 421), and that General Howard would not. His account runs two days' interviews into one. Joseph never made that interesting speech ending with "I do not believe that the Great Spirit Chief gave one kind of men the right to tell another kind of men what they must do." And I did never reply, "You want to dictate to me, do you?" We always treated each other with the most marked courtesy.

On May 4th Joseph made a brief speech: "This is White Bird; I spoke to you of him; this is the first time he has seen you and you him. I want him and his Indians to understand what has been said to us."

White Bird was a demure-looking Indian, about five feet eight inches in height. His face assumed the condition of impassibility

while in council ; he kept his ceremonial hat on, and placed a large eagle's wing in front of his eyes and nose.

The sub-chief and Dreamer, Too-hool-hool-suit, was broad-shouldered, deep-chested, thick-necked, five feet ten in height, had a deep, guttural voice, and betrayed in every word a strong and settled hatred of all Caucasians. This man the Indians now put forward to speak for them—not that they had already decided to endorse his sentiments, but because he always counseled war : they evidently desired to see what effect his public utterance would produce upon us.

Now, instead of the mild and respectful speech attributed to this surly Indian by Joseph, a speech that was followed by my causeless loss of temper, Mr. Monteith and I heard him patiently, for quite a length of time, asserting his independence and uttering rebellious speeches against the Washington authority. We replied firmly and kindly as before, explaining everything and showing the imperative nature of our instructions.

The White-Bird Indians were very tired that day, and Joseph asked again for delay. The record reads : “ Let the Indians take time ; let them wait till Monday morning, and meanwhile talk among themselves. So, with pleasant faces and cordial hand-shaking, the second interview broke up.”

How different this is from Joseph's account of the affair, in which he condenses the whole narrative into the arrest of Too-hool-hool-suit upon his first appearance, and without provocation.

Now (Monday, May 7th) we came together again. The “ non-treaties ” had received large accessions. The display (previous to seating themselves) gave them great boldness. Our garrison was but a handful, and the manner of the Indians was now defiant. Mr. Monteith began in the kindest manner to show the Indians that their religion would not be interfered with, nor their ceremonies, unless the peace was disturbed by excessive drumming.

Then Too-hool-hool-suit began in the most offensive style. We listened to the oft-repeated Dreamer nonsense with no impatience, till finally he accused us of speaking untruthfully about the chieftainship of the earth.

I thought the time had come to check his tirade. I was not in the least angry, if I recall my mood with accuracy, did not lose my temper, but I did assume a severity of tone sufficient to show that I understood the drift of the council, and that we were not to be intimidated. My first words were : “ I do not want to interfere

with your religion, but you must talk about practicable things. Twenty times over I hear that the earth is your mother, and about the chieftainship of the earth ; I want to hear it no more, but to come to business at once."

He then talked against the treaty Indians, and said they had no law, or their law was born of to-day ; then against us white people for attempting to divide the earth, and defiantly asking, "What do you mean?"

Mr. Monteith explained : "The law is, you must come to the reservation. The law is made in Washington ; we don't make it." Then, again, the Dreamer goes over the same ground and becomes fiercer and fiercer. The crowd of Indians are becoming excited, and I saw that I must act, and that very promptly. The record is : "The rough old fellow, in his most provoking tone, says something in a short sentence, looking fiercely at me. The interpreter quickly says : 'He demands what person pretends to divide the land and put me on it?' In the most decided voice I said : 'I am the man ; I stand here for the President, and there is no spirit, good or bad, that will hinder me. My orders are plain and will be executed. I hoped that the Indians had good sense enough to make me their friend and not their enemy.'"

From various unmistakable signs (I am no novice with Indians) I saw that immediate trouble was at hand. Joseph, White Bird, and Looking-Glass endorsed and encouraged this malcontent. I must somehow put a wedge between them ; so I turned to this Dreamer and said, "Then you do not propose to comply with the orders of the Government?"

After considerable more growling and impudence of manner, he answered with additional fierceness, "The Indians may do what they like, but I am not going on the reservation." After telling the Indians that this bad advice would be their ruin, I asked the chiefs to go with me to look at their land. "The old man shall not go. I will leave him with Colonel Perry." He says, "Do you want to scare me with reference to my body?" I said, "I will leave your body with Colonel Perry." I then arose and led him out of the council, and gave him into the charge of Colonel Perry.

The whole tone of the Indians now changed, and they readily agreed to go with me to look at their new homes. They may have thought of killing me then and there ; but a bold, quick, unexpected action will often save you in extreme peril. Joseph's manner was never defiant. He rode with me to look at what Mr.

Monteith had intended for him. A few Indians and some white sojourners would have to remove to other lands, to put Joseph's people together. We lunched together at Mr. Colwell's, and then returned to the fort. White Bird and Looking-Glass appeared to be happy and contented. They pleaded for the release of Too-hool-hool-suit; but I told them to wait till I had shown them their land which Mr. Monteith would designate. The next day we rode to Kamiah (sixty-five miles), and the next went to the lands intended. White Bird picked his near Looking-Glass's farms, and then we returned to Kamiah, and the next day following to Lapwai.

Too-hool-hool-suit was released on the pledge of Looking-Glass and White Bird, and on his own earnest promise to behave better and give good advice.

Now we have our final interview, May 14th. Joseph concluded to go to near Kamiah with the rest. The promises were put in writing. No objection was made to thirty days, except by Hush-hush-cute. I gave him thirty-five days, because he had not had so early notice of removal.

I withheld the protection papers from Hush-hush-cute because of something that he said, which indicated that he was attempting to conceal his intentions. So I left his papers with the agent. There was general joy among treaty Indians, non-treaty Indians, and whites, at the peaceful outcome of the councils, and I returned to Portland.

This idea that General Howard caused the war is an afterthought.

That story that Joseph asked me for more time is not true. That I sent orders to the soldiers to drive them out on their return to Wallowa is of course untrue; that would have disconcerted everything: on the contrary, the officers and soldiers were simply to occupy Wallowa in the interest of peace, and not use constraint unless forced to do so.

The statements with reference to our losses and those of the Indians are all wrong, and Joseph does not tell how his own Indians, White Bird and his followers, who treacherously escaped, after the terms of the surrender had been agreed upon between us at General Miles's battle-field, being permitted by himself, did in fact utterly break and make void the said terms of surrender.

These Indians were to return to Idaho, not because of any promise, but because of General McDowell's orders requiring all the Nez Percé prisoners to be kept in my department. This order was changed by General Sherman, or at Washington.

Should the Indians return to the scene of their horrid outrages, they could have no peace. There is not an Indian there now. The Bitter Root country puts them at the throat of our Eastern connections, and makes another war very probable.

Let them settle down, and keep quiet, in the Indian Territory, as the Modocs have done, and they will thrive as they do.

O. O. HOWARD.

V.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SPIRITISM.

MODERN spiritism is an attempt to apply the inductive method to religion ; to make faith scientific ; to confirm the longings of the heart by the evidence of the senses. In thus submitting spiritism to the inductive method its friends forgot that to prove a religion would be to kill it—to transfer it from the emotions, where it belongs, to the intellect, where it can find no home. A religion proved, dies as a religion, and becomes a scientific fact, and would take its place side by side with astronomy and chemistry, with physics and geology, in the organized knowledge of men. Spiritists would, therefore, have been wiser if they had followed the example of one of the very greatest of experimental philosophers, the late Professor Faraday, of whom it was said that when he “entered his laboratory he shut the door of his oratory.” The security of religious beliefs consists in their keeping out of range. Religion, indeed, is between two fires : absolutely proved or absolutely disproved, it is destroyed ; disproved, it becomes a delusion, a negative fact of science ; proved, a positive fact, in both cases recognized by the intellect and appealing to it ; like the horizon it recedes as we go toward it—even the attempt to submit it to scientific study causes it to disappear. No religion on the globe is strong enough to bear the shock of its own demonstration.

That Christianity has not clearer and more precise historical evidence for its claims has been the experienced and oftentimes-uttered regret of apologists, and to supplement this defect by toilsome research has been the burden of the first scholarship of the world ; but it is the weakest point in Christianity that it is historically so strong ; its recent decline among the thoughtful corre-

sponds to the augmenting wealth of the testimony in its favor, and at this hour its hold, in all sects, is firmest among those who are most oblivious and most heedless of the arguments for its divine origin. If Christianity ever dies, it will be of excess of evidence; each addition of proof draws blood. If spiritism were content to remain a part of religion—an undemonstrated belief without attempting to demonstrate itself—it might stand, as a logical possibility (since science can have no deduction against it), as long as the Copernican theory.*

Spiritism was thus organized for failure. If successful in its object, the inductive proof of the claim that spirits manifest themselves to the human senses, its failure as a religion would be entire; for it would simply have made a new contribution to science. In this object it has, however, not succeeded, since all the once strange phenomena that have been relegated to the agency of spiritual beings can now in entire detail be elucidated by the established laws of the nervous system in health and disease. There is no fact or phenomenon relating to modern spiritism in regard to which, so far as is needful for the explanation of the delusion, physiology asks for more light. Modern spiritism is a tripod: its three supports being trance, the involuntary life, and human testimony.

He who has mastered the psychology of these three departments of knowledge has compassed not only spiritism, ancient and modern, but, in good measure, all the great delusions of history. By this it is not purposed to belittle in any way the importance or the difficulty of our theme, for the knowledge required to master these sciences is possible only to recent neurology, a field of science as yet occupied by only a small band of philosophers.

The trickery of spiritism, the least important of all the facts of its psychology, is already in a degree comprehended in its superficial relations even by the people; thus the delusion has been made to veer and tremble, but it awaits the removal of the three supports at the hands of Science to fall into entire destruction, carrying with it an army of major and minor untruths that have leaned upon it, and have been upheld by it, and must die in its company. It is

* This generation has also witnessed the failure of Comtism—another attempt to make a scientific religion; its aim being to prove religion deductively as that of spiritism was to prove it inductively. A religion, indeed, can not be made to order like a suit of clothes, it must be a growth, an evolution; the impulse and the force to make the change must come automatically from the living body of the people, and not from the experiments of science or the reasonings of philosophy.

ignorance of the nature and phenomena of trance, and of the involuntary life of which trance is the supreme expression, and the unscientific state of the principles of evidence as derived from human testimony, that made spiritism a possibility and a power in these modern days, just as ignorance of astronomy gave birth to astrology, of chemistry to alchemy, of general pathology to witchcraft.

Ten years ago trance was a realm as dark and mysterious and unexplained as chemistry in the sixteenth century ; the recent demonstration of the fact that it is a subjective, not, as the world had unflinchingly assumed, an objective state, is in its own sphere, and in its relations to our knowledge of the brain, a revolution as radical as the displacement of the Hipparchian by the Copernican theories of the universe.

If trance, the involuntary life, and human testimony, were understood universally as they are now beginning to be understood by students of the nervous system, there would not, could not be a spiritist on our planet ; for all would know that spirits only dwell in the cerebral cells—that not our houses but our brains are haunted.

Trance is a very frequently occurring functional disease of the nervous system, in which the cerebral activity is concentrated in some limited region of the brain, the activity of the rest of the brain being for the time suspended.

It matters not what is done to induce this state nor who does it, nor in what way, provided the brain be in a condition to enter it—physiologically or pathologically prepared for it ; there is not a fact, or shape, or influence, or phenomenon, real or professed on earth, in the air, or sky, that may not act as an exciting cause. It is a malady that comes when it is least expected, and most undesired, falling with impartial cruelty upon the plowboy, the scholar, and the man of affairs ; coolness of organization, wise judgment, in great concerns, rich and complex experience, shrewdness, incredulity, even the noblest scientific genius, insuring no exception.

Of all the myriad excitants of trance—the making of passes, looking at bright objects, an alarm of fire, the exhaustion of disease, etc.—none are so potent as the pretense of the supernatural, since no other claims are so calculated to act upon the emotions of awe, of reverence, of wonder, of expectation. The very possibility, or profession, or fear, or desire, or suspicion, of supernatural, of marvelous, of mysterious, of unusual or even out-of-the-way mundane phe-

nomena may excite instantly, or within but a few moments, in one psychologically or pathologically predisposed, the state of trance with its distinctive group of physical and psychical symptoms. Suspense is the strongest of human emotions, and in an ordinary *séance* the emotions are kept in constant suspense.

In trance man becomes an automaton; the coördinated action of the faculties that is called the will is displaced by a series of mental and muscular movements as purely automatic as the beating of the heart or the opening of a flower. In this state objective or subjective become confounded: there is, indeed, no true objective life; the brain absolutely creating objects, persons, experiences, or mutilating and transforming all impressions made upon it, according to what is repeated, or desired, or apprehended—the eye seeing what it looks for, the ear hearing what it wishes or fears.

Of all the maladies that distress mankind none are so speedily or powerfully contagious as trance: in an instant, or in a time too short to be measured, it may spread like flames in a dry forest, from one to another through a wide assemblage, until all shall simultaneously see and hear and feel and experience alike; individuality is swallowed up in a common ecstasy: a thousand brains, or tens of thousands, become as a single brain; and to none is the evidence of the senses of any worth. The involuntary life which includes all those phenomena of mind or body in their reciprocal relations that are independent of consciousness, or of will, or both, and which is seen in its extremest development in the full trance, is among the people understood but incompletely, is in truth least understood in its minor and ceaselessly operating phases. In his calmest, healthiest moments, man is a bundle of reflex actions; what is done by the will, purposively, voluntarily, being a fraction too small for measurement of his whole activity: in the brain thoughts come and go of their will more than ours; the mind is never wholly idle and never fully under control; in response to external or internal suggestion we are always cerebrating, and corresponding to our thoughts are muscular contractions and relaxations; when we think, we move. We are not always or usually conscious of our thoughts or of the bodily movements correlated to them; and oftentimes only by expert investigation can the latter be detected, the individual himself being of all persons the least able to analyze the activity of his own functions.

Our present knowledge of trance and of the involuntary life un-

locks half of the secrets of the world's delusions ; to spiritism its relations are numerous, and for specialists in this branch of cerebro-physiology and pathology who are also practically skilled in one of the most difficult of the arts—experimenting with living human beings—clearly demonstrable. Herein physiology finds in large part the scientific basis of those occult and absorbingly interesting phenomena that, before as well as since the birth of modern spiritism, have been at once the wonder, the terror, and the joy of mankind. It is this which causes the table to move beneath the hands of the expectant circles, performs the writing and varied motions of planchette, and makes the bell suspended from the hand strike the numbers of any known age or the hour of the day against the side of the jar by which it is environed ; it is this that turns the divining-rod, be it witch-hazel or any flexible thing whatsoever, and so deludes the operator into the conviction that he has found a vein of silver, or of gold, or of running water ; it is this that makes thought-reading a possibility, the operator so detecting the unconscious bodily tension and relaxation of the subject operated on as to trace the direction through long and intricate courses where his thoughts are concentrated, and to find, with precision, minute objects and limited localities, thus reading the mind through the body—mind-reading really being a misnomer for muscle-reading ; it is this that unfolds the marvels and all the genuine developments of trance orators and preachers, bringing their unwonted eloquence, their vagaries, and their caprices, under the dominion of natural law ; it is this, finally, that makes it easy, if not inevitable, that enraptured and entranced inquirers after tidings from departed loved ones should see their faces and hear their voices, in dreams, in the darkness of night, or in the dim light of organized *séances*.*

* Rappings may be physiological or pathological—voluntary or involuntary. In the case of one of my patients, an old gentleman of about seventy years of age, where I made the diagnosis of spinal meningitis, attacks of noisy rappings in the muscles of the legs would frequently come on, lasting for several minutes or longer. These raps, which were so loud that they could be heard with ease twenty or thirty feet, appeared to be caused by the sudden and involuntary muscular contractions of the muscles, especially the muscles of the thigh. The noise made by the raps resembled somewhat the snapping made by a tight string or rope when it is pulled, and they followed each other in rapid succession like a volley of pistol-shots, to the exceeding discomfort of the patient, who always suffered much pain during an attack, and indeed regarded them as an exacerbation of the disease. Sometimes the effect of trying to change his position would bring on the raps, and even passive disturbance would have the same effect. I have now under observation a patient with nervous disease who

The remaining support of spiritism—human testimony—like trance and the involuntary life—has hitherto been a mass of empiricism—a chaos, dark, formless, boundless, inaccessible to science, the hiding-place of all the follies of mankind ; to organize and reduce it to a science is the mission of neurology of the present and future.

On the principles of evidence as drawn from the testimony of human beings, it has thus far been undenied that the senses are worthy of trust, that the first quality of an observer and reporter is not expertness but honesty, and that what is good evidence for one class of claims is equally good for any class. These three assumptions—the common basis of law and logic—the neurology of the future must push utterly aside ; and in their place it will be established that in science or organized knowledge only the testimony of experts can be of value, and that the quality and amount of evidence needful to establish any claim must vary with, and be relative to, the nature of that claim. The rejection of non-expert human testimony is, and has ever been, the first step in the development of a science ; it is only by rejecting or ignoring all testimony save that of experts that any science is possible. Human testimony, indeed, handicaps mankind : it is a burden under which humanity, in its slow advance, has ever struggled and yet struggles.

Not out of the mouths of two or three witnesses nor of two or three millions, unless they be experts, can any great fact in science be established.

If average human testimony is to be received ; if the concurring voices of millions of honest, non-expert observers of even a high order of general intelligence, are to command the science of the world ; if a count of heads more than an estimate of their contents shall determine the convictions of men ; if quantity can be, in any degree, a substitute for quality, in the evidence out of which the edifice of human knowledge is builded ; if, in scientific discovery and observation, general acquirements shall serve in the place of special acquirements ; if instinctive morality can displace the scientific sense, and the willingness to tell the truth could always insure the capacity to tell it ; if the highest genius in one branch of science must give authority in another branch ; if the universality of a belief in matters of systematized knowledge gives even a pre-

can, at will and at any moment, without perceptible bodily agitation, produce easily-heard raps at the ankle-joint.

sumption in favor of the truth of that belief ; if the unanimous opinion of generation after generation of men is to be weighed against the demonstration of a single expert—then the world's follies are changed to wisdom and shadows to substance, and science is the one mistake of humanity ; then the real heroes are not Copernicus or Newton, but the astrologers, the necromancers, the persecutors of Galileo, and the monks of Salamanca, Mesmer and Reichenbach, Davis and Home ; and the pilgrimages of the future should be made, not to the tomb of Volta nor the Strada Felice of Bologna, the home of the discovery of Galvani, but to the historic rooms where “ odic force ” was discovered, to the birthplace of mesmerism and mind-reading, the Witches' Hill at Salem, the house where spirit-rappings first appeared, the dens of medical alchemists, the retreats of the Highland seers, to that lonely dwelling of the Eddys beneath the shadow of the Green Mountains, where, in the presence of intelligent and trusting multitudes, were but lately performed, night after night, and month after month, the best-attested miracles of all human history.

The relief and cure of disease wrought through professed spiritual aid are usually genuine phenomena, the demonstrable and understood effects of mind acting on body. Mental therapeutics—the successful treatment of disease through the emotions of expectation, hope, and wonder—the turning of the patient's own mind on his disease—is now as clear a fact in medicine as hydro- or electro-therapeutics ; and for many cases, and especially for emotional organizations, is incomparably more powerful both for immediate and long-enduring effects. The definite expectation that such and such phenomena will take place in the body at such and such a time, however such expectation may be inspired, is competent to produce that effect, and without the aid of trance.

Not the unlearned alone and the dull, the feminine and immature and wonder-loving, are open to their influences ; scholarship, science, skepticism, dignity, and a well-balanced organization, are no certain proof against them ; they are tyrants whose subjects are found in every rank, in the university of learning as well as in the factory or dispensary.

Why modern spiritism chose America for its starting-point, and here reached its highest popularity, is a psychological inquiry the answer to which is chiefly found in the state of our nation's growth. America at the time of the Rochester rappings was entering its

mental puberty, passing from childhood into youth, feeling the throbs of new desires, champing impatiently for the race ; the home not so much of the abjectly ignorant as of the fractionally educated ; not of the raw, but of the underdone, the paradise of non-experts, who assumed that a perfect knowledge of a many-sided realm of thought is obtainable by an accidental glance at one side.

Three classes composed our society—preachers, politicians, and common people ; a fourth class of thinkers, rare enough in all times, and among all people, was yet to be recognized, and the few who aspired to enter this circle were harnessed in the service of delusions. Only the practical man was in honor, and practical men everywhere are the proper food of charlatans.

Of all the psychological questions relating to spiritism, no one perhaps is more interesting, or has been more puzzling than this—why so many well-balanced, scholarly, generally judicious, logical, and scientific men have either enlisted under its flag or have been hangers-on of its camp. But this fact is in no wise peculiar to spiritism ; delusions of all ages are seamed with the blunders of wise and noble men ; after witchcraft and alchemy were abandoned, if not forgotten, by the people and expelled from the peasant's cottage, they were sheltered and honored in the laboratory of scholars and the halls of colleges. To read a list of the members of the French Academy, of the Royal Society, and of all the learned organizations of Europe and America that have been bitten, maimed, and prostrated by spiritism, would be like a roll-call after a series of bloody battles. The recent trick of reading mind through involuntary muscular movement, the most remarkable fact in delusions since Mesmer's time, illustrated the same psychological principle. The mind-reading of Brown, from beginning to end, was the scholar's delusion, the special failing of the man of science and of letters, the idol on whose altars our first colleges and universities made haste to cast their crowns.

During the past two years have we not seen a bungling and incompetent trickster, who has to learn the rudiments of sleight-of-hand, to whom even the art of adroit deception, in any way, is yet to be taught, whose *séances* are as transparent as they are degrading—have we not seen Slade in his campaign across Europe making a breach in every citadel of learning that he has attacked and lining his pathway with wounded men of science ?

The answer to this problem is mainly this : that the logic of the

world is wrong, and the more closely we adhere to it the deeper we sink into error. The people save themselves by their instincts, but philosophers trained in logic are unwilling and ashamed, with all their intellectual pride, to become in their search for the truth as one of the lower animals. The watch that is accurately set and kept by some erroneous standard time is always wrong, while the one that is allowed to run down is sure to be right twice in twenty-four hours. The unscientific character of the accepted principles of evidence makes much of reasoning a paradox : through logic we become illogical ; the greater our knowledge the further we go astray ; once on the wrong road the faster we hasten, the more speedily we fall into destruction.

When men of scientific genius like Wallace, Crookes, and Zollner, or trained jurists like Judge Edmonds, or honored men of affairs like the late Superintendent of the New York Public Schools, suddenly or slowly become converts to a belief from which the masses in all directions are falling away, it is inevitable that thoughtful minds should seek for an explanation ; and it is also inevitable that the usual and accepted solution must be of a partial and one-sided nature. To attempt to solve this great problem by the charge of insanity, or of folly, in the general sense of that word, or of dishonesty, as is so often done, is both unjust and unscientific. While the main factor in the solution is found in the bad logic that has ruled and still rules the world—in the need which, in due time, will be supplied of a reconstruction of the principles of evidence—there are yet other elements that can not be omitted if we would make the solution complete. First of all, the faculty of wonder, which is the impelling force to all scientific discovery, may coexist with the very highest scientific and logical attainments. Other factors being the same, a commonplace man, without logic, or imagination, or education, or aspiration, would be less likely to be conquered by a delusion than a successful lawyer, or judge, or scientific discoverer ; for logical, well-trained, truth-loving minds, the only security against spiritism is in hiding or running away ; if they venture a fair and open attack, and are true to their convictions and the necessities of logic, they must unconditionally surrender. If Sir Isaac Newton were alive to-day, he would not unlikely be a convert to spiritism, for he was gifted, in a degree most marvelous, with those faculties of logic and wonder out of which, when united with non-expertness in psychology, scientific spiritualists are made ; and the amount of human testimony in favor of spiritualistic claims is a million-fold

greater than that in favor of the theory of gravity. The late Judge Edmonds used to say that he sifted the evidence of spirit manifestations just as he sifted the evidence in cases of law, and, in accordance with the same principles; and, from the standards of the law-books and the universities, his position was impregnable.

Amid all the excitement occasioned by the recent work of Mr. Kiddle on spiritual communications, no one has yet attempted to answer that portion of his preface in which he states that, unless we reject human testimony, the claims he advocates must be received; and, by the principles of evidence that all the lawyers, logicians, and scholars of the world have adopted and yet adopt, his reasoning is unanswerable. Those who attack spiritism with the logic of the schools will soon find themselves helpless, their weapons wrested from their grasp, and turned effectively against them. The logic of the universities and of the metaphysicians is now, and has ever been, on the side of delusions; the logic of the next generation will be on the side of truth, and then men of intellect will be able to meet the claims of spiritism logically and consistently, and will condemn it rationally on just philosophic grounds, as they now condemn it instinctively in spite of and against all the teachings of philosophy.

Of nearly equal psychological interest is the question why spiritism has so rapidly declined. Why is a faith once wellnigh universal, which a century ago was at least passively held by a majority of our citizens, now, after so many proofs of its truth, confined to a despised and diminishing sect? The advent of the Fox girls and table-moving marked, in this country, not the birth but the beginning of the death of the general popular belief in spiritism. True, the world has since resounded as never before with proofs and counterproofs relating to its claims; but delusions are always and have ever been most active in their decline. A fragment of matter impinging against the earth's atmosphere becomes a shooting-star, and rushes to its quick destruction with a great light and sound; meanwhile countless millions of these little worlds revolve through infinite space in silence and unseen; in all organic nature the play of the mechanism of normal, healthy life is noiseless, frictionless, painless; only with disease or death come agony and convulsion. Alchemy, astrology, witchcraft, animal magnetism, spiritism, clairvoyance, and mind-reading, striking in succession against modern

science, have become incandescent, and all the world is agaze at the conflagration.

When these delusions were universally believed and undisputed, men of science and letters simply passed them by, quietly assuming their truth; hence they fill but a small space in thought or literature: when the hand of death came upon them, their tremors began and increased until the whole earth has been shaken.

Of the various causes that have combined to overthrow spiritism, the exhaustive explanation of its phenomena through modern neurology is, without denial, the least important. No delusion of history, not even astrology, has been more completely elucidated by science than has spiritism; of no one of its facts or phenomena can it now be admitted that it is even mysterious; but for those condemned to this belief science comes too late to bring any redemption, but is rather like the reprieve that reaches the innocent man just after his execution—science appealing to the reason, and spiritism mainly to the emotions—they do not meet face to face, but pass each other, and both advance in their respective ways.

A new science, indeed, like that branch of the nervous system that relates to the trance, the involuntary life, and that complex product of the brain that we call human testimony, does not reach the consciousness as science, but rather is degraded into some aid or appanage to the delusion that it finds there, as in the telephone the waves of electricity are transformed into waves of air and reach the brain as sound.

For the average man, indeed, new sciences may graze the brain but do not enter, and leave the subject where they found him, with his feet fast in the stocks of his own ignorance. Knowledge is power; but in a limited time, near at hand, at short range, ignorance is a far greater power. Although through the long ages science may conquer, yet to-day superstitions, delusions, untruth, must be supreme. On young, loyal, truth-seeking minds, baffled by the former mysteries of spiritism, but open to ideas, the influence of the scientific explanation of those mysteries is doubtless great and yearly increasing, and already is making it hard to find recruits.

Ridicule, meeting spiritism on its own plane—the emotions—has been much more effective, temporarily, than science; hence the power of repeated exposures of mediums, although logically such exposures are no disproof of the abstract claim of spiritism. Similarly the charges of unpatriotism, unpracticality, and of immorality,

continually hurled against spiritism, through the mediumship of the popular emotions, have much aided its swift decline, although they leave the logical arguments on the side of the delusion as strong as ever.

But the one cause of the decline of spiritism is general more than special—the evolution in modern society of the scientific spirit which, although not a special faculty, but a mode of operation of the faculties, is yet almost equivalent practically to the development of a new sense in man. This spirit, that enables its possessor to seek for truth through the intellect alone, without the interference of the emotions, though born in ancient Greece, has yet been so retarded in its growth that only until the past quarter of a century can it be said to have attained maturity in any considerable number of minds. The scientific sense enables one to utterly divorce the intellect and the feelings, so that each may pursue its own course, as on entering a depot the engine is switched off from the train. It is this sense that reverses the usual operation of the faculties, and makes the thought the father to the wish. It is this sense, in a word, that marks the high maturity of the mind, and which, indeed, if a man have not, he can not enter into the kingdom of science. It is the development of this new sense, the highest of which the human intellect is capable, more than any special discoveries or inventions, that is now overturning all the philosophy of the world. In Bulwer's bright romance of "The Coming Race" we are told that the rods loaded with Vril, when pointed at frightful monsters caused them to crumble to ashes. The Vril of the present day is this scientific sense, at the very presence of which all forms of delusion begin to wither.

From spiritism mixed good and evil have resulted to mankind; the good, direct and indirect, probably outweighing the evil. Its worst evil, aside from its immoralities, has been, without doubt, the fostering of the unscientific spirit, the attempting to seek truth through the emotions rather than through the intellect, as though one should try to see with the ears, or to hear with the nerves of touch, and the opportunity it has given for breaking away from the just restraints of Christianity to those not psychologically prepared for such a change.

Indirectly spiritism has been of value far outrunning calculation, by supplying materials and inspiration for the solution of the world—long problems of trance and the involuntary life, and for the re-

construction of the principles of evidence, the crowning need of all philosophy. This honor it indeed shares with other delusions—witchcraft, alchemy, astrology, animal magnetism, clairvoyance, mind-reading, and “*odîc force*”; but modern spiritism has the advantage of appearing later in the world, and at a time when science was prepared to utilize its copious resources. Spiritism is, indeed, a precious mine of psychology, the veins of which grow wider and richer the longer we work them.

In this as in all false belief we shall find, if we but search diligently and with expert eyes, that there is a law which, without shadow of turning, presides over men when they stumble and fall as well as when they unerringly win the race. Delusions in their dying enrich the soil in which new ideas take root, and whence they draw their sustenance and life. Thus it is that error is so often the parent of wisdom; and delusionists, by the very wildness of their folly, become the unconscious pioneers of truth and lead the leaders of science.

That spiritism was a suicidal religion, cutting its own throat in the very act of its birth, we have already noted, but, this fatal subjective quality aside, there was also an objective reason equally fatal to its permanent life: it came among a growing people and a rising civilization. A new religion to prosper must strike a nation on the down-grade, or when utterly down; for then, if ever, in the absence of science, the power of a belief in the supernatural is needed to take its place and furnish the stimulus by which mankind is to be energized and elevated. Buddhism or Mohammedanism planted in modern civilized Europe must have perished with its founders, and Christianity descending upon Greece and Rome in their strength and glory would have died away on the air of Palestine.

In the evolution of society, indeed, religion and science in a measure supplement each other: as one rises the other in the same class declines; inherently and persistently antagonistic, each one must yet fulfill its part in the development of the race. But to attempt to start a new religion in a scientific age like the present is like planting an orange-grove on an iceberg. If, in the far-distant future, spiritism should ever rise again, our civilization must first decline to meet it half way; in its modern form it is the religion for the temperate zone of humanity—for those who are neither very degraded nor very enlightened; the barbarian does not seek for more proofs of his faith—he has enough already; and the men of

science now know that the alleged proofs of spiritism are by physiology proved to be delusions. Of all the phases of religious belief in the world, modern spiritism is preëminently the religion of faith, the instincts of men that prefer believing to proving here also asserting themselves in a most extraordinary manner. Professing to be a religion of demonstration, it is practically a religion of the most humiliating trust, the Ultramontane Catholic reposing in the bosom of a Church whose dicta are beyond the reach of his own direct investigation, being in his most credulous moments a wonder of scientific incredulity in comparison with the victim of dark *séances*, where a slight movement of the hand, or a well-directed kick, would reveal, even to a non-expert, the baldness, the grotesqueness, and vulgarity of the performance by which he is about to be entranced. Modern spiritism is in fact the faith of those who are impatient with faith, and who are hungry to believe all that even appears to be anti-Christian.*

Of even more interest to some minds than any other problem suggested by spiritism will be, perhaps, the relations of delusions to sociology—their part in the complex machinery of nature. The necessity of a belief in the undemonstrable, or religion, will be questioned only by those who have studied but incompletely the psychology of man. Is not also the belief in the demonstrably false as necessary as it is universal? Is it possible for society to hold together without the cohesive force of some great delusion? Do not these three—science, superstition, and religion—constitute a trinity of influences which in their relation to human nature practically become unity? Are not the demonstrably true, or science, the demonstrably false, or delusions, and the undemonstrable, or religion, naturally and harmoniously united in the choral music of humanity? Is it conceivable that the area of science shall ever be wide enough to supply the wants of all classes and grades and environments—the bootblack, the shop-girl, the sailor-boy, to whom the fore-castle

* Some years ago the writer accepted, for the purpose of psychological experiment, an invitation to lecture on some points relating to the nervous system, before an audience made up largely of spiritists, Comtists, and “come-outers” of various schools. One effect of the discussion was to show, in a manner both interesting and ludicrous, that nearly every one in the audience had his pet delusion, the one feature common to all their beliefs being that they were demonstrably false. In leaving Christianity they had plunged in various directions, but always into a slough of superstition: in changing their faiths they had found, not liberty, but a new master, and the last was more cruel and unreasonable than the first.

is at once a school and a home, the bankrupt, the imbecile, the prisoner, the invalid in hopeless pain, the lad or maiden enslaved to wild emotions, the young mother by her first-born's grave? If the philosopher Bias was wise in asserting that "to wish for impossibilities is a mental disease," can it be allowed that any considerable number of men are, or ever will be, completely sane? For many, if not for the majority, has not error the highest of all allurements; and who would always exchange the impossible dreams of youth for the solid achievements of maturity? The difference between the adult and the child being only one of degree, and that but slight, are not bubbles of philosophy as necessary for the one as bubbles of water for the other? Are not delusions by their very hollowness all the better fitted to buoy up humanity, and float it over the rough waters until it shall reach the firm soil?

It being allowed that society must always have some form of delusion, what is likely to be the special delusion of the future? What phantom-ship is next to loom in the offing? In what direction are we to look for the mirage that is to cheat our brethren and allure our children and children's children?

As the oracle gave place to the astrologer, the astrologer to the alchemist, the alchemist to the witch, the witch to the magnetizer, the magnetizer to the clairvoyant, the clairvoyant to the medium, the medium to the mind-reader, upon whom now shall the spirit of the mind-reader fall? To whom shall this new arm of deception be revealed? Now that the involuntary life—the last conceivable stand of delusions—has yielded its treasures to science, it would appear that folly must hereafter carry on only a guerrilla war, that man's passion for the demonstrably false can only be gratified by searching in the *débris* of exploded delusions, and that in the absence of fresh material the old errors must be worked over and over again in the laboratories of emotion. To a thoughtful and philanthropic mind, recognizing that the direct influence of the demonstrably false in society is unspeakably great, as that of the demonstrably true, or science, is unspeakably small, we seem to be just now threatened with the possibility of a dearth of delusions, of a serious famine of charlatans in the land, wherein men will sigh in vain for the old enchantments, and cry aloud for some one to deceive them, and there shall be none to answer.

The experimental solution of this problem may already be going on in our very presence. In Germany, which in science and philosophy has given to the world more original and fruitful

thoughts than all other modern nations, the demonstrably false now exists only in occasional and limited survivals. Under the inspiration of the scientific sense all other lands are slowly becoming Germanized ; and, if this process should continue in the future as at present, the twentieth century will see, for the first time in the history of mankind, a civilization without an active and general delusion.

GEORGE M. BEARD.

VI.

THE EDUCATION OF FREEDMEN.

PART II.

It now remains to give a brief survey of the permanent institutions which have grown up out of this educational enthusiasm which has united all Christian churches since the war.

The American Missionary Society, formed in 1846, as an anti-slavery missionary body, stood ready equipped to go into the field and aid and supplement the course of Northern benevolence. All denominations availed themselves of its patronage, which was entirely unsectarian. As the work broadened and increased, however, each denomination had its own separate society, carried on in its own special way.

The American Missionary Society has planted one college or university for the colored people in each of the Southern States.

These are Hampton Institute, Virginia; Berea College, Kentucky; Fiske University, Nashville, Tennessee; Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia; Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama; Tongaloo University, Tongaloo, Mississippi; Straight University, New Orleans, Louisiana. The society has also seventeen institutions of a lower grade scattered through the different Southern States, and eight common schools. It is calculated that 60,000 freedmen are annually instructed in these institutions.

In 1865 the Presbyterian Church began its separate and distinctive work for the colored race, organizing a Presbyterian Committee of Missions for Freedmen. From 1865 to 1870 the receipts of this Committee averaged \$27,000 per year.

The Presbyterian Church sought to cultivate intelligence among freedmen by planting and maintaining among them church and school conjointly. This specialty of parochial schools characterized the movement both of the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians.

Besides their parochial schools the Presbyterian Church maintains five endowed institutions, namely : Biddle Memorial Institute, Charlotte, North Carolina, with three professors, three assistant professors, 124 pupils—value of property, \$17,000 ; Scotia Seminary for Colored Girls, Concord, North Carolina, 105 pupils—value of property, \$2,500 ; Wallingford Academy, Charleston, South Carolina, one professor, 261 pupils—value of property, \$13,450 ; Mainerd School, Chester, South Carolina, one professor, 231 pupils—value of property, \$3,600 ; Fairfield Normal School, Winnsborough, South Carolina, one professor, 184 pupils—value of property, \$3,500 : total, six professors, three assistant professors, 905 pupils—value of property, \$40,050.

The Baptist Church has not been behindhand in zeal for this work. It has invested in it \$716,273, and has under its charge, besides its churches and parochial schools, the following endowed institutions : Wayland Seminary, Washington, District of Columbia, with one professor, 92 pupils ; Richmond Institute, Richmond, Virginia, one professor, 75 pupils ; Shaw University, Raleigh, North Carolina, one professor, 230 pupils ; Benedict Institute, Columbia, South Carolina, one professor, 118 pupils ; Augusta Institute, Augusta, Georgia, one professor, 52 pupils ; Nashville Institute, Nashville, Tennessee, one professor, 136 pupils ; Leland University, New Orleans, Louisiana, one professor, 92 pupils ; total, 795.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, fitted by her peculiar organization and system of itinerant preaching for efficient action in this field, also went into it with zeal according to knowledge.

The following permanently endowed educational institutions attest her success : Central Tennessee College, Nashville, Tennessee ; Shaw University, Holly Springs, Mississippi ; Claflin University and Baker Institute, Orangeburg, South Carolina ; Clarke University and Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia ; New Orleans University and Thomson Biblical Institute, New Orleans, Louisiana ; Wiley University, Marshall, Texas ; Haven Normal School, Waynesborough, Georgia ; Rust Biblical and Normal Institute, Huntsville, Alabama ; La Têche Seminary, Baldwin, Louisiana ; Bennett Seminary, Greensborough, North Carolina ; Richmond Normal School, Richmond, Virginia ; Cookman Institute, Jacksonville, Florida ; Centenary Biblical Institute, Baltimore, Maryland ; Orphans' Home, Baldwin, Louisiana.

The Episcopal Church also has entered this field of Christian labor with zeal and success.

In the late Missionary Conference of the Episcopal Church in New York, the Right Reverend Bishop Dudley, of Kentucky, addressed the Conference upon this subject, and commenced by saying that the Episcopal Church was more to blame for the ignorance of the Southern negroes than any other body, because the members of that Church had been the largest owners of them in slavery. He added : " We are here to consider what we shall do, by the providence of God, now that the relation of the races has been changed ; and remember that I as a Southern man am ready to thank God for this result of the civil war, and I am not here in any other sense than that we are come to consult how best to carry the gospel of Jesus Christ, as this Church has received it, to those four millions of people, who stand to-day in that land from which I come as free men, as citizens, yes, as a mighty power in the body politic, who are going to control, maybe, the legislation of this land. I remember once to have heard that apostolic man who has just taken his seat say to the men of New York what I want to say to the men of America to-day about this race. The Bishop of Minnesota said to the men of New York, ' You have got to take care of the poor people of this land or they will take care of you ' ; and so I say, ' You have got to take care of these people whom God hath set free from their bondage, and to whom have been given such civil rights that now the vote of one of them is just as mighty a factor in the land where I live as mine, or that of the Governor of the State—we have got to take care of them, or they are going to take care of us. ' "

The report of the Episcopal Commission of Home Missions to colored people gives a list of thirty-seven missionary stations among these people, each supporting a missionary, a church, a parochial school, and a Sunday-school.

The system of the Episcopal Church seems in many respects exactly adapted to bring into an orderly and edifying use some of the peculiarities of the colored race. Her ritual, admitting responses, chanting processions, and some scenic and æsthetic effect, will be attractive ; while her liturgy, with its constant reiteration of Scripture reading, its collects, its affecting sacramental forms, will be a constant source of religious instruction. An effort being made in this Church to prepare an educated colored ministry is also specially interesting, as showing the decrease of the unchristian prejudice against color in a denomination which contains a great body of the former slaveholders. Rev. A. T. Twing, in his report to the Domes-

tic Committee, September 1, 1878, gives this instance: "In a diocese at the capital of the State, where the beginning was with a few children taught under great opposition from the whole community by a noble presbyter and his wife, the result is—he being dead, but yet speaking—a Sunday-school of three or four hundred, instructed and sustained by the best people of the parish, the former and bitter prejudice having passed away. The present rector, honoring the memory and course of his predecessor, looks forward, not to a mission-chapel in an obscure and out-of-the-way place, but to an enlargement of the church to proportions ample for the accommodation of colored as well as white worshipers, and to the day not far distant when he hopes to have with the hearty approval of his people an antiphonal choir of white choristers on one side and black choristers on the other, and when a colored clergyman will minister with him at God's holy altar." This will certainly be a consummation worthy a Catholic and Apostolic Church.

To this summary of the various educational institutions of different Christian bodies must be added a notice of Howard University in the national capital.

This institution, organized primarily under the national patronage by the Freedman's Bureau, offers equal advantages of education to all, without distinction of creed, race, or sex.

The departments of instruction at Howard University are as follows:

1. The Academic Department, including five courses of study, viz.: *a*, the *Model School Course* of three years in the elementary English branches (students completing this course are prepared to begin either of the three following); *b*, the *Normal Course* of three years, adapted to those who have the work of teaching in view; *c*, the *Literary Course* of four years, designed to furnish a good practical education for those who are unable to take the full college curriculum; *d*, the *Classical Preparatory Course* of three years; and *e*, the *Classical College Course* of four years.

2. The Medical Department.

3. The Law Department.

4. The Theological Department.

The institution has a library of seven thousand volumes of general literature, and each professional department has its library. There are a cabinet of minerals containing four thousand specimens and a museum of history.

In the medical department, such are the advantages that a ma-

majority of the students are white. The theological department has about thirty students—some quite mature in age—in various preparatory, special, and regular courses, some of whom are already preachers, in a humble way, in their respective denominations. In the other departments worthy young persons are seeking to prepare for all the different vocations in life. They come from the abodes of poverty, and help themselves so far as opportunity offers, by labor, at leisure hours, and during vacations. But such earnings are usually insufficient. The charge for tuition is only twelve dollars a year, and room-rent is the same, while board is furnished at about ten dollars per month. No charge is made for tuition or room-rent to students for the gospel ministry.

With extensive buildings and grounds, the institution has no available endowments. Formerly it had liberal aid from the Freedman's Bureau, which no longer operates. Its temporary dependence is on rents, tuition, fees, and other scanty resources. With endowments for the professorships it could not only permanently sustain the present limited arrangements for instruction, but could greatly enlarge them to the advantage of the interests concerned. If permanent scholarships of \$1,000 or \$1,500 each could be secured, the best talent among the needy might be educated for important service. Even with temporary annual scholarships of fifty or a hundred dollars, the number of deserving students could soon be doubled. Often a donation of fifteen or twenty dollars will suffice to supplement the resources of a student so as to enable him to go through the year. A large addition to the female students could be made if friends would enable the institution to render slight aid. Churches, Sunday-schools, and individuals will here find a noble opportunity to do good, by contributions of money, clothing, bedding, stationery.

The entire floating debt of over \$100,000 has been paid off within three years, and the only incumbrance on the buildings is \$11,000. There is every reason to hope that this noble institution may receive that aid of which it is worthy. We have not space in this article to particularize the different institutions which in each State are working in this field of education. The writer has been through an extensive examination of the latest catalogues of each one up to the present year. Certain points are observable in which they all agree :

1. The use either of tobacco or of ardent spirits in any form is prohibited to pupils.

2. While all of them allow of the co-education of the sexes, such

judicious regulations exist, with regard to all the proprieties and decorums of life, that no breath of suspicion or scandal has arisen in this regard. The presence of the two sexes is so guarded as to produce the delicacy, refinement, and purity of a Christian family.

3. All of them are guided by an earnest religious influence, and make it their object to enlighten the quick religious sensibility of the colored race, and bring it under the control of intelligent faith.

Berea College, in Kentucky, has accomplished the great point of co-education of the colored and white races.

On this point Professor Peabody, of Harvard, remarks : " Of all the experiments in co-education that have been instituted, we regard Berea College, in Kentucky, as the most important in its sphere of influence and in its prophecy of enduring benefit to the colored race. It has carried the war into the enemy's camp, and has brought its whole Christian panoply and armament into the immediate encounter with the surviving spirit of slavery. The college has shown its large educational capacity. Its public exercises have been attended in successive years by persons of established reputation as educationists and literary men, and have received their unqualified commendation and praise. There is, for many miles around, no institution of learning that does nearly so much or so well for its pupils. The consequence is, that those at first vehemently opposed to it are fast falling into the ranks of neutrals or friends. Many who deemed it a nuisance have already sent their children to it. Its sterling value as a seminary of education is now recognized on all hands. But it is of much more worth for its silent yet most efficient propagandism of the due relation between the races ; for co-education includes within itself, or involves as its necessary consequence, equality in all civic and social rights, immunities, duties, and obligations. Moreover, a State in which white citizens already seek for their children the privilege of co-education with colored youths, can not long retain its hostility to public schools common to both races. The universal establishment of such schools in the late slave States is, as we have said, essential to their political and social well-being ; and for the advancement of this end Berea College is now doing more than can be effected by any possible legislation, by any action of political parties, or by the combined influence of press, platform, and pulpit."

It is a matter of surprise that so noble and intelligent a State as Kentucky should be far behind other Southern States in its provision for the education of its emancipated citizens.

In South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana the law allows no distinction of race, or color, or previous condition. The Legislature of Georgia in 1870 voted an annual appropriation of \$8,000 to Atlanta University ; the State of Virginia voted a liberal allowance of public money to the Hampton Normal Agricultural Institute ; and South Carolina has made a generous appropriation to Claflin University.

With this enlightened policy of other Southern States, it surprises us to find that in Kentucky the colored race have no share of the common-school fund, and are oppressed by peculiar laws. A colored schoolhouse is not allowed within a mile of a white school, nor in towns within six hundred feet. It is forbidden by law for a colored child to attend a white school or a white child a colored school.* President Fairchild says in defense of the co-educatory system of Berea : "We advocate it—1. Because it is impossible to educate both races separately. In the rural districts it is impossible to maintain two sets of schools. In the cities it may be done, but in the country it can not. In hundreds of districts there are very few (from five to twenty-five) colored children. They must be admitted to the schools which white children attend, or be left without schools. In other districts the same is true of white children. 2. The separation fosters a spirit of contempt, and haughtiness, and domineering on the one side, and a sense of debasement and a spirit of sycophancy or surliness on the other, entirely inconsistent with the highest good of either. It is cruel and abusive to teach the colored children from the very beginning that they are only fit for servants of white people, and are not at all to be tolerated in the same schoolroom with white children. Such treatment will never make them self-respecting, patriotic, independent citizens."

It is impossible even to give a minute notice of all the principal universities or colleges that have been established for the freedmen. But Fiske University, in Nashville, Tennessee, having a history which has given to it a wide celebrity, we select that as a specimen of the rest.

From this institution went forth the small band of liberated slaves called the Jubilee Singers, who conceived the generous plan of endowing their institution by the exercise of their musical talent.

Their history is the romance of our period. Starting poor, simple, unknown, with the disadvantage of their color in their way,

* These statements are from the report of President Fairchild on Berea College.

they first gained the ear and heart of the most refined circles in this country. Crossing the water, they were admitted to sing before the Queen of England and royal family, and treated with distinguished hospitality and kindness by the then Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone. In Germany they were received with no less consideration by the Emperor and royal family. In Holland the crowned heads and royal personages were no less kind, graciously receiving the singers and openly declaring themselves their patrons. With such patronage their concerts in all these countries were a brilliant series of triumphs, and Jubilee Hall and Livingstone Hall, with their noble proportions, and fine architecture, will for ever be a monument of the success of this simple effort of emancipated slaves.

The catalogue of Fiske University for 1878 gives twenty-six in the college course, fifty-four in the preparatory department, twenty-five in the theological course, one hundred and fifty-three in the normal school course, and eleven in the higher normal.

The total attendance was three hundred and thirty-eight, of whom one hundred and eighty-one were boarders. Since 1868 regularly trained teachers have been going out from this institution. In 1877 one hundred and five teachers thus prepared were at work in the field of education. Fiske University has also sent out four missionaries to the Mendi mission on the coast of Africa. A deep feeling for mission-work pervades the institution, and ennobles and enlarges the aims of its students, and doubtless others will follow in the steps of those who have so nobly volunteered.

It remains now to speak of those institutions which unite the higher culture of the mind with practical scientific knowledge.

Of these the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, at Hampton, Virginia, is a favorable specimen. This institution was founded ten years ago by the American Missionary Association, and has been aided by the Freedman's bureau and the Peabody Fund, and very largely by individual Christian benevolence. In 1872 the State of Virginia designated Hampton as trustee of that portion of the Agricultural Land Fund which was assigned to the colored people. The amount of \$95,000 was invested in State bonds, on which full interest has been paid.

The object of Hampton is to raise up a class of intelligent, cultivated workingmen, to produce thoughtful, intelligent farmers, mechanics, and teachers.

The plan of the Hampton School was suggested by the educational system of the Sandwich Islands, introduced by American

missionaries and built up chiefly by the labors of the Rev. Richard Armstrong, D. D., Minister of Public Instruction.

His son, General Armstrong, the Principal of Hampton, inherits and uses to the very best advantage the stores of his father's practical experience.

The following is a list of school industries :

The farm, with bone-grinding, grist-mill, soap-making, blacksmith's shop, butcher's shop, and milk-dairy.

The Engineer's Department, with knitting-machines, broom-shop, shop for iron-work, rag-carpet weaving, and carpenter-shop.

Girls' Industrial Department, for making and mending garments, and learning to sew by hand and machine.

Household work, including washing, ironing, table duty, and cooking-lessons for the girls.

The details for work this year have been as follows :

Girls.—Housework, 98 ; industrial room, 52 ; knitting-machine, 21 ; laundry, 24 ; weaving rag-carpet, 1 ; cooking, 20. No work has yet been found for day scholars, 32.

Boys.—Farm, 91 ; painter, 1 ; carpenters, 5 ; broom-making, 2 ; steam-engine, 1 ; bone-mill, 2 ; shoemakers, 4 ; janitors, 8 ; knitting-room, 6 ; blacksmith, 1 ; office duty, 3 ; mail-carrier, 1 ; greenhouse, 1 ; waiters, 16 ; laundry, 5 ; general duty, 5 ; employed by teachers, 2 ; day-scholars on orderly duty, 33.

Students' earnings have been as follows :

1875-'76. 101 boys, \$5,982.04 ; 59 girls, \$1,647.93 ; total, \$7,629.97.

1876-'77. 125 boys, \$7,440.97 ; 73 girls, \$2,139.56 ; total, \$9,580.53.

1877-'78. 138 boys, \$11,384.97 ; 87 girls, \$3,046.04 ; total, \$14,431.01.

Average earnings in 1875-'76, boys, \$59.23 each ; girls, \$27.92 each.

Average earnings in 1876-'77, boys, \$59.23 each ; girls, \$29.00 each.

Average earnings in 1877-'78, boys, \$82.50 each ; girls, \$35.01 each.

The problem of the school, industrially, is—

1. To make labor as instructive as possible.
2. To turn it to the best account.

By giving each student one and a half or two days of work each week, and four whole days for study (by having a detail of

one fifth out each school day, and all or one half on Saturdays), his mental interests do not suffer materially ; he is physically better off, is able to pay about one half—in some cases the whole—of his personal expenses, is better fitted to take care of himself, and becomes more of a man.

Of the results of this school so far, General Armstrong thus speaks in his last report :

“To the question, ‘What becomes of your graduates?’ we answer : Not less than ninety per cent. have taught school. We are satisfied that eighty per cent. were teaching last winter, and that the large majority will devote themselves to the good of their people. Those who do not teach are generally working for themselves or others. I know of but few worthless ones. There seems to be no general tendency to relapse from the tone given to their lives at the school. I have observed in many a moral growth after graduation, the reaction of right life upon character. That some will degenerate there can be no doubt ; but, after leaving here, the general movement is upward.

“The little army of Hampton’s graduates is becoming a power. For the first time in the school’s history they have, this year, an alumni meeting. Their union and mutual sympathy, and their relations with the school, are of great importance. To many, the school is their only home. It is the birthplace of their better life ; and they give to it an affection and confidence that create an obligation on our part.

“This year the newspapers of the school reading-room have, after lying a week on the table, been distributed among graduates in every direction, also quantities of illustrated papers ; many have been given by friends of the school for this purpose. They have received much benefit from the State ‘Educational Journal’ which is sent to them. Next year we intend to have a graduate department ; making as complete a record of them as possible, corresponding with each one, supplying good reading matter, of which they are often destitute, thus keeping them in pleasant and close relations with us, and encouraging and cheering them in every possible way. By such moral support they will be stronger, better, safer. Thus will the result of our labor be preserved, and a guild of earnest, high-minded, united, and powerful workers be formed as a nucleus of civilization, a barrier to the mischievous element among their people, and, in connection with a similar class from other institutions, become a basis of hope for the race ; they

will be civilizers rather than mere pedagogues ; the future leaders of their race, and occupy a place not yet taken."

The institution publishes a paper called "The Southern Workman," which has a large circulation and is a most valuable and efficient means of continuing its good influences over those who have left. Its practical essays on the subject of health, cleanliness, ventilation, drainage, and general hygiene, have been so valuable that a series of them called "Hampton Tracts" have been extensively circulated and recommended in Northern States.

The printing and press-work is entirely done in the institution, and furnishes one more useful trade for those who are employed in it.

A similar work to that of Hampton is being done at Claflin University, Orangeburg, South Carolina, and at Talladega College, Alabama, and at Tongaloo University, Mississippi. There is also the beginning of an agricultural department announced in connection with Atlanta University, Georgia, to which the Legislature of the State has made an appropriation of \$8,000 per annum.

The last and most significant item in our review of the tableau of educational effort among the freedmen is the increasingly friendly attitude of most of the Southern States toward this enterprise.

We have purposely omitted to dwell on those exhibitions of bitterness and violence which often marked the commencement of these educational enterprises at the South. It is due to the intelligent Southerners to admit that such violence proceeded mostly from the uncultivated classes, and that everywhere through the South *educated* men have been prompt to feel the imperative need of culture for the enfranchised slaves.

In 1871 the Commissioners appointed by the State of Georgia attended the annual examination at Atlanta University. The report of this Committee, signed by ex-Governor J. E. Brown, thus speaks : "At every step of the examination we were impressed with the fallacy of the popular idea (which, in common with thousands of others, a majority of the undersigned have heretofore entertained) that the members of the African race are not capable of a high grade of intellectual culture. The rigid tests to which the classes in algebra and geometry, and in Latin and Greek, were subjected, unequivocally demonstrated that, under judicious training and with persevering study, there are many members of the African race who can attain a high grade of intellectual culture. They prove that they can master intricate problems in mathematics, and

fully comprehend the construction of difficult passages in the classics.

"Many of the pupils exhibited a degree of mental culture which, considering the length of time their minds have been in training, would do credit to members of any race."

Dr. Cooke, President of Claflin University, writes us that both Governor Wade Hampton and Mayor H. S. Thomson, State Superintendent of Education in South Carolina, attended their late commencement and addressed words of encouragement to all interested in the advance of the institution. Two appropriations of \$7,500 have been made to the institution since Governor Hampton took the chair.

General Armstrong, of Hampton, remarks on this subject :

"Our relations with the State of Virginia, as trustee of that part of the land fund devoted to the colored people, have been in all ways satisfactory. Interest has been promptly paid. Throughout the State the feeling is kindly and encouraging to good work for the negro race.

"During the past ten years there has been a progress in Southern sentiment, in respect to the negro, readily apparent only to those who can look behind the front presented by politicians and periodicals. Thought, experience, and necessity have pushed out old ideas and pushed up new ones. The change has been, I believe, as great as was possible for human nature under the circumstances, and in time will be so regarded. Other lines than those of race are being drawn. Common sense and common interest are working against deeply seated notions and prejudices that will yield because weak in themselves, and because they do not pay."

The Hon. Robert M. Lusher, State Superintendent of Education in Louisiana, uses this noble language : "It is with the aid of education alone, finally, that patriots can hope to see the vexed question of the harmonious relation between the two races settled—with no humiliation to the higher, with no degradation to the humbler. This question is, indeed, one that trenches upon the imminent present. For good or evil, a race equal to the whites—at least in numbers—passing suddenly from a condition of slavery to a condition of freedom, continuing and needed to continue in its former home, must assert itself. It should be the duty—as it is clearly the interest—of the State to see that that race shall assert itself in knowledge—not in ignorance ; in a loyal understanding of its obligations—not in a blind disregard of them ; in an intelligent participation hereafter

in the responsible duties of American citizenship. . . . If the next colored generations, then, are to consist of good citizens, not weak tools for designing politicians, they should be educated. If they are to be conservative American citizens, lending their aid alike to the progress of the State and to the advancement of the public, they should be educated. If they are to make common accord with the whites, only recognizing in the latter the superiority that lies in lineage and in noble memories, indissolubly connected with the history of the world's most exalted civilization; and if they are to work with these, with good heart and earnest endeavor, to a common patriotic end, they must be taught that their State has no preferences, but that, like a kindly mother, she gathers in her tender bosom all the children who owe their existence to her."

In the State where the author now has a home, Governor Drew, in his first message to the Legislature of Florida, uses this language in relation to the education of the freedmen: "Now that a very large constituent element of our population is released from bondage and intrusted with the power of the ballot, a system of free schools has become a means of self-preservation. To educate the colored race and fit them to exercise the privilege of voting intelligently—to perform all the sacred duties of freemen, to enjoy their liberty, to become wise and good citizens—imposes upon us a task to perform, a responsibility from which we can not escape. Then let us set about the work cheerfully."

The author can bear testimony, so far as personal observation goes, that the government of the State of Florida is administered in this spirit.

Before coming to the close of this article, one acknowledgment—one tribute of admiration—is here due to the agency of a noble man, who, though dead, has been living to a most glorious purpose in this work of Southern reorganization. The Peabody fund, amounting to millions of dollars, has been a constant factor in all the good accomplished. Its agent has administered this delicate and difficult trust with an energy, a wisdom, an impartiality, that lead us to feel that the Father of Lights must have imparted to him divine guidance. In all the reports we have examined we meet everywhere the traces of this noble charity, administered with such timely wisdom as to double the value of every sum contributed. America will long have reason to bless God for the bequest of Peabody, and for the administration of Dr. Sears.

Thus have we given a very imperfect summary of the lasting

results which have followed a great educational enthusiasm—a great national reconstruction.

Is not this army of schools and colleges—this educational impulse pervading society—a better guarantee for the future than *any* ignoble party strife?

And if our national Government should grant to the impoverished Southern States the funds they ask to carry through a universal system of education, would it not be an investment which would yield the nation a thousand-fold in return?

Class prejudices can not be *legislated* away, but they can be educated away. This noble system of common schools, colleges, and industrial institutes now rising at the South, if reënforced by national grants, would in a few years regenerate society, and entirely prevent the possibility of such struggles as have lately dishonored the voting-places of the United States.

Education will bring quiet, refinement, respect for law, respect for the mutual rights of races; and America, where so many races meet and mingle, will be the true millennial ground, where the fatherhood of God is shown in the brotherhood of man.

H. B. STOWE.

VII.

RECENT ESSAYS.

1. Hayward's Selected Essays.
2. Arnold's Mixed Essays.
3. Gladstone's Gleanings of Past Years.
4. Burroughs's Locusts and Wild Honey.
5. Wild Life in a Southern County.

FAMILY likenesses, it is said, are always best seen by casual visitors, while the members of the household are apt to think that no two of their number look alike. It is thus that an American reader sometimes observes a certain generic quality in a group of English essayists, who would seem to themselves widely separated. Mr. Hayward, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Matthew Arnold would appear to have little in common, yet they all possess that clear and vigorous directness that marks the current prose of English writers. Not one of them has anything of the half-ideal aim, the love of delicate word-painting, the instinct of symmetry, which are the imprint left by Emerson and Hawthorne on the best cis-Atlantic literature; and which sometimes appear as a tendency or desire, even if no adequate result follows. An acute English writer, Lady Pollock, pointing out some such distinction several years ago, classed American prose writers with the French school rather than with the English, and declared that "the symmetry of our language might run the risk of annihilation but for the reverence with which American men of letters cherish it."* In England, one observes, a man has something to say and says it, speaking right on, and never for a moment placing himself in any attitude for which the habits or methods of the artist's studio would yield a parallel. Can good literature demand more than this? Mr. Herbert Spencer would say "No." The traditions of literary art say "Yes." Happily, the question need not here be settled; it is not needful to discuss or compare these two literary phases; the point of interest is in noticing that the Atlantic Ocean seems just now to divide them. It

* Contemporary Review, xxii., 371, "Imaginative Literature of America."

is only fair to say that the best English essayists are, if tried by their own standard, better than the American ; and that their disadvantage is found, if anywhere, only upon the introduction of other tests, which they would perhaps think frivolous and unimportant.

I.

Of the collection of essays now to be considered, there is no doubt that Mr. Arnold's will be the most widely valued for thought and style, Mr. Gladstone's for range and historic interest, and Mr. Hayward's* for easy and agreeable reading. The latter touches nothing which he does not make attractive ; he never taxes the brain severely ; his longest articles have an agreeable conversational tone that never wearies. He is like one of those incomparable London diners-out compared with whom brilliant American talkers are apt to seem tedious and monopolizing, and cultivated Frenchmen too excitable and over-vehement : the London men who make no startling display, obtrude nothing, never dazzle, but insensibly get all the wit and wisdom of the table into their hands ; they quietly drop out an anecdote, furnish precisely the needed repartee, and trump with absolute conclusiveness the best conversational card of their neighbor. Mr. Hayward, having his readers at his command, is less fragmentary than these trained conversers, and indeed it is he who furnishes in one of his most delightful essays, "England and France : their National Qualities, Manners, Morals, and Society," a protest against this very type. He says that the fault of English conversation at present is its frivolity, and its habit of skipping hastily from topic to topic ; the fear that haunts all men of being bores if they venture beyond a short anecdote or a *bon mot*. "Lord Grenville used to say that he was always glad to meet lawyers at a dinner-party, because he then felt that some good subject would be rationally discussed" (ii., 329).

Mr. Hayward's subjects range through all modern history and biography, winding up with an elaborate paper on "Whist and Whist-Playing," so that it is hard to select among his themes. A staunch lover of traditions and old families, he yet reduces extremely low the claims of all actual European aristocracies ; shows (ii., 187) the enormous proportion of great intellectual names of England that are now extinct as to male descent ; dwells with grim sternness on the base origin of most of the Norman conquerors (ii., 210) ;

* Selected Essays, by A. Hayward, Esq., Q. C. In Two Volumes. New York : Scribner & Welford, 1879.

quotes Lord Beaconsfield to establish the modern origin of the English peerage (ii., 238); and through his whole chapter on "The Vicissitudes of Families" (ii., 184) really maintains a practical protest against the pride of birth. He says in this essay that "pedigree hunting" has become quite a mania in the United States (ii., 185), and evidently is not aware that it has long been prosecuted far more laboriously on this side the ocean than the other. This is mainly because American pedigrees are constructed in the spirit of cousinship, pure and simple, covering a vast range and including with eagerness all remote and collateral branches; while an English pedigree makes little of younger sons and of all daughters, cuts them off, so to speak, with a shilling's worth of genealogical tracing, and leaves the most prolific branches with a vague "had issue" at last. Mr. Hayward does not know how much more laborious, in these respects, are the paths of the American genealogist, nor does he know how convenient for us will be his theory that five or six centuries of ancestry are enough to set up any family, and that less may suffice where its name has occurred frequently, with distinction, in its country's annals (ii., 213). Mr. Astor, with his comforting assurance that a man with half a million was as well off as if he were rich, was not more consoling to the lovers of money than is Mr. Hayward to the pride of American genealogy. The descendants of our older Puritan, Knickerbocker, and Cavalier families may well take courage; they are already in the third century of their existence, and two or three centuries more will quite set them up as an aristocracy, if the world holds for that time to Mr. Hayward's way of thinking. In all seriousness, however, the republican point of criticism on this theory would probably be that where a family is thus really eminent a title of nobility is superfluous, and that in all other cases it is an abuse. The advantage of the republican method seems to be that it gives full weight to the accumulated influence of any really able and useful family; and easily rids itself—which an aristocracy does not—of the bad influence of any family that turns out ill.

Mr. Hayward is gratefully known to many Americans as the author of that prose version of "Faust" which still holds its own against all rivals in prose or verse. He is known to others as the friend of Charles Sumner, and as the writer of generous praise of him in the "Quarterly Review," so long ago as 1840. And he may well be known, henceforward, to all youths ambitious of conversational fame, as the author of these two volumes of prose essays,

which will, if duly read and remembered, supply such aspirants with *mots* and anecdotes enough to last a lifetime ; answering, indeed, the purpose of that manual of French wit, the “*Improvisatore Français*” whose twenty-one volumes are said to have been ex-Bishop Talleyrand’s only breviary, and the true foundation of his fame as a wit (Hayward, ii., 156).

II.

American readers of Mr. Matthew Arnold’s new volume of “*Mixed Essays*” * will be likely to turn first to the celebrated lecture on “*Equality*,” in which he touches some of the political and social matters most important to ourselves. It is inevitable that, taking this address for their point of departure, such readers should feel some disappointment as they read the book. They will find the author speaking with some enthusiasm of liberty, and with much respect for the desire of social equality, which he justifies as a natural form of what he calls “the instinct of expansion.” He vindicates this emotion, indeed, before “all Israel and the sun”—all England and the Royal Institution. But if the breadth of his thought on this point encourages, the narrow range of his illustrations will be, at least to this class of readers, a disappointment. He wishes to compare the social phenomena resulting from this instinct of equality and from the opposing creed. For this purpose he compares England with France—two nations so thoroughly alien in respect of race, religion, speech, manners, food, climate, that the difference lies not in one point only, but in a thousand. In scientific experiments, where analogous phenomena are to be compared, they are usually so chosen as to eliminate all but the one point of difference selected for investigation. This is impossible in comparing Frenchmen and Englishmen, because they differ at almost all points, and it is scarcely practicable to fix the source of any especial divergence ; but take forty million English-speaking people under a republic on one side the Atlantic, and another forty million on the other side, under an aristocracy, and the elements of comparison grow far more simple. For instance, Mr. Arnold finds it an important result of the desire for equality in France, that “the whole immense middle class in France makes upon life the demands which are, elsewhere, those of a limited upper class only” (p. 167). Now, so long as this is asserted of France alone, nothing is proved as to equality ; that may seem, to one observer, the key to this state of things ; another

* *Mixed Essays*. By Matthew Arnold. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

may find the explanation in race or religion. But, when we observe that precisely this formula describes American society as well, the weight of the argument is enormously strengthened; because so many of the disturbing elements of race, religion, and tradition are here eliminated from the comparison. This is what I mean by suggesting a certain narrowness of range in Mr. Arnold's basis of argument. No man in England says things that seem nearer to an American point of view, and no man in England seems more absolutely indifferent to results obtained in America. Whenever he speaks of them, it is to take the thing he most hates—the "hideousness and *ennui*" which stamp, as he claims, all middle-class Dissent in England—and to assume, without offering a fact to sustain it, that all American society simply reproduces the type he paints as so odious. What else can he mean when he speaks, for instance, of "the eternal solo of Philistinism among our brethren of the United States and of Canada"? (p. 344).

Now, it is very certain that all Americans are not to be classed among those whom Dr. Holmes describes in one of his poems as "cheerful Christians of the liberal fold." But it also happens to be sure, as a matter of fact, that the "prison of Puritanism," as Mr. Arnold loves to call it (pp. 78, 227), has been so utterly remodeled and transformed on this continent during the last half century, by the vast intermingling of all races and religions, that there is scarcely enough of it left unmodified in the strictest communities to exert more than its needed share of influence on American life. Canada must answer for itself; but there is hardly a corner, even of New England, that now spends its winters in the gloomy manner in which Mr. Arnold fancies Mr. Goldwin Smith as spending them in Toronto (p. 83). What has modern Boston, with its Sunday concerts and Sunday excursions—with its libraries and reading-rooms and art-galleries, all open on Sunday—to do with that dungeon of Puritanism held up by Mr. Arnold to the horror of mankind?

And there is danger for Mr. Arnold, as for his readers, in the habit of over-strong statement. It is to be remembered that he lives in a land where, for some reason, the most gifted writers sometimes fail to mellow and sweeten as they grow older; where they are more apt to become, like Carlyle and Ruskin, the victims of their own past attitude and deeds, and at last can only reëcho their earlier phrases in a higher and higher key till they end in a cry of despair. Even a man of Mr. Arnold's caliber may not be wholly safe from such dangers. It is well for him to use, for once

in his life, a phrase so strong as "hideousness and *ennui*," if he really means it; but, when a man has once committed himself to such a statement as that, there is danger lest it become his master; when we meet it again and again in successive essays (pp. 79, 168, 227, etc.), it gradually recalls Carlyle's everlasting "respectability that keeps a gig," although that was, after all, a much kindlier condemnation. No one can compare "Mixed Essays" with "Essays in Criticism" and not see that, with increase of power, there has hardly been a corresponding increase of that sweetness which the author of both volumes has long represented to so many minds. Yet the purely literary portion of this later work is as delightful as ever, its knowledge as large, its criticism as delicate, its touch as sure. Mr. Arnold still wields the polished sword of Saladin, and it is hardly fair to complain if he brings from rougher contests the added ornament of some notches on the blade.

III.

So profoundly in earnest has been the life of Mr. Gladstone* that his most purely literary work carries with it the full force of his statesmanlike energy, as his speeches on the driest themes always revealed something of his literary tastes. In his essays there is a sweeping and stately amplification that may sometimes remind the reader of Coleridge and De Quincey, but that there is always, behind all, more method and a clearer end. It is by this amplification alone that we recognize him as an older man than Matthew Arnold, and as having formed his style before it was the habit to shorten one's sword. His practice of numbering paragraphs, too, gives a serious and old-fashioned look to his pages; and tends to deter the careless reader, who shrinks from being reminded, as on a railway, of the precise distance from either terminus. But there is absolutely no other hint of advancing years in these pages. Though he is approaching seventy, Mr. Gladstone's manner is for ever young. The latest essays will be generally accounted the best; and "Kin beyond Sea" and "The Sixteenth Century arraigned before the Nineteenth," though both papers were published only last year, rank as his very best in vigor of thought and felicity of statement.

Mr. Gladstone has wisely omitted from these volumes those essays, or parts of essays, consisting mainly "of matter contested be-

* *Gleanings of Past Years, 1844-'78.* By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M. P. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 4 vols.

tween political parties" (iv., 341). But he has honorably abstained from modifying or explaining away passages that seem inconsistent with one another, or which compliment political opponents whom he might not now as cordially praise. His essay on "Germany, France, and England," first published in 1870, quotes something that "Mr. Disraeli honorably to himself" said in favor of Mr. Gladstone's own policy (iv., 199). And the assumption at the end of the same paper, "If we no longer dream of foreign acquisitions" (iv., 256), reads strangely in view of the assertion, made seven years later, "It is not to be denied that the territorial appetite has within the last quarter of a century revived among us with an abnormal vigor" (iv., 342). Still, the two statements are not irreconcilable, and an uneasy, self-critical nature might have been tempted, perhaps unsuccessfully, to harmonize them. As a matter of fact, the author was thinking, in the first essay, of his own administration; and, in the second, of the longer period of which it formed a part.

When it is remembered that one of the commonest charges against Mr. Gladstone, when in office, was that of being too thin-skinned and too easily goaded into self-justification, it is pleasant to see in how calm and dignified a spirit this book is edited. There is nowhere visible in the notes a trace of personal sensitiveness, even in that most fatal form, the bluff profession of indifference to censure. Those who happened to be in England at the time when "Kin beyond Sea" was published, and who remember the howl of indignation which greeted its predictions as to the future prosperity of the United States in competition with England, will note with admiration that these assaults of critics are left absolutely unmentioned in reprinting the article. Many Liberals did not hesitate to say that their favorite statesman had dealt a fatal blow to his own influence, and Lord Beaconsfield was quoted as having uttered words of very ungenerous triumph. Less than a year has passed; the rapid current of events has already so developed American trade with England as to make Mr. Gladstone's predictions seem far less wild and unpatriotic than they were first held to be; and he now simply reprints them, without exultation and without apology.

While writing in the periodical which had the honor first to publish that remarkable essay, it is hardly needful to praise the clearness and general correctness of its analysis of American affairs—a correctness which no Englishman, except perhaps Mr. Bright, has equaled. Nor is it needful to dwell on the service rendered by

that paper in pointing out to Americans the true theory of the British Government, and especially the real tenure by which "constitutional kingship" now holds its own. Americans may smile as they read the glowing paragraph in which Mr. Gladstone hints the hope that misguided France may yet abandon the republic (i., 228), and implies it as an open question whether the New World will not yet need a king (i., 228); we may wonder that he should see the European current as setting that way (i., 229), when it seems to us to set the other. But the hearty sincerity of his attitude, and the delicate analysis shown in his statement, must help Americans to understand why Englishmen, as a rule, seem to like a monarchy, a thing really almost as hard as to explain to Englishmen like Mr. Gladstone why Americans prefer a republic. Yet one would suppose that, even on his own showing, the cis-Atlantic preference might be explainable, for no one has drawn a more masterly sketch than his of the almost hopeless barrier of moral isolation which now inevitably surrounds English royalty: "To be served by all is dangerous; to be contradicted by none is worse. Taking into view the immense increase in the appliances of material ease and luxury, the general result is that in the private and domestic sphere a royal will enjoys at this epoch, more nearly than in any past generation, the privileges of a kind of omnipotence. At the same time, the principal burden of care and all responsibility for acts of administration, and for the state of the country, is transferred to the heads of others, and even the voice of the lightest criticism is rarely heard" (i., 48).

It is a misfortune to the American reader that some of these papers bear so closely upon matters especially English, as the Established Church and the County Franchise, that they may create some indifference, at first sight, in his mind. Yet even these questions involve beneath their details some of the very principles with which we on this side of the water have to deal; and this languid reader may be very sure that the statesman who could so handle the driest array of statistics as to charm a bored or hostile Parliament into rapt attention, can still throw attractiveness around what are, after all, living themes. Even his prejudices and abstractions have an interest; and though one sometimes wishes that his fine-drawn visions of an aristocratic and hierarchical world could sometimes be struck through by a single powerful stroke like those of Matthew Arnold's lecture on "Equality," yet it is something to be held, through four volumes, in the grasp of an intellect

so trained, and a conscience so lofty. And certainly no one can deny the exhibition of vigor in its highest form to that extraordinary paper, the "Letter to the Earl of Aberdeen," in 1851, in which Mr. Gladstone claimed the interference of the British Government in behalf of thirty thousand men held as political prisoners by the Neapolitan Bourbons. This pamphlet passed through eleven editions in a single year, and was forwarded by Lord Palmerston to all the British ministers on the Continent of Europe. It appears here (iv., 1), with other papers on the same subject; and it is to be hoped that they have not lost their interest, as some of Sydney Smith's writings are said to have lost theirs, from having "done their work so well that their giants are not merely slain, but forgotten."

IV.

A book on nature may be relied upon to attract readers, just as all eyes are drawn to a man who comes into any public place with a fowling-piece on his shoulder, or a string of fish in his hand. The public is easily pleased with such a work; if it only contains the results of personal observation, all literary defects are readily excused, and even egotism becomes a sort of merit. It is pleasant to feel the positive charm of directness and simplicity in a book like "Wild Life in a Southern County,"* and it is impossible not to perceive that in this respect "Locusts and Wild Honey" is at some disadvantage. The English book is written by a man who has known what it is to have old folios and quartos on his bookcase (p. 141); and yet there is not a wordy or ambitious phrase from beginning to end; an immense wealth of natural observation is given in a way that any rustic hunter or fisherman can understand. But the style of Mr. Burroughs is in the transition state from that of the naturalist to that of the literary idealist; and, while giving us poetic touches such as the Englishman scarcely attempts, the American lacks the charm of an even execution and a discriminating taste. The descriptions of nature in "Wild Life" are like the processes of Nature herself, who is wonderfully clear and sweet amid all the facts of change and decay. In the work of Mr. Burroughs there is far more cause for complaint. True, he does not here offend good taste so seriously as in some of his earlier books—as, for instance, in that very unpleasant passage in "Winter Sun-

* Wild Life in a Southern County. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

Locusts and Wild Honey. By John Burroughs. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co.

shine" (p. 197); still it is needlessly annoying to be brought down from some really graceful and airy fancy to such phrases as "boss-clouds" ("Locusts," etc., p. 96), or "the clerk of the weather has a sour stomach" (p. 88). It costs the English observer no effort to avoid such blemishes, and he describes the homeliest incidents of farm-life without needing to employ a coarse word.

It is necessary to refer to these qualities of style in Mr. Burroughs, because they do not seem accidental, but rather the working out of a system. The theory still pervades his books that literary smoothness or finish are not merely dangerous qualities—which is quite true—but that they are dastardly, and imply some fatal weakness. I knew a young girl who had lived in a far Western State of the Union, and who, on first coming to the Atlantic cities, declared that the men she met in society did not seem to her like men, they made so little noise, and were so neatly dressed. Mr. Burroughs betrays some such solicitude, and his theories, if legitimately carried out, would make Ossian the chief of poets. If he praises Shakespeare, it is as showing "the grit and virility of the primitive bard" (p. 178), and in some of his earlier writings he refers to the Greek poets as "the shaggy old bards"; whereas the characterization of Shakespeare as a wild, irregular genius was protested against, long since, by Charles Lamb, and has never reappeared in literature; and the laws of Greek verse were so strict that the roughest passage in *Æschylus* was composed under restraints far severer than controlled Longfellow's smoothest line. Thoreau knew the Greeks better than Mr. Burroughs, and it was for the "refinement" and "perfection" of their work that he praised them, not for shaggy strength. Even when Mr. Burroughs applies the same theory to the study of nature, he does not succeed much better. "I have thought," he says, "that all forms of life in the Old World were marked by greater prominence of type, or stronger characteristic and fundamental qualities than with us—coarser and more hairy and virile, and therefore more powerful and lasting" (p. 153). But the fortunes of the now extinct hairy mammoth hardly justify this *therefore*; and in literature, as in nature, the finer types, not the ruder, survive. It is not the test of strength in a writer that he should use the word "virility" a great many times, but that his vigor should show itself, even through a careful literary execution, like a powerful character beneath refined manners, or the concentrated force of an army beneath the subdued proprieties of its drill. Nature itself—an authority to which Mr. Bur-

roughs, as her faithful disciple, must yield—confirms this assertion at every point. “In the softest tree or the airiest waterfall, the fundamental lines are as lithe and muscular as the crouching haunches of a leopard.”

But for all Mr. Burroughs's occasional mannerisms and willfulness, it is a pleasure to follow him where he is familiar, observing the bees on the farm, the trout in the forest brook, or the thrushes in the wood. He is on our own ground, deals with cis-Atlantic themes, and every novel fact he gives is something reclaimed from the unexplored regions of our own out-door life. He sometimes falls into an inadvertence in language, as when he speaks of the “hylas” instead of the “hyla” (p. 54), using the pronoun “him” afterward, so that he plainly is not employing the name in the plural. It seems unlikely that any bird should be called “*la siffleur*” (p. 223) instead of “*le siffleur*,” in Canada; and we should surely read “*La Grande Brûlure*” instead of “*La Grand Brulure*” (pp. 226, 244). It is possible to criticise such extreme colloquialisms as “she was to the ground before the cicada was” (p. 40). But Mr. Burroughs is too painstaking an observer to be often caught tripping in his facts, and, though his thoughts often take a flavor from Emerson or Thoreau, he has studied well in their school, and his observations are his own.

If the author of “Wild Life” does not report to us the affairs of our own woods and meadows, he gives the charming and congenial atmosphere of English rural scenes. It affords a quaint flavor to have him use here and there familiarly and without quotation-marks many rustic words, for which we must go to the dictionary—such words as *coombe* (p. 54), *bennet* (p. 11, etc.), *haulier* (p. 107), *sarsenstone* (p. 149), *ash-stole* (p. 208), *eyot* (p. 313). It is interesting to come upon what have always seemed local American phrases, and to learn where and how they are used in England; thus the “flake,” which he defines as “a frame of light wood, used after the manner of a hurdle” (p. 63), reappears in those wooden frames called “fish-flakes” along the New England shore. It is interesting to notice the same complaints of decreasing villages (p. 67) in some parts of Old England as in some parts of New England; to find that houses where King Charles slept are there as omnipresent (p. 76) as those where Washington slept in America; to have descriptions of old-fashioned cottages built around their chimneys (p. 80) like the old cottages in Massachusetts and Rhode Island;

and to find that there, as here, the health of villages has really improved in these days (p. 111), instead of declining. It is curious to be told (p. 123) that wine is rapidly supplanting ale among English farmers of the better class, while here it is plain that lager-beer is taking the place of wine and spirits. One reads with envy of the attention still given to bell-ringing as a fine art in country parishes (p. 90), while among us that graceful employment has never found a foothold, because chimes of bells are so rare. Some of his observations on nature, although they bear the marks of careful accuracy, seem quite unlike the results of American observation ; thus I have tried in vain to verify his statement that ants avoid placing their nests where people walk, and put them only at the edges of the garden-paths (p. 50). Is it a bit of covert satire in Nature that ants in a republican country grow indifferent to being trampled upon ? But there are few points where even this amount of criticism can be made ; and when our anonymous Englishman draws a general reflection it is quite as good as anything offered by Mr. Burroughs. What can be prettier than when, in watching the busy and joyous goldfinches, he decides that "a sunshiny day must be like a month to them" (p. 156) ; or what can be wiser than when he says, "Often in striving to get the most value from our time it slips from us, as the reality did from the dog that greedily grasped the shadow" (p. 185) ; or more inspiring and suggestive than when he concludes, after studying the manner in which young cuckoos are reared by robins, "Higher sentiments than those usually attributed to the birds and beasts of the field may, I think, be traced in some of their actions" ? (p. 291). The thoughts of so kindly and modest an observer may well recall us with delight to that wholesome rural side of English life, always so attractive to an American, and more satisfying in these days than the strife of English politics or the new-born imperialism of Lord Beaconsfield.

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

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It is a modern mistake to assume that the production of good silver-work demands neither special training nor high artistic power. It will not suffice to study old models, however excellent, unless fresh inspiration be gathered from Nature, assimilated by the trained mind, and wrought out by the skillful hand into forms of fresh and seemingly design. . . . We confess we were surprised and ashamed to find at the Paris Exhibition that a New York firm, Tiffany & Co., had beaten the old country and the Old World in domestic silver-plate.—*London Spectator, September 21, 1878.*

Now the Japanese work has become the rage on this side, and the Japanese themselves have been the first to show their appreciation of it by ordering specimens of it for a native museum. Tiffany & Co., it seems, with their superior mechanical appliances, have carried the manufacture beyond the power or even the conception of its Asiatic inventors.—*New York World, Paris Correspondence, July 11, 1878.*

During the last fortnight I have had frequent and special opportunities to examine the great Exposition at the Champ de Mars, and especially to observe the representation made by the United States.

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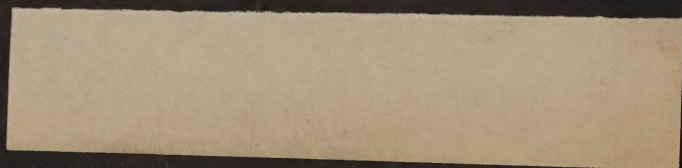
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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCLXXIII.

AUGUST, 1879.

I.

THE WORK AND MISSION OF MY LIFE.

PART I.

THE request which comes to me from America, that I will personally address the readers of a well-known New York review on the subject of my artistic opinions and methods, is one which cannot fail to move me greatly. Here, in my own country, I have long thought it best to refrain from all publication of my ideas, experiences, and plans to any general audience. Whatever a life of sixty years has shown me or taught me of the world—and especially of the art that has been produced or reproduced in it—I have recorded in occasional writings extending over half that period; and later, at an important epoch of my life, I brought these together in an edition of nine volumes of “collected works.” This book I offered to the German people as the complete result of my experience as an artist, and as a German. Though my countrymen had begun to feel a growing and active interest in my art, they had been kept in the dark—and indeed involved in the most puzzling misconceptions—as to my special artistic aims, and the ideals after which I was striving above and beyond my own personal labors and achievements. This ignorance had been brought about by the continual influence of elements fundamentally hostile

to me ; and these now proved powerful enough to prevent the German public almost entirely from reading my collected writings. It was still my actual artistic works which, even though most imperfectly presented and therefore often and widely misconceived, produced an undeniable effect upon the public at large ; and, as far as what I wrote was concerned, people continued to hold the opinion which had been so instilled into their minds, that my "theory" comprised just that element which, in my compositions, had always seemed to them eccentric and displeasing.

In time, however, and in the very midst of the strife that went on over what were called my art principles, a little circle of friends grew up, who made a diligent study of my writings, and were led by the impression made by my artistic works more nearly to an understanding of my broader ideas—those which looked beyond what I could personally accomplish. And, finally, when I undertook, instead of ineffectual written explanations, actually to give a living example of what I had been striving for—undertook, amid extraordinary difficulties, the production of a German musical and dramatic art-work, in the magnificent manner befitting it, and in a place especially constructed for it at Bayreuth—these friends rallied about me with efficient aid. The occasion of the first great festival—the performance of my "Ring of the Nibelungen" in the year 1876—united them into an independent league or society, which especially set itself apart from the body of the nation, to further the continuance and development of my undertaking.

If I should wish in any way or at any time to give expression to my wishes in regard to our art, or to explain the reasons which had led me to hold these wishes, and which continually confirmed me in them, it was natural that such expression should be addressed only to the members of this society—the *Bayreuther Patronatsverein*. The journal published by the society for the special purpose of these—to a certain extent private—communications, and restricted exclusively to the use of its members—the "*Bayreuther Blätter*,"—seemed, of course, the only proper organ for me to use in all such cases. It required, therefore, an appeal from another world—from beyond the ocean, from the so-called "new" world of America—to induce me to allow my name once more to appear elsewhere, in a public periodical, and attached to a new explanation of my aims in art. The "old" world, and especially that part of it included in our new Germany, will hear no more from me directly on this subject.

In my artistic efforts I did not have in mind myself and my own works alone, but a vital need of our whole noblest national art ; nor was it simply the wretched condition of this latter which fixed my attention. That condition had early led me to look most seriously into the influences that controlled our whole civilization, and, from a critical examination of this civilization, to begin a most thorough discussion of the possibility of essentially changing the existing order of things. Only such a change seemed to me to promise a free field for the complete success and prosperity of art. I could not conceive of a national art entirely separated from the basis of our national culture ; and this culture, the sum total of all the elements in Germany's political and social state, appeared to me, from an early point in my study of it, to be something unnatural, narrow, weak, incapable of producing the true realization of any great national idea—in a word, to be something altogether *un-German*.

Now and then my eyes turned from the saddening recognition of these surroundings in my own country, and were directed by some encouraging signs toward the land beyond the ocean. There it seemed as though the Germanic spirit, in untrammelled development, were about to open to us a new realm for the exercise of its unconquerable vigor and strength. The great overplus of this strength, as we see it there let loose for the vast untouched work of a civilization that has as yet no history behind it, may well make us often shrink back alarmed, and lead us to think that culture in our sense—culture which can only reach its ideal height in a great development of art—must be irreconcilable with such forces. Yet in spite of this such a glance toward the New World always awakened hope in me, as hope is always aroused when one looks at anything really strong. It may be that a long time must still pass in toil and care for the needs of the moment, before the great period of a fully rounded civilization will be reached ; but how much is already gained in the single fact that the German mind can there develop in activity and freedom, unoppressed by the wretched burdens left upon it by a melancholy history ! When, with the gradual establishment of the needful quiet in social and political relations, all the evils connected with the work of civilizing, but not inherited from the past, shall one by one drop away—then, it may be hoped, a new civilization will grow up upon the field so energetically and securely won. Such a civilization will then be able to turn with like strength and freedom, and with a greatness of spirit born of successfully gained and general material prosperity,

toward *ideal* aims also ; so that it is there, perhaps, that the Germanic mind will once more attain to the full glory of an art that is all its own.

What serves to strengthen this daring and far-reaching hope is the recollection of a law of history that has often before been verified. If we look back into the remote past of our people, we shall see how precisely those Teutonic races which broke away from the soil of their own land, and emigrated beyond its borders into strange countries, were the ones to display most powerfully the incomparable strength and greatness of the Teutonic family, in unexampled conquests, brilliant and daring deeds, and all-important results. Even where their quickly-won rule over a foreign country has outwardly been overturned after a little time, or where their peculiar character has lost its independent and distinctive traits and expression by amalgamation with a foreign people—even there their immigration has had a decisive influence on the future development of the mind of that people and that country. At this day the two great civilized nations of England and France, and, in the three great Latin regions of Europe, the provinces of Normandy, Lombardy, and Andalusia, bear names derived from the first German emigrants—the Vandals, Lombards, Normans, Franks, and Anglo-Saxons. The Anglo-Saxons especially, above and beyond all others, succeeded in founding, upon the wonderful Celtic islands which they conquered, a really Germanic civilization. Even now this civilization shows itself as the true development of the English *people*, though the Gallicized Norman nobility have ruled for nearly a thousand years over the Saxon race of England. Certainly it is a true Germanic race that has gone forth from its English home, and, continually recruited by emigrants from the mother-country of Germany, is working out the future of America. It shows in this its old habit—it shows itself in its true strength and greatness on a foreign soil, thrown upon its own activity and energy, and compelled to build up a new self-sustaining community. On the other hand, that part of the race which has remained in Germany—that part which bore the special, distinctive name of Germans, and even in the old days staid quietly at home—has always represented the peculiar type of the German “Philistine.” He lets himself be hampered and hemmed in on every side ; and lives out his long tale of little woes, in pettiness and wretchedness, amid continual bickerings with neighbors like himself.

But there is one growth that has come again and again from this

marvelous mother-race ; which has sprung from it like some mighty miraculous birth ; and that is, the great *individual* German—the *Great Man*, standing alone in strange, majestic isolation, as only Germany has given him being—as she has brought him forth especially, to the amazement of the world, in the domain of *Art*—that art which otherwise has gained in Germany so small a foothold. Think of the line of mighty German poets and musicians ! Though they lived all their lives as strangers amid the hostility of their countrymen, it was they, nevertheless, through whom the true German mind exercised an influence beyond the boundaries of its own land. Even there, in the outside world, it could act upon that old strain of German blood that runs through all the nations. The ideal strength of the Germanic spirit shows continually that it is a strength not national but *inter-national* ; and it preserves for the great mother-stem of the race the esteem and honor of the countries of the world.

But those peaceful German world-conquerors who have migrated from Europe to the land beyond the sea, to found there a new civilization and to labor for its development—they at least can find their noble prototypes in the great masters in their native country, who fought their way successfully, amid evils and obstacles of every kind, to that ideal freedom in which only the genius of the Germanic race can be fully revealed. In this sense, a Goethe and a Beethoven should seem to the reverential gaze of the young Teutonic peoples, far away in the New World, like the figures of their national gods and heroes—to remind them that they must never fail to let the immortal spirit of these men work with them, in the necessary ideal completion of the civilization they are building up.

Whoever has given any attention to my own career, and has gathered from my occasional writings some idea of my character and its development, will easily understand that I was precisely the one, among my German countrymen, who must have felt most vehemently the longing for such a new birth of German civilization—somewhere and at some time. The longer I lived, the more I saw the fading away of that vivid memory of our true German culture, which, at the beginning of this century, it seemed that the mighty strength of our great artists was about to awaken and lead to great results. Wider and wider spread before my eyes the heterogeneous web of a civilization entirely foreign to the German race—a web that glittered with two changing colors, the sallow hue of the Restoration, in the old French sense of an oligarchy of

petty rulers, and the red hue of Revolution, in the new (and equally French) sense of "Liberty." The interweaving and arrangement of these two textures seemed to me to be undertaken by a third foreign constituent of our national life—that Jewish element whose influence was continually on the increase. How different had been the future of German culture as Young Germany might have imagined it at the period in which I was born! Until that period it had been possible to include all higher civilization within the meaning of the word "Renaissance"—a fresh awakening, by which reminiscences of the antique were revived and transformed, and clothed in new garments—most exquisitely and attractively, perhaps, in the form they took among the French. The German people, too, as it began to emerge from the long misery of the Thirty Years' War, saw, at the courts of its many princes, the great waste left by the death of its truly national life gradually hidden by an imitation of the sumptuous splendors of Versailles. But all that was really German seemed utterly buried beneath it, when suddenly the genius of the German race awoke anew out of its stupor, in the persons and works of great poets and musicians. Suddenly there sprang up the heroes of the great German revival. This great reawakening is the only movement that can be placed on an equality with the European conception of the Renaissance, and through it our Goethe and Schiller, Mozart and Beethoven, once more revealed the great German element in their glorious art-creations. They found no great public, no nation, to which they could speak in its own language. But in themselves the great national spirit was aroused in renewed vigor, and only some important historical event was necessary, to make it take form in *deeds* amid some great popular need or popular enthusiasm, and to lay the most hopeful foundation for a truly national civilization. This condition seemed to be fulfilled in the great "War of Liberation" against the world-conquering French Cæsar, who was himself the representative of a foreign culture. In the year of my birth (1813) the spirit of the Germanic race fought the great battle of nations that occurred near my birthplace, Leipsic. It fought to sustain German rulers, who had hitherto only misunderstood and tyrannized over it. And now it stood—it, the misconceived and oppressed—suddenly revealed again as a power in the world; greater than the mighty conqueror, nobler than the civilization which at that day ruled the nations, and which had its highest type in that victorious emperor. It was the same spirit which, through our great masters, had already wonderfully

aroused the youth of that people which had so long forgotten it, and had inspired them for the great deed of liberating their country, frowned upon and opposed though they were by those about them. Upon this strong foundation of Germanism the German rulers could build their thrones as strongly and safely as though they built for all eternity ; for it had the strength of absolute loyalty—of the true Germanic love of the people for its princes—a love which needs no mediators.

It was at this very time of the great struggle and victory, that the greatest of the masters lived—those in whom the spirit of this conquering force had shown itself anew. Goethe and Beethoven were still alive ; and in Weber's pure and noble strains the young genius of Germany took possession of the stage in the inspiring sounds of music. Thus this revival of the Germanic spirit need not have lacked, at the moment of completing its work of founding an independent political civilization, the noble aid of being able to reveal itself in living energy in the domain of *art* also. Indeed, this artistic development would for the first time, upheld by political power, have taken on its most perfect *national* form, which before, isolated as it was, it had never been able to assume. It is only through the stage that a national art can become truly the property of the people ; and only when the great part which belongs to the stage in popularizing and embodying art is properly secured to it, can this art attain to a full and free national life in other branches. A true, living, national drama, elevated to the height of an artistic ideal, is the real, pure, invigorating source of all other national art-life, and the most complete expression of national culture. Thus the wretched condition of the modern European stage, thoroughly unnational and inartistic, and supplied from the sweepings of the lower class French theatres, is one of the surest gauges of the spirit of modern European civilization in general.

Goethe and Schiller had also striven to develop the spirit of the people by means of the stage ; but they were compelled to work far in advance of the theatre's capabilities, as it existed in their time ; and it would have been the part of the stage to follow after them—just as the German princes had had to follow hurriedly after the political spirit that had run before them, in order to secure to themselves the element of strength that it furnished. But when at length German *music* succeeded in inspiring the stage to a complete revival by breathing into it the breath of a new life, this was the decisive moment when an intelligent support of native art, by a

power as truly national, should have given the surest confirmation of the victory of German culture over foreign civilization. That this *did* not happen and *could* not happen, showed on the other hand that the regenerated German spirit, in a restored German state, had suffered a most disastrous defeat, from which it has never been able to recover.

The victorious end of the great conflict had preserved for the people its own rulers ; and the youth of the country, purified by its baptism of brave deeds, now showed itself ready and filled with lofty enthusiasm, for a worthy work of peace—prepared to help the princes to whom its efforts had secured their thrones, in developing a true German life among their people. In the associations of these young men, returning from the turmoil of war to their studies at the universities, there lived the noble spirit of their beloved Schiller, now first accomplishing its real results—laboring everywhere to purify the morals of the people—to ennoble alike their inner and outward life. Up to this time the rough coarseness of the vagabond mercenaries of the Thirty Years' war had prevailed and been transmitted among the German students—their method, in the societies they called their "Landmannschaften," of protesting noisily against the Frenchified civilization of the Philistines. But now this barbaric spirit was banished from the more serious temper of a youth inspired by the great works of their country's classic writers, and hardened by the battles of the war of liberation—men in the old-German blouses of the Burschenschaft, under which beat pure and fiery German hearts. In the place of the old coarseness and brutality, were set a healthy vigor and the true enthusiasm of the new-born national life. The rescued princes, amid their own diplomatic peace-making, saw all this, and were alarmed at this new strength. They had thought of nothing but the restoration of the Bourbon system and of the spirit of despotism on the thrones of Europe, with which the light-hearted Congress of Vienna, after all the long terrors of the war, had thought it could easiest settle all the troubles of the day—at the same time securing for the ruling powers the return of all those pomps and pleasures which the end of the last century seemed to have buried for ever. And now all at once the terrible spirit of the great French Revolution, to which all those princely pleasures had fallen victim, seemed about to reappear in their own country : the "*deutscher Jüngling*" was looked upon as a Jacobin ; and the *fear* of a national spirit thus misconceived and misinterpreted was the only thing which the rulers of

the time seemed to have learned from these hopeful beginnings of a national revival. The wretched, stupefying period of Reaction began; the hunting down of demagogues laid waste our country just as it was springing into fresh national life. At a time when Beethoven was composing his last and greatest works, when Weber's "Freischütz," "Euryanthe," and "Oberon" were coming into being, when Goethe was finishing his "Faust"—at such a time, just after the mightiest uprising of the national spirit for the liberation of the Fatherland, we are confronted with this picture of complete oppression of everything German, of the entire destruction of every living nucleus for the development of a domestic or political national life. The great manifestation of the national genius in the works of those mighty masters remains without a trace of influence upon the further history of the nation. Between the people and their art, as between the people and their princes, a mutual misunderstanding, the German's misunderstanding even of himself, kept alive by fear and repression, and continually growing greater and greater, has raised a barrier that shuts out light and air from both alike. From this time on there is no true German life, no real German history.

Precisely what the German rulers had been led to fear by their pitiable misconception of the noble aspirations of Young Germany, became, through their own policy, which cut the very ground from under their feet, a thing seriously to be feared. The German youth, mistaken for a "Jacobin," must of necessity be driven by this policy into a kind of counterfeit Jacobinism. The spirit of freedom was once for all aroused, and was striving to realize its aims. If it could not do this in a way befitting the genius of the nation and the nation's needs, there were the new *international* methods to offer it a welcome channel for its expression. Naturally and independently developed in true German fashion, out of the nobly enthusiastic heart of Young Germany, it might have helped the country to a true national culture, embodying all that was best in it. The old beautiful loyalty between prince and people might have been revived in its full vigor. But the idea of liberty came with its foreign signification, as a *resistance* to something, and in this form secretly took more and more hold upon the minds of Germans, who no longer had a Fatherland in which they could feel themselves at home. The French idea of *revolution*, proclaiming itself as a kind of international panacea, began to seem the true way to be rid of every national evil, and was exchanged, in the minds of the German people, longing for an ideal freedom, for the significance—so shame-

fully misunderstood—of the real revival of national feeling. If the normal and healthy influence of its own strength was repressed in Germany, this external foreign influence made its way the more easily. When the revolutionary tempests of 1830 broke out in the metropolis of the west—the city that still ruled the world—and among the restless, rebellious Slavic peoples of the east, this element began in earnest to threaten the ruling powers of Germany, hardly yet secure upon their thrones, with that dreaded destruction which, if successful, it must certainly have brought to the last vestiges of German thought, German life, and German art.

It was at this eventful time, at the beginning of the fourth decade of our century, that, as a boy of seventeen, I made my first real entry into life ; to feel, with all the strength of a peculiarly receptive nature, all the wonderful impressions it conveyed. I was never a marvel of musical precocity ; at a very early age a taste for poetry had struggled with a taste for music, for the mastery in my mind. It was only the knowledge of Beethoven's symphonies, gained when I was a boy of fifteen, that first decided me finally and passionately in favor of music ; though it had always (especially through Weber's "Freischütz") had the strongest effect upon me. In my boyhood, which was passed in Dresden, I had seen the revered composer of this incomparable work (Weber was then a Kapellmeister in the city), and had even met him at our house ; and the touching picture of his spiritual, shadowy figure, joined with the powerful, vivid effect of his composition as I had heard it on the stage, had left upon my mind an impression too deep to be forgotten. Beethoven's symphonies, to which, though entirely without any special musical study, I devoted myself with passionate enthusiasm, finally gave music in my eyes a fairly supernatural power (*eine ganz dämonische Macht*), which, it seemed to me, I could not measure by any ordinary outward standard. Their harmonies and movements appeared to me rather like ghostly, spiritual forces, which seemed to address themselves to me individually, and to take on the most fantastic shapes. The knowledge taught me as pedantically and dryly as possible at school was, of course, of no avail against a power of such strange fascinations. I had suddenly become a musician, though, at the same time, my instinct of poetic imitation, which I had even as a child practiced on Shakespeare and the antique tragedies, did not quite leave me. It sought rather to pay a tribute, however small, in the shape of some *libretti* which I composed, to the mighty Dæmon of music that had so taken possession of me.

Returning to my native city of Leipsic, and for the first time really beginning life there, I saw with amazement how great had been the effects, even there, of the Paris Revolution of July, 1830—effects which showed themselves in students' insurrections and in riots among the working classes. My young blood, for the first time fully aroused, hurried me into the ranks of the students, whose society seemed to me a marvelous realization of my ideas of liberty and vigor, and among whom I soon had a right to count myself as a regularly professed student of music. At the same time the Polish insurrection also began to have its exciting effect upon me. Polish emigrants, haughty, handsome men, who fascinated me and filled me with the deepest sympathy for the sad fate of their country, came to Leipsic, and I became acquainted with numbers of them. All this wrought more and more upon my mind, both in fancy and reality.

Meanwhile I had ventured into the light of publicity as a composer. The impressions of Weber's and Beethoven's music, which were so vivid a part of my being, and stimulated me to attempts at imitation, were not, as I had soon to confess, so easily to be reproduced in any reasonably adequate way, without a regular study of musical *theory*. At length, therefore, I threw myself into this study with an ardor that in a relatively short time gave me complete self-reliance in the use of musical laws and forms. My first opera, "The Fairies," which I now composed, to a text written by myself from a legend by Gozzi, was entirely in the romantic style of Weber and Marschner. But the high art-ideals which I held were soon to receive an irresistible shock from the increasing influences of real life. The same elements which had only appealed to my fancy in the results of the revolutionary movements in the countries about me, now roused my over-fiery youthful blood as I found them again in the works of Heinse, which I had begun to read with great avidity. He was the apostle of a kind of unlimited æsthetic sensuousness; and I gained the same ideas from my acquaintance with that new school of "young German" literature, which attacked with fiery vehemence the life of *old* Germany, now exhausted and moribund under the weight of political oppression. One writer of this school, Heinrich Laube, the author of "Young Europe," was at that time my personal friend.

Added to all this came the impression made upon me by a benefit-performance given in Leipsic by the great dramatic artist Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient, whose talents converted Bellini's

"Romeo"—a work in itself destitute of every trace of the strength which had attracted me in my favorite German composer—into a performance of the highest dramatic merit. Such experiences opened my eyes to the realities about me. I had been forced to the discovery that those works which had had such a wondrous, vivid existence in my own imagination, became, in the hands of the actual representatives of my art, mere dead, colorless, and lifeless ghosts, which were powerless to impress my ardent temperament, craving fresh, vigorous realities. This was hopelessly evident to me, and struck me with new force, at a performance which I heard of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, that mystic source of what had been my highest ecstasies—a performance given under the lead of a Kapellmeister of the famous Leipsic Gewandhaus concerts. But now at last I saw upon the stage, ranged in opposition to this pitiable state of serious German art in general, a new element, pulsating with new fire—an element such as I longed for, let its artistic value be what it might. In the form of a great artist this element possessed all the possibility of such artistic impressions as I had never seen produced in the spiritless performance of even our greatest masterpieces.

Under the influence of this storm of superabundant youthful vitality I passed into the period in which it may be said that I sowed my musical "wild oats"—a phase which I can not call a change in my character or even taste, but rather an awakening to the importance of what was living and vigorous. The result of this condition was the writing and composition of a second opera—this time entirely in the French and even in the Italian style—the "Love-Veto"—a wild, revolutionary, recklessly sensuous transformation of Shakespeare's serious "Measure for Measure." Music had now become a living thing to me, instead of a mystery; but how different a thing from what, in the days when it had seemed a mystery, I had imagined it! And yet this new life which it had assumed, by transferring it to the actual stage of a theatre, accomplished precisely what I had longed for in that earlier time. What I had still to attain was the true *ideal form* in which this new life, so indispensable to the perfection of my art, must be embodied.

I now began the practical professional life of a musician, as conductor at some of the city theatres, and had ample opportunity to revel at pleasure in my new element. I found myself ardently absorbing the fresh, light, and volatile art of the day, to reproduce it with equal ardor in my own work. Thus, even within the narrow

limits in which I then moved, I lived over again in my own person the history of the whole spirit of the time, as it found characteristic expression in the art and literature around me. Modern literature had broken completely with all that was old, great, and venerable—elements which seemed to it to be part and parcel of that dishonored and despised Germany of the past which it was seeking to change so completely. The last vestiges of the true Germanic character, which, in a form full of idealism, art, and genius, had attempted, through the writings of the romantic school, to make an oasis in the great national desert, were scoffed at and rooted out by the revolutionary spirit of criticism that came to us from the West. It is particularly characteristic of this movement that the two most famous and talented writers of this period of destruction, Börne and Heine, were not of German origin, but came from that race of mediators and negotiators whose influence was from this time to spread its truly “international” power more and more widely over Germany. But not these writers alone furthered this tendency. The so-called “young Germans” also tried, in their many-volumed romances, to stamp the foreign element which brought this new, fresh movement into our moribund literature, as that veritable modern “international” spirit, whose chosen “champions” they so boldly declared themselves.

This movement was to have still greater successes and results in the domain of music. Here the foreign, un-German element had been a decided—even an unresisted—victor over the few imitative, distorted remnants of our great national art. The lively, sparkling compositions of Auber and Rossini, the best fruits of the French and Italian style, now ruled the German stage; works in which really national characteristics and great talents found most charming expression, and which culminated in the musical glorification of the idea of revolution, as in “*La Muette de Portici*” (*Masaniello*) and in “*William Tell*.” But this was not enough. That race of go-betweens must once more, and at exactly the right moment, give us a man of peculiar talents, whose task it was to complete the estrangement of the Germans from the art that was peculiarly their own. This man—who put upon the stage, with every appliance of show and glitter, and with all the refinements of theatrical effect, the highest development of the most effective modern art-elements—a *Mischmasch* of all styles and methods in the form of the great “*Historical Opera*”—this man was Meyerbeer. From Beethoven’s symphonies to Meyerbeer’s opera—what a fearful stride is this!

But how could the German of that day fail to take it, even with enthusiasm, after his whole national character and being had been so utterly destroyed or taken away from him during those years that had passed since the war of liberation, that Beethoven's German music must seem to him something entirely foreign ; something without effect upon him ; something eccentric and repellent ; the extreme extravagance of an isolated man overweighted by his genius ; something the imitation or development of which was to be fearfully and carefully avoided ? The German mind, losing more and more of its better self, fairly detested his latest artistic productions. It let Weber die in a foreign land among strangers ; it laid away in the dusty corners of its libraries Goethe's now completed "Faust," as a dry, unintelligible jumble of mysteries written by a poet of the last century, grown old amid the atmosphere of courts ; and now it deserted Beethoven, whom it pronounced a mere madman, for Meyerbeer, whom it declared the greatest of modern geniuses, and reveled amid the "revolutionary" music of "The Huguenots," in dreams of a coming day of freedom for itself—taking the doubtfully religious flavor of the work as a bit of piquant historic spice which the author had infused into it.

But though in this department of art there was now nothing but coarseness and triviality, there was another direction in which a finer taste and a real artistic talent revived among us, and did *its* best, also, to settle our account with the great past—a past which it found rather uncomfortable to look back upon. Here, too, a member of that ubiquitous, talented race took the lead. Mendelssohn undertook with his delicate hand—his exquisite special talent for a kind of musical landscape-painting—to lead the educated classes of Germany as far away from the dreaded and misunderstood extravagances of a Beethoven, and from the sublime prospect opened to national art by his later works, as from those rude theatrical orgies which his more refined taste so detested in the historical opera of his fellow-Hebrew. He was the savior of music in the *salon*—and with him the concert-room, and now and then even the church, did duty as a *salon* also. Amid all the tempests of revolution he gave to his art a delicate, smooth, quiet, cool, and agreeably tranquil form that excited nobody, and had no aim but to please the modern cultivated taste, and to give it occasionally, amid the shifting and turmoil of the times, the consolation of a little pleasing and elegant entertainment. A new idea in art was developed—the embodiment in it of a graceful, good-society ele-

ment, quite foreign to the nation's character and social life. Soon, however, this kind of art, which had been received with a general and joyful welcome, ventured out of the narrow limits of that talent which was so well fitted to represent it, to attempt to assume the larger forms used by the great geniuses of an earlier period. It attracted to these aims that feebly defined yet really earnest and meditative kind of German talent that still existed; and Robert Schumann, a tasteful composer of little spirited and pleasant songs and pieces for the piano-forte—a *genre* painter to the other's landscape—now began to write symphonies, oratorios, and operas. The educated German—who no longer believed in a great living national art, but in his vague longing for political freedom was very fond of using empty phrases about the now forgotten “German element”—saw in these works the noble achievements of a truly reawakened “German art-spirit”; and, contrasting them with the prevailing crude realism and trivial sensuousness of the “international” art which he saw presented to the public, he felt himself bound to admire them enthusiastically when he heard them performed in the more exclusive concert-room. Thus the German intellect degenerated into a condition of complete unproductiveness in art, severing the living and active bonds that bound it to a great national past, and undertaking to create, unaided, an art intended only for “amateurs” and “connoisseurs.”

I could not feel myself drawn toward such an art. The crudest realism that contained an element of true strength had more attraction for me—seemed more at one with my ideas. Even the “great historical opera,” the culminating point of the foreign taste that had migrated into Germany, where it had been transformed into the very reverse of its original form, and had taken on much that was repulsive and unnatural—even this caught my attention for a time. I saw in it the greatest development that the rich accessories of art could attain, in the effort to produce a combined dramatic and musical effect; and even this was higher than mere tediousness and emptiness. I did not yet appreciate the fact that this whole school must, of necessity, be wanting in all *ideal* tendencies; I thought that this want resulted only from the erroneous method of one particular artist. I endeavored to elevate myself above the triviality and coarseness of this strangely attractive phase of art; and with this aim I wrote and composed my “Rienzi” in the same form—as an historic opera—and with an even greater use of all possible theatrical effects. The same revolutionary fire showed in

it that had blazed so fiercely and recklessly in my "Love-Veto"; but it had become a clearer flame, and my hero could really be considered an ideal personage, whom it was only necessary to compare with Meyerbeer's "Prophet" to see whither my artistic instincts were leading me. But, as they always led me toward something real and *living*, they necessarily led me *away* from my German fatherland. There I saw no possible chance for the production of my new work—only fitted, as it was, to be produced upon the largest scale, and with the most ample accessories. What was this Germany to me, whose most important and most vigorous works were, after all, only importations from abroad? The desire seized me to go myself into the outside world whence these things came; impelled me—and this is especially characteristic of my whole feeling—to go straight to the center of this modern life—to Paris itself. It was there that my eyes were to be opened to the sacrifice that I had made to the tendencies of the day; and there, too, that I was to become fully conscious of that longing for the *ideal* which was already awakening within me, and which was later to bring me to my home again, and to bring my home to me.

Almost entirely without money, and with hardly even the necessary acquaintance with the French language, I started, under the impulse of my hasty decision, and reached my goal after an extraordinarily protracted voyage, in a sailing ship, from the Russian shore of the Baltic by way of England. How soon I had to realize that here in Paris it was literally impossible for a stranger, without means or introduction, to make himself known in any way! After countless vain attempts to gain a hearing from influential people, I was glad to barely support life by the most menial labor. My great opera, the goal of my wishes, still hovered before me, with all its seductive splendors, during this time of utter wretchedness and poverty; I saw about me the very rich and brilliant accessories I needed for it; but saw them thrown away on the enviably exact and correct production of petty and artificial art-works, and ruled by the useless dilettantism of spiritless music. Of any real living element of national feeling, such as is embodied in a truly noble art, I found nothing here any more than elsewhere; the spirit that had penetrated from abroad like a life-giving current into my own sadly lifeless country seemed here to be fenced about with conventional forms, to be inaccessible to every one who was not fortunate enough to belong among the *protégés* of the powers which alone controlled all art matters. It grew more and more obvious to me

that it was impossible to infuse any ideal element into institutions so encompassed with inartistic conventionalities; and the better spirit in me—which I could only think of as the spirit of our great German school of music—rebelled more and more against them. The revolutionary feeling of the time now took once for all a different turn, and changed into an uncontrollable spirit of revolt against the methods employed in the public administration of art matters. And in this—where, alone among strangers as I was, I must have given myself up for lost without some powerful help—the Fatherland I had left and forgotten came to my aid.

In this foreign land I heard for the first time, under Habeneck's admirable leadership at the Conservatoire, really finished performances of Beethoven's symphonies. The long-lost wonder-world of my youth opened again to my manhood, seeming once more like a blessed reality amid a maze of shifting, ghostly dreams. Inspired by such experiences, I again composed a serious symphonic work in the pure German style—"A Faust Overture" (*eine Faust Ouvertüre*), and began the writing and composition of a new and dramatic work—thoroughly romantic and thoroughly German in spirit—which I finished in an extraordinarily short time. On the voyage to England, along the Scandinavian coast, I had heard for the first time from the sailors the remarkable legend of the "Flying Dutchman"—that ghostly mariner, compelled by a terrible curse to wander over the seas, ever seeking for home, and seeking it in vain. I felt myself overcome by the same fearful loneliness in the midst of the great ocean of a foreign land, and filled with a mighty longing for the home that now seemed to me transformed and glorified. The adaptation of this romantic legend led me into a new direction in my artistic development—a direction which was truly German and truly ideal, and in which a singular stroke of fortune was soon to help me on still farther. For here, among strangers, I was for the first time to become acquainted with the great world of German legend. I read the story of "Tannhäuser," and this sympathetic, tragic figure made a powerful impression upon me, and showed me—especially when I connected it with the "Sängerkrieg" on the Wartburg—the possible material of a great, seriously-conceived musical drama. I also read the old German poem on this "Sängerkrieg," and found added to it the legend of Lohengrin. A new world opened before me. Here was the *ideal form* suddenly offered to me in all its glory—that form which, in the world about me, however brilliant and great it seemed, could have so little part

in the productions of that popular and only school of art which I saw prevailed both in the drama and in music. Here were suddenly revealed, in their true artistic form, the noblest, most characteristic, deepest, and strongest elements of the primal Germanic spirit.

The work which I conceived could never take its place, I knew, upon a stage controlled by the world-ruling "grand opera," could never find its production in this place to which my madness had brought me—this center of a modern life which was satisfied with the art it found there. It was on German soil, the soil of my own home, toward which I was now drawn by the most passionate longing, that the art I dreamed of could alone take root. I had yet to learn that this home was but an ideal which existed only in my imagination, and which the reality was very far from fulfilling.

And now a most miraculous thing happened. In the midst of my longing there actually came from Germany a summons—to me, the utterly unknown! My "*Rienzi*," which I had sent home in despair—my work that I had composed only with a view to its performance abroad, and that I had already given up—had brought me into notice in Germany. In Dresden, where my beloved master, Weber, had lived and labored, my opera had been accepted and was to be brought out at once. And the German artist, now a man of thirty, hastily gathered together the results of his experience in the foreign capital, and carrying with him "*The Flying Dutchman*" and the schemes of "*Tannhäuser*" and "*Lohengrin*," hurried back, filled with happy hopes, across the Rhine to his now regained Fatherland.

RICHARD WAGNER.

II.

THE DIARY OF A PUBLIC MAN.

*UNPUBLISHED PASSAGES OF THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE
AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.*

[As a contribution to what may be called the interior history of the American Civil War, the editor of the "North American Review" takes great pleasure in laying before his readers a series of extracts from the diary of a public man intimately connected with the political movement of those dark and troubled times. He is not permitted to make public the whole of this diary, and he has confined his own editorial supervision of it to formulating under proper and expressive headings the incidents and events referred to in the extracts which have been put at his service. When men still living, but not now in the arena of politics, are referred to, it has been thought best to omit their names, save in two or three cases which will explain themselves; and, in regard to all that is set down in the diary, the editor has a firm conviction that the author of it was actuated by a single desire to state things as they were, or at least as he had reason at the time to believe that they were. Those who are most familiar with the true and intimate history of the exciting times covered by this diary will be the most competent judges of the general fidelity and accuracy of this picture of them; nor can it be without profit for the young men of the present generation to be thus brought face to face, as it were, with the doubts, the fears, the hopes, the passions, and the intrigues through which the great crisis of 1861 was reached. It is always a matter of extreme delicacy to decide upon the proper moment at which private memorials of great political epochs should see the light. If there is danger by a premature publicity of wounding feelings which should be sacred, there is danger also in delaying such publications until all those who figured on the stage of political affairs have passed away, and no voice can be lifted to correct or to complete the tales told in their pages. In this instance it is hoped that both of these perils have been avoided. While many of the leading personages whose individual tendencies, ideas, or interest, gravely and decisively af-

fects the cause of American history just before and throughout the Civil War are now no more, many others survive to criticise with intelligence and to elucidate with authority the views and the judgments recorded in this diary from day to day under the stress of each day's crowding story.—EDITOR.]

PRESIDENT BUCHANAN AND SOUTH CAROLINA.

Washington, December 28, 1860.—A long conversation this evening with Mr. Orr, who called on me, which leaves me more than anxious about the situation. He assures me that he and his colleagues received the most positive assurances to-day from President Buchanan that he would receive them and confer with them, and that these assurances were given them by Mr. B——, who certainly holds the most confidential relations with the President, not only as an editor of the official paper but personally. He declared to Mr. Orr that Anderson's movement from Moultrie to Sumter was entirely without orders from Washington, and offered to bring him into communication with Mr. Floyd on that point, which offer Mr. Orr very properly declined, on the ground that he represented a "foreign state," and could not assume to get at the actions and purposes of the United States Government through any public officer in a private way, but must be first regularly recognized by the head of the United States Government. He said this so seriously that I repressed the inclination to smile which involuntarily rose in me. I have known Mr. Orr so long and like him so much that I am almost equally loath to think him capable of playing a comedy part in such a matter as this, and of really believing in the possibility of the wild scheme upon which the secession of South Carolina seems to have been projected and carried out. He absolutely insists that he sees no constitutional reason why the Federal Government should refuse to recognize the withdrawal of South Carolina from the Union, since the recognition of the Federal Government by South Carolina is conceded to have been essential to the establishment of that Government. He brought up the old cases of North Carolina and Rhode Island, and put at me, with an air of expected triumph, the question, "If Massachusetts had acted on the express language of Josiah Quincy at the time of the acquisition of Louisiana, declaring the Constitution abolished by that acquisition, what legal authority would there have been in the Executive of the United States to declare Massachusetts in rebellion and march troops to re-

duce her?" I tried to make him see that the cases were not analogous, but without effect, nor could I bring him to admit my point that the provision made in the Constitution for the regulation of Congressional elections in the several States by Congress itself, in case any State should refuse or neglect to ordain regulations for such elections, carried with it the concession to the Federal Government of an implied power to prevent any particular State from invalidating the general compact by a failure to fulfill its particular obligations. He intimated to me that for his own part he would be perfectly willing to let the claim of the United States over the Federal property in South Carolina be adjudicated by the Supreme Court, under a special convention to that effect between South Carolina and the United States, after the President had recognized the action by which South Carolina withdrew her "delegations of sovereignty" to the Federal Government. He was careful to impress on me, however, that this was simply his own personal disposition, and not his disposition as a Commissioner.

All this was but incidental to his main object in calling on me, which was to urge my coöperation with Mr. Seward to strengthen the hands of the President in ordering Major Anderson back at once to Fort Moultrie. He explained to me that, by this unauthorized transfer of his small force to Fort Sumter, Anderson had immensely strengthened the war secessionists, not only in South Carolina but in other States, who were loudly proclaiming it as unanswerable evidence of an intention on the part of the United States to coerce South Carolina, and to take the initiative in plunging the country into a horrible civil strife, which would be sure to divide the North, and in which the West would eventually find itself on the side of the South. He had seen Mr. Seward during the day, who had fully agreed with him that Anderson's movement was a most unfortunate one, and had suggested that the matter might be arranged if South Carolina would evacuate Fort Moultrie and allow Anderson to reoccupy that post, both parties agreeing that Fort Sumter should not be occupied at all by either. This would, in fact, Mr. Orr said, be conceding almost everything to the United States, as Sumter could not be held against a sea force, and Moultrie commands the town. His explanation of Anderson's movement is that he lost his head over the excitement of two or three of his younger officers, who were not very sensible, and who had got themselves into hot water on shore with some of the brawling and silly young Sea Island bloods of Charleston. As to the

willingness of South Carolina to come into such an arrangement of course he could not speak, though he did not believe that Moultrie would have been occupied to-day excepting to afford a basis for it. I agreed with him that anything which could properly be done to avert an armed collision between the forces of the United States and those of any State, in the present troubled and alarmed condition of the public mind, ought to be done; but I frankly told him I did not believe Mr. Buchanan would take the responsibility of ordering Anderson to evacuate Fort Sumter and return to Fort Moultrie, and asked him what reason, if any, he had to think otherwise. He hesitated a little, and finally told me that Mr. Seward had given him reason to think the decision could be brought about through the influence of Senator ——, whose term expires in March, but who has great personal weight with the President, and, as a Southern man by birth and a pronounced Breckenridge Democrat, no inconsiderable hold upon the more extreme Southern men, particularly of the Gulf States. Mr. Seward, in fact, told him that the subject had been discussed by him with this gentleman last night pretty fully, and that he thought Mr. Buchanan could be led to see that the crisis was an imminent one, and must be dealt with decisively at once.

SOUTH CAROLINA NOT IN FAVOR OF A CONFEDERACY.

For his own part, Mr. Orr admitted that he deprecated above all things any course of action which would strengthen the Confederate party in South Carolina. He did not wish to see a Confederate States government formed, because he regarded it—and there I agreed with him—as sure to put new obstacles in the way of the final adjustment so imperatively necessary to the well-being of all sections of the country. He thought that if the United States Government would at once adjust the Fort Sumter difficulty, and recognize the secession of South Carolina as an accomplished fact within the purview of the Constitution, the Independent party, as he called it, in South Carolina would at once come forward and check the now growing drift toward a new Confederacy. The most earnest and best heads in South Carolina, he said, had no wish to see the State linked too closely with the great cotton-growing Gulf States, which had already “sucked so much of her blood.” They looked to the central West and the upper Mississippi and Ohio region as the railway history of the State indicated, and would

not be displeased if the State could be let entirely alone, as Rhode Island tried to be at the time when the Constitution was formed. In short, he pretty plainly admitted that South Carolina was more annoyed than gratified by the eagerness of Georgia and the Gulf States to follow her lead, and that nothing but the threatening attitude given to the United States by such acts as the occupation of Fort Sumter could determine the victory in that State of the Confederate over the Independent movement.

I could not listen to Mr. Orr without a feeling of sympathy, for it was plain to me that he was honestly trying to make the best of what he felt to be a wretched business, and that at heart he was as good a Union man as anybody in Connecticut or New York. But when I asked him whether South Carolina, in case her absolute independence could be established, would not at once proceed to make herself a free State, and whether, wedged into the Gulf and the middle West as she is, she would not make any protective system adopted by the rest of the country a failure, he could not answer in the negative. He got away from the point pretty smartly though, by asking me whether a free-trade policy adopted from South Carolina to the Mexican border would not be a harder blow at our Whig system than a free-trade policy confined to South Carolina. I asked him whether Governor Pickens, who seems, from what Mr. Orr told me—there is absolutely nothing trustworthy in the papers about it—to have ordered the occupation of Moultrie and Fort Pinckney, is really in sympathy with the secession movement. He smiled, and asked me if I knew Mrs. Pickens. "Mrs. Pickens, you may be sure," he said, "would not be well pleased to represent a petty republic abroad. But I suppose you know," he went on, "that Pickens is the man who was born insensible to fear. I don't think he is likely to oppose any reasonable settlement, but he will never originate one." One of Mr. Orr's colleagues, whom I did not think it necessary or desirable to see, came for him and took him away in a carriage. Almost his last words were, "You may be perfectly sure that we shall be received and treated with."

SENATOR DOUGLAS ON BUCHANAN AND LINCOLN.

He had hardly gone before Mr. Douglas called, in a state of some excitement. He had a story, the origin of which he would not give me, but which, he said, he believed: that Anderson's

movement was preconcerted through one Doubleday, an officer, as I understood him, of the garrison, with "Ben Wade," and was intended to make a pacific settlement of the questions at issue impossible. I tried to reason him out of this idea, but he clung to and dwelt on it till he suddenly and unconsciously gave me the cue to his object in bringing it to me by saying: "Mind, I don't for a moment suspect Lincoln of any part in this. Nobody knows Abe Lincoln better than I do, and he is not capable of such an act. Besides, it is quite incompatible with what I have heard from him"—he had said, when he checked himself with a little embarrassment, I thought, and went on—"what I have heard of his programme. A collision and civil war will be fatal to his Administration and to him, and he knows it—he knows it," Mr. Douglas repeated with much emphasis. "But Wade and that gang are infuriated at Seward's coming into the Cabinet, and their object is to make it impossible for Lincoln to bring him into it. I think, as a friend of Seward's, you ought to understand this."

I thanked him, but put the matter off with some slight remark, and, without giving him my authority, asked him if he thought it likely Mr. Buchanan would receive the South Carolina Commissioners. "Never, sir! never," he exclaimed, his eyes flashing as he spoke. "He will never dare to do that, sir!" "What, not if he has given them to understand that he will?" I replied. "Most certainly not, if he has given them to understand that he will. That would make it perfectly certain, sir, perfectly certain!" He then launched out into a kind of tirade on Mr. Buchanan's duplicity and cowardice. I tried to check the torrent by dropping a remark that I had merely heard a rumor of the President's intentions, but that was only pouring oil on the flames. "If there is such a rumor afoot," he said, "it was put afoot by him, sir; by his own express proceeding, you may be sure. He likes to have people deceived in him—he enjoys treachery, sir, enjoys it as other men do a good cigar—he likes to sniff it up, sir, to relish it!" He finally cooled off with a story of his having got a political secret out about the Kansas-Nebraska business, which he wished propagated without caring to propagate it himself, or have his friends do so, by the simple expedient of sending a person to tell it to the President, after first getting his word on no account to mention it to any one. "Within six hours, sir, within six hours," he exclaimed, "it was all over Washington, as I knew it would be!"

SECRETARY FLOYD AND THE PLOT TO ABDUCT BUCHANAN.

Washington, December 29th.—This resignation of Floyd is of ill-omen for the speedy pacification of matters, as he would hardly have deprived Virginia of a seat in the Cabinet at this moment if he thought the corner could be turned. He is not a man of much account personally, and is, I believe, of desperate fortunes, at least such is the current rumor here; but it was of considerable importance that the post he held should be held by a Southern man at this juncture, if only to satisfy the country that South Carolina does not at all represent the South as a body in her movement, and his withdrawal at this moment, taken in conjunction with the lawless proceedings at Pittsburg the other day, will be sure to be interpreted by the mischief-makers as signifying exactly the contrary. The effects of all this upon our trade at this season of the year are already more disastrous than I can bear to think of. My letters from home grow worse and worse every week. No sort of progress is making in Congress meanwhile. B—— has just left me after half an hour of interesting talk. He shares my views as to the effect of Floyd's withdrawal; but a little to my surprise, I own, has no doubt that Floyd is a strong secessionist, though not of the wilder sort, and founds this opinion of him on a most extraordinary story, for the truth of which he vouches. Certainly Wigfall has the eye of a man capable of anything—"The eye of an old searover," as Mary G—— describes it, but it staggers me to think of his contriving such a scheme as B—— sets forth to me. On Mr. Cushing's return from Columbia the other day, *re infecta*, Wigfall (who, by the way, as I had forgotten till B—— reminded me of it, is a South Carolinian by birth) called together a few "choice spirits," and proposed that President Buchanan should be kidnapped at once, and carried off to a secure place, which had been indicated to him by some persons in his confidence. This would call Mr. Breckenridge at once into the Executive chair, and, under the acting-Presidency of Mr. Breckenridge, Wigfall's theory was, the whole South would feel secure against being "trapped into a war." He was entirely in earnest, according to B——'s informant—whose name B^{arr} did not give me, though he did tell me that he could not have put more faith in the story had it come to him from Wigfall himself—and had fully prepared his plans. All that he needed was to be sure of certain details as to the opportunity of getting

safely out of Washington with his prisoner, and so on, and for these he needed the coöperation of Floyd.

He went to Floyd's house—on Christmas night, I think B—— said—with one companion to make this strange proposal, which takes one back to the “good old days” of the Scottish Stuarts, and there, in the basement room, Floyd's usual cozy corner, set it forth and contended for it earnestly, quite losing his temper at last when Floyd positively refused to connive in any way at the performance. “Upon my word,” said B——, when he had got through with his strange story, “I am not sure, do you know, that Wigfall's solution wouldn't have been a good one, for then we should have known where we are; and now where are we?” He agrees with Mr. Douglas in thinking that President Buchanan probably has given the South Carolina Commissioners to understand that he will receive them, and also that he as certainly will not receive them. That mission of Cushing's was a most mischievously foolish performance, and he was the last man in the whole world to whom such a piece of work ought to have been confided, if it was to have been undertaken at all. After sending Cushing to her Convention to treat and make terms, it will be difficult for the President to make South Carolina or anybody else understand why he should not at least receive her Commissioners. It is this perpetual putting of each side in a false light toward the other which has brought us where we are, and, I much fear, may carry us on to worse things. B—— has seen Cushing since he got back, and tells me he never saw a man who showed clearer traces of having been broken down by sheer fright. “He is the boldest man within four walls, and the greatest coward out of doors,” said B——, “that I ever knew in my life!” His description, from Cushing's account, of the people of Charleston, and the state of mind they are in, was at once comical and alarming in the highest degree. Certainly, nothing approaching to it can exist anywhere else in the country, or, I suspect, out of pandemonium.

WERE THE CAROLINIANS CHEATED?

January 1st.—I took the liberty of sending to-day to Mr. Orr, who brought me the story about President Buchanan's intentions toward the South Carolina Commissioners, to ask him what he thought now of his informant. To my surprise, he tells me that Mr. B——, whom I had supposed to be entirely devoted to the personal interests of the President, persists in his original story,

and either is or affects to be excessively irritated at the position in which he has now been placed. Mr. Orr wishes the Commissioners to go home and make their report, but his colleagues insist upon sending in a letter to the President, which I fear will not mend matters at all; and which certainly must add to the difficulty about that wretched Fort Sumter, notwithstanding the singular confidence which Mr. Seward seems to feel in his own ability ultimately to secure a satisfactory arrangement of that affair by means quite outside of the operations of the present Government, whatever those means may be. The South Carolina Commissioners profess to have positive information from New York that the President has ordered reënforcements to be sent to Sumter, and they are convinced, accordingly, that he has been trifling with them simply to gain time for perfecting what they describe as a policy of aggression.

WAS THE CONFEDERACY MEANT TO BE PERMANENT?

January 13th.—A very long and interesting conversation with Senator Benjamin on the right of Louisiana to seize Federal posts within her territory without even going through the formality of a secession. He is too able and clear-headed a man not to feel how monstrous and indefensible such action is, but he evidently feels the ground giving way under him, and is but a child in the grasp of his colleague, who, though not to be compared with him intellectually, has all that he lacks in the way of consistency of purpose and strength of will. Virginia, he is convinced, will not join the secession movement on any terms, but will play the chief part in bringing about the final readjustment.

My own letters from Richmond are to the same tenor. After a while I told him what I had heard yesterday from Mr. Aspinwall, whom it seems he knows very well, and offered to read him the remarkable letter from Mr. Aspinwall's lawyer, a copy of which Mr. Aspinwall, at my request, was so good as to leave with me. It illustrates Benjamin's alertness and accuracy of mind that before he had heard six sentences of the letter read he interrupted me with a smile, saying: "You need not tell me who wrote that letter, Mr. ——. I recognize the style of my excellent friend Mr. B——, of New York, and I can tell you what he goes on to say." Which he accordingly proceeded to do, to my great surprise, with most extraordinary correctness and precision. In fact, I inferred necessarily that the views expressed by Mr. Aspinwall's counsel must have been largely drawn from Mr. Benjamin himself, so completely do

they tally with his own diagnosis of the position, which is, curiously enough, that the leaders of the inchoate Confederacy are no more at one in their ultimate plans and purposes than, according to my best information, are the leaders in South Carolina. Mr. Benjamin thinks that the ablest of them really regard the experiment of a new Confederation as an effectual means of bringing the conservative masses of the Northern people to realize the necessity of revising radically the instrument of union. In his judgment, the Constitution of 1789 has outlived its usefulness. Not only must new and definite barriers be erected to check the play of the passions and opinions of one great section upon the interests and the rights of another great section, but the conditions under which the Presidency is created and held must be changed. The Presidential term must be longer, the President must cease to be reëligible, and a class of Government functionaries, to hold their places during good behavior, must be called into being. I could detect, I thought, in his views on these points, a distinctly French turn of thought, but much that he said struck me as eminently sound and sagacious. He thinks not otherwise nor any better of President Buchanan than Mr. Douglas, though his opinion of Mr. Douglas is anything but flattering.

He agrees with me that, by permitting the South Carolina forces to drive off by force the Star of the West, the Government have practically conceded to South Carolina all that she claims in the way of sovereignty, though he is not surprised, as I own I am, at the indifference, not to say apathy, with which this overt defiance to the Federal authority and this positive insult to the Federal flag have been received by the people of the North and West. Certainly, since we are not at this moment in the blaze of civil war, there would seem to be little reason to fear that we shall be overtaken by it at all. The chief peril seems to me now to lie in the long period of business prostration with which we are threatened, especially if Mr. Benjamin's views are correct. I do not believe that his Confederate Government will lose the opportunity of establishing its free-trade system wherever its authority can extend while conducting negotiations for a new organization of the Union, and irreparable damage may in this way be done our great manufacturing interests before any adjustment can be reached.

SEWARD AND VIRGINIA.

February 8, 1861.—I can anticipate nothing from the Peace Convention. The Virginians are driving things, as I told Mr. Seddon

to-day, much too vehemently ; and the whole affair already assumes the aspect rather of an attempt to keep Virginia from seceding than of a settled effort to form a bridge for the return of the already seceded States. Nor am I at all reassured by his singular confidence in Mr. Seward, and his mysterious allusions to the skillful plans which Mr. Seward is maturing for an adjustment of our difficulties. He obviously has no respect for Mr. Seward's character, and in fact admitted to me to-day as much, telling me a story of Mr. Seward's visit to Richmond, and of a dinner there given him by a gentleman of distinction whose name he mentioned, but it has escaped me. At this dinner, according to Mr. Seddon, a number of gentlemen were invited to meet Governor Seward expressly because of their greater or less known sympathy with what were regarded as his strong views on the subject of slavery. Among these was Mr. Benjamin Watkins Leigh, a man conspicuous for the courageous way in which he maintained the ground that gradual emancipation was the policy which Virginia ought to adopt. I noted this name particularly, because, in mentioning it, Mr. Seddon said : "Leigh couldn't come, and it was well he couldn't, for he was such an old Trojan that, if Governor Seward had made the avowal before him which he made before the rest of the company, I believe Leigh would have been hardly restrained from insulting him on the spot."

This avowal was in effect as follows : After dinner, in the general conversation, some one venturing to ask Governor Seward how he could utter officially what the Virginians regarded as such truculent language in regard to the way in which New York should treat Southern reclamations for runaway slaves, Governor Seward threw himself back in his chair, burst out laughing violently, and said : "Is it possible you gentlemen suppose I believe any such — nonsense as that? It's all very well, and in fact it's necessary, to be said officially up there in New York for the benefit of the voters, but surely we ought to be able to understand each other better over a dinner-table!" Now, it doesn't matter in the least whether Mr. Seward did or did not say just this in Richmond. Something he must have said which makes it possible for such a story to be told and believed of him by men like Mr. Seddon ; and it is a serious public misfortune at such a time as this that such stories are told and believed by such men of the man who apparently is to control the first Republican Administration in the face of the greatest difficulties any American Administration has ever been called upon to encounter. From what Mr. Seward tells me, it is plain that he has more weight

with Mr. Lincoln than any other public man, or than all other public men put together ; and I confess I grow hourly more anxious as to the use that will be made of it.

THE NEW YORK SENATORIAL CONTEST BETWEEN GREELEY AND
EVARTS.

I had a long conversation this evening with —, of New York, on the issue of this senatorial election at Albany, which also puzzles me considerably, and is far from throwing any cheerful light on the outlook. He could tell me nothing of Judge Harris, the newly elected Senator, excepting that there is apparently nothing to tell of him beyond a good story of Mr. Thurlow Weed, who, being asked by some member of the Legislature, when Harris began to run up in the balloting, whether he knew Harris personally and thought him safe, replied : “ Do I know him personally ? I should rather think I do. I invented him ! ” Mr. — says there is more truth than poetry in this. He is a warm personal friend of Mr. Evarts, who was generally designated as the successor of Mr. Seward, and he does not hesitate to say that he believes Mr. Evarts was deliberately slaughtered by Mr. Weed at the instigation of Mr. Seward. They are the most incomprehensible people, these New York politicians ; one seems never to get at the true inside of the really driving-wheel. In his indignation against Mr. Weed my friend — was almost fair to Mr. Greeley. He says that Mr. Weed did not hesitate to say in all companies during the contest at Albany that he believed Mr. Greeley wishes to see secession admitted as of the essence of the Constitution, not only because he sympathizes with the Massachusetts abolitionists who proclaim the Union to be a covenant with hell, but because he thinks he might himself be elected President of a strictly Northern Confederacy. In respect to Mr. Evarts he tells me that he has reason to believe Mr. Seward does not wish to be succeeded in the Senate by a man of such signal ability as a debater, who is at the same time so strong with the conservative classes. As the chief of Mr. Lincoln’s Administration, Mr. Seward will have to deal with the reestablishment of the Union by diplomatic concessions and compromises ; and, while much of his work must necessarily be done in the dark and through agencies not appreciable by the public at all, he fears lest the whole credit of it should be monopolized with the public by such a skillful and eloquent champion as Mr. Evarts in the

Senate. "In other words," said Mr. —, "he would much prefer a voting Senator from New York to a talking Senator from New York while he is in the Cabinet." On this theory it is, my friend most positively asserts, that Mr. Evarts was "led to the slaughter." Unquestionably, as the ballots show, the Harris movement must have been preconcerted, and, if Harris is the kind of man my friend Mr. — makes him out to be, Mr. Seward will have nobody to interfere between him and the public recognition of whatever he may have it in his mind to do or to attempt. Whether a strong man in the Senate would not have been of more use to the country than a "voting Senator" under the present and prospective circumstances of the case, it is of little consequence now to inquire.

Hayne I am told is going home to-morrow, and this Sumter business gets no better. It is beginning to be clear to me that the President means to leave it, if he can, as a stumbling-block at the threshold of the new Administration. And, in the atmosphere of duplicity and self-seeking which seems to be closing in upon us from every side, I do not feel at all sure that these South Carolinians are not playing into his hands. If they could drive away the Star of the West, there is nothing to prevent their driving out Major Anderson, I should suppose.

MR. LINCOLN'S RELATIONS TO MR. SEWARD.

New York, February 20th.—A most depressing day. Mr. Barney came to see me this morning at the hotel, from breakfasting with Mr. Lincoln at Mr. Grinnell's, to see if I could fix a time for meeting Mr. Lincoln during the day or evening. I explained to him why I had come to New York, and showed him what I thought best of Mr. Rives's letter from Washington of last Sunday. He was a little startled, but insisted that he had very different information which he relied upon, and, finding I could not be sure of any particular hour before dinner, he went pretty fully with me into the question about Mr. Welles, and gave me what struck me as his over-discouraging ideas about Mr. Seward. He assured me in the most positive terms that Mr. Lincoln has never written one line to Mr. Seward since his first letter from Springfield inviting Seward to take the Department of State. This is certainly quite inconsistent with what I have understood from Mr. Draper, and still more with the very explicit declarations made to me by Reverdy Johnson; nor can I at all comprehend Mr. Johnson's views in regard to the im-

portance of Judge Robertson's mission to the South, if Mr. Barney's statement is correct. Of course, I did not intimate to him that I had any doubts on that head, still less my reasons and grounds for entertaining such doubts; but, after making due allowance for his intense personal dislike and distrust of Mr. Seward, about which I thought he was more than sufficiently explicit in his conversation with me, I can not feel satisfied that he is incorrect. If he is correct, matters are in no comfortable shape. He admitted, though I did not mention to him that I knew anything on that point, that Seward has written repeatedly and very fully to Mr. Lincoln since the election, but he is absolutely positive that Mr. Lincoln has not in any way replied to or even acknowledged these communications. I really do not see how he can possibly be mistaken about this, and, if he is not, I am not only at a loss to reconcile Mr. Seward's statements with what I should wish to think of him, but much more concerned as to the consequences of all this. . . .

Mr. Barney said that Mr. Lincoln asked after me particularly this morning, and was good enough to say that he recollected meeting me in 1848, which may have been the case; but I certainly recall none of the circumstances, and can not place him, even with the help of all the pictures I have seen of such an extraordinary-looking mortal, as I confess I ought to be ashamed of myself once to have seen face to face, and to have then forgotten. Mr. Barney says the breakfast was a failure, nobody at his ease, and Mr. Lincoln least of all, and Mr. Weed, in particular, very vexatious. Mr. Aspinwall, who came in just as Mr. Barney went out, confirms this. He says that Mr. Lincoln made a bad impression, and he seemed more provoked than I thought necessary or reasonable at a remark which Mr. Lincoln made to him on somebody's saying, not in very good taste, to Mr. Lincoln, that he would not meet so many millionaires together at any other table in New York. "Oh, indeed, is that so? Well, that's quite right. I'm a millionaire myself. I got a minority of a million in the votes last November." Perhaps this was rather a light and frivolous thing for the President-elect to say in such a company, or even to one of the number; but, after all, it shows that he appreciates the real difficulties of the position, and is thinking of the people more than of the "millionaires," and I hope more than of the politicians. I tried to make Mr. Aspinwall see this as I did, but he is too much depressed by the mercantile situation, and was too much annoyed by Mr. Lincoln's evident failure to show any adequate sense of the gravity of the position.

THE BUSINESS ASPECT OF SECESSION.

He had hardly gone, when in came S——, with a face as long as his legs, to show me a note from Senator Benjamin, to whom he had written inquiring as to the effect, if any, which the farce at Montgomery would be likely to have upon patent rights. Benjamin writes that of course he can only speak by inference, and under reserve, but that, in his present judgment, every patent right granted by the United States will need to be validated by the Government of the Confederate States before it can be held to be of binding force within the territory of the new republic. No wonder S—— is disquieted! If the thing only lasts six months or a year, as it easily may unless great and I must say at present not-to-be-looked-for political judgment is shown in dealing with it, what confusion and distress will thus be created throughout our manufacturing regions! I have no doubt myself, though I could not get Mr. Draper to see it as I do to-day, that these Confederate contrivers will at once set negotiations afoot in England and in France for free-trade agreements in some such form as will inevitably hamper us badly in readjusting matters for the national tariff, even after we effect a basis of political accommodation with them. . . .

MR. LINCOLN ON NEW YORK, MAYOR WOOD, AND THE IMPORTANCE
OF DEMOCRATIC SUPPORT.

My conversation with Mr. Lincoln was brief and hurried, but not entirely unsatisfactory—indeed, on the main point quite the reverse. He is entirely clear and sensible on the vital importance of holding the Democrats close to the Administration on the naked Union issue. “They are,” he said to me, “just where we Whigs were in ’48 about the Mexican war. We had to take the Locofoco preamble when Taylor wanted help, or else vote against helping Taylor; and the Democrats must vote to hold the Union now, without bothering whether we or the Southern men got things where they are, and we must make it easy for them to do this, because we can’t live through the case without them,” which is certainly the simple truth. He reminded me of our meeting at Washington, but I really couldn’t recall the circumstances with any degree of clearness. He is not a great man certainly, and, but for something almost woman-like in the look of his eyes, I should say the most ill-favored son of Adam I ever saw; but he is crafty and sensible, and owned to me

that he was more troubled by the outlook than he thought it discreet to show. He asked me a number of questions about New York, from which I gathered for myself that he is not so much in the hands of Mr. Seward as I had been led to think, and I incline to believe that Mr. Barney is nearer the truth than I liked this morning to think. He was amusing about Mayor Wood and his speech, and seems to have a singularly correct notion of that worthy. He asked me what I had heard of the project said to be brewing here for detaching New York City not only from the Union but from the State of New York as well, and making it a kind of free city like Hamburg. I told him I had only heard of such visionary plans, and that the only importance I attributed to them was, that they illustrated the necessity of getting our commercial affairs back into a healthy condition as early as possible. "That is true," he replied; "and nobody feels it more than I do. And as to the free city business—well, I reckon it will be some time before the front door sets up housekeeping on its own account," which struck me as a quaint and rather forcible way of putting the case.

I made an appointment for Washington, where he will be at Willard's within a few days, and agreed to write to —. My cousin V—— came to me with a most amusing account of the President-elect at the opera in Mr. C——'s box, wearing a pair of huge *black* kid gloves, which attracted the attention of the whole house, hanging as they did over the red velvet box-front. V—— was in the box opposite, where some one, pointing out the strange, dark-looking giant opposite as the new President, a lady first told a story of Major Magruder of the army, a Southern man, who took off his hat when a procession of Wide-awakes passed his Broadway hotel last year and said, "I salute the pall-bearers of the Constitution"; and then rather cleverly added, "I think we ought to send some flowers over the way to the undertaker of the Union."

During one of the *entr'actes*, V—— went down into what they call the "directors' room" of the Academy, where shortly after appeared Mr. C—— with Mr. Lincoln, and a troop of gentlemen all eager to be presented to the new President. V—— said Mr. Lincoln looked terribly bored, and sat on the sofa at the end of the room with his hat pushed back on his head, the most deplorable figure that can be imagined, putting his hand out to be shaken in a queer, mechanical way. I am afraid V—— has a streak of his sarcastic grandmamma's temper in him.

III.

GARRISON.

MR. GARRISON began, inspired, and largely controlled the movement which put an end to negro slavery in the United States. This fixes his place in history.

There had been, before the Revolution, tracts printed and individual protests made against the system. The Quakers and Covenanters never ceased their testimonies; and the Methodists spoke brave words—not much heeded, as they were only words, and often spoken by men who continued slaveholders. The Conventions which formed the State Constitutions, and those which adopted them, discussed it. That which framed the United States Constitution gave it a very exhaustive examination. Before and during the war of 1812 it again attracted public attention; and, in 1819, the time of the Missouri Compromise, the antagonism of the two sections, slave and free, nearly broke the Union.

But no man or Church proposed, much less set on foot, any plan or movement for its abolition. Each and all seemed confounded and disheartened at the complexity of the problem and the vast work. There was the most entire ignorance and apathy on the slave question. If men knew of the existence of slavery, it was only as a part of picturesque Virginia life. No one preached, no one talked, no one wrote about it. No whisper of it stirred the surface of the political sea. The Church heard of it occasionally, when some colonization agent asked funds to send blacks to Africa. Old school-books tainted with antislavery selections had passed out of use, and new ones were compiled to suit the times. If any dissent from the prevailing faith appeared, every one set himself to crush it. The pulpit preached at it, the press denounced it, mobs tore down houses, threw presses into the fire and the stream, and shot editors; religious conventions tried to smother it, parties arrayed themselves

against it. The great leaders Webster, Benton, and Clay, in solemn and set phrase, pledged themselves to keep silent respecting it. For Garrison's first antislavery lecture in Boston, in 1830, no church could be had; the only building that could be procured was a hall used by the followers of Abner Kneeland, who called themselves infidels. Equally honorable to both sides, infidels and the young abolitionists, was his frank declaration, without protest from that generous roof, that "no power but Christianity could destroy slavery."

Mr. Garrison first organized a movement specially and solely devoted to the abolition of slavery. He first announced a plan—immediate and unconditional emancipation on the soil—the only proposition which would ever have attracted public attention and supported an agitation capable of effecting a settlement of the question. He searched out the means which could help to that result, combined and marshaled them to efficient action, and finally accomplished his purpose.

His life was given to this work. Declaring that his reliance was wholly on moral means—the agitation and discussion of the right of slavery—he tested everything by reference to this self-evident principle: a man's right to himself. By this he tried Church and State, sects and parties, and individual leaders; every man, or organization, which doubted, or denied, or opposed, this self-evident principle he denounced as intellectually blind or morally rotten.

The exact amount of sin each one was guilty of in God's sight depended on his birth, training, and light. This he did not undertake to settle. But any general and continued denial of self-evident truth he counted as moral delinquency.

The Constitution, whose cement was an agreement to keep millions in chains, he denounced as a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell." The party which, under our Declaration of Independence, held power by silence and complicity with such oppression, he rated as hypocrites; as laying down for others a rule against which they would themselves indignantly rebel. The Church, which sanctioned the denial of marriage, education, and the Bible to these victims, and their sale on the auction-block, he pronounced no Church of Christ, but a synagogue of Satan.

This merciless and incessant criticism, in private and public, by speech and the press—using each event that occurred as text for his exhortation—was his only means of agitation. Though Church and State, college and exchange, two thousand million dollars of

slave property, commerce based on cotton, fashion, wealth, and literature, great leaders and strong parties, were arrayed against him, he appealed only to conscience and the moral sense ; never, in the darkest hour, doubting their omnipotence.

Though the battle-axe did finally break the chain, it was *conscience*, stirred by his appeal and enlightened by his teaching, that provoked the conflict between two civilizations, fought the battles, and enabled the state to abolish slavery.

Never on the antislavery platform was there any criticism of Whig or Democrat, *as such*, but only as each supported slavery. No fault was ever found with Baptist or Methodist, or any sect, except as and when it gave sanction to slavery. Only pro-slavery parties and sects met with any rebuke. Hence, in the first fervor which answered Garrison's appeal, everything sincere in the Church rallied to his side. After ten or twelve years this changed, and, unable to endure his criticism, the Church organizations either wholly withdrew from the movement, or formed societies exclusively of their own members. But the Church showed no real interest in the subject ; the clergymen who remained true to their first pledges were flung from their pulpits, and, more or less formally, disowned by their denominations ; and church-members who made themselves prominent were often excommunicated.

Some have claimed more, and some less, as the share such Church societies had in producing the final result. One thing is evident : but for Mr. Garrison's ten or twelve previous years of agitation, the Church would never have wakened to her duty. And even after 1840 it was mostly because shamed by his exposure of her delinquency, roused by his appeals, and awed by his example, that she persevered in her testimony.

About the same time (1840), some of the floating elements and margins of political organizations attempted distinct political action, and this half-abortive effort finally culminated, in 1848, in the Free-Soil party, and at last in the Republican party, in 1854, which made no war on slavery itself (except that in the District of Columbia and the Territories), but confined itself to resisting any *extension* of the system. This political party, no doubt, largely aided in creating that public sentiment which enabled the Government to abolish slavery during the war ; and there can nowhere be found an earlier or more generous appreciation, or more flowing eulogy, of these men and their labors than in the columns of Mr. Garrison's journal, "The Liberator."

But Mr. Garrison always kept his movement distinct from this political agitation, and his movement had very great advantages over it. The moment party lines were drawn, the meetings and conventions of each were attended mostly, if not only, by its own members. The mass of mind reached by their speakers was just that which did not need influence or change of opinion. Political agitation is an educational force to only a limited extent. Hampered by the compromises of the Constitution, obliged to conciliate opponents, to keep appeals and arguments within such limits as would secure immediate results—votes—the Republicans could only assail the outworks and abuses of the institution, and even those with bated breath. Such fettered assault effects little when the aim and need are to change entirely public opinion.

Said Governor Chase, of Ohio—afterward our Chief Justice—to the graduating class of Dartmouth, just before the war, “Gentlemen, I will give you a life-long motto : No slavery anywhere.” Enthusiastic applause instantly drowned his voice. “Not yet, gentlemen,” he continued. “Wait a moment. I’ve not finished. No slavery anywhere outside the Slave States !” No applause followed the completed sentence.

When logic stops thus half-way, it makes few converts, and chills all enthusiasm. But this was as far as, under the Constitution, and in the ranks of the Republican party, the speaker could go. Stevens, Wade, Giddings, Lovejoy, Andrew, and Sumner overpassed such limits. But the party held itself responsible for no such rash utterances.

The Garrisonian, on the contrary, gathered all classes and both sides into his meetings. He broke up the fallow ground, appealed fearlessly to first principles—right and wrong—tore parchment contracts to pieces, followed out his self-evident truth to all logical results, kindled enthusiasm and roused the keenest opposition, so that the land rocked with an agitation that went down to primeval depths. As Seward said to me in New York, “Yes, you make opinion, and we use it.”

But the fact which needs to be emphasized, and proves the exact relation between Mr. Garrison and these parties, is this : no matter how much or how little influence is claimed for honest men in the pulpit and earnest men in the parties, there is no dispute that each and all of them were waked to action by Garrison’s summons, and achieved whatever they did achieve by following in the path—immediate abolition—he had opened, and using the method—agitation

—he had proposed. A keen observer says, "Garrison made Lincoln possible."

The antislavery movement converted these men ; it gave them a constituency ; it gave them an opportunity to speak, and it gave them a public to listen. The antislavery agitation gave them their votes, got them their offices, furnished them their facts, and gave them their audiences. If their friends claim that they cherished all these principles in their own breasts before Mr. Garrison appeared, then if the antislavery movement did not furnish them their ideas, it surely gave the courage to utter them. The relation between him and all antislavery statesmen and divines is very much that which George Stephenson, the inventor of locomotives, bears to the engineers on our railway trains. In Wade, Stevens, Sumner, Seward, Jay, Tappan, Beecher, May, Lovejoy, and Bacon, Mr. Garrison created an antislavery purpose and then gave them an efficient method which no one of them ever dreamed of before. Yes, and, considering the fore-front place he held in the constant manufacture of opinion on every phase of the question as it presented itself, it may be truly said that he not only set them in motion, but he also, to a great extent, kept them in motion. Further, in many a critical moment his was the bold, wise, and single-eyed counsel which saved the cause from compromise and shipwreck.

To-day scornful priests say Garrison did nothing. He was only a stumbling-block in the way. His bitterness only hindered the movement, and his criticism of the Church put off success for twenty years. When free speech cost something, and claims for justice angered the nation almost to slaying the speaker, then timid Church and party hid themselves from all responsibility for the agitation, and left Garrisonianism to keep the movement alive. The work done—the tempest over—fair-weather sailors stalk forth to doubt if there were, after all, any storm, or even any rough sea, but what the pilot raised.

Each one of these followers, the moment his blows began to tell, was charged with the same intolerance of judgment and bitterness of speech that Garrison was so universally accused of. Neither Sumner's rhetoric, nor the extreme caution with which Channing handled the argument, was any shield for them against that accusation. In truth, it was not the manner nor the language that stung the sinner : it was the bare fact that his sin had found him out.

Men who were and are unwilling to give up all for principle, and who seek to buy the name of reformer at half-price, still harp on Garrison's mood and language. But history shows no such work

ever done unless by an earnestness which seemed to half-hearted men bitter and intolerant. Fox, Luther, Isaiah, and even the Divine Master, could not escape such criticism. "There is a prudent wisdom," says Goethe, "and there is a wisdom which never reminds you of prudence." A truth Swift saw earlier when he said :

"The stupid cant, 'He went too far,' despise,
And learn that to be bold is to be wise."

History will show that neither the fierce Saxon of Fox, nor Isaiah's hallowed lips, nor Luther's lurid denunciation, ever outran the truth, or did anything but good. Show us one efficient reformer who has escaped this charge, before you blame Garrison for what seems an inherent element of human nature and a necessity in human affairs. Our history shows that he was none too bitter, not a whit too earnest, and that in judging his fellow-citizens he only half appreciated their moral dullness.

How slowly and reluctantly they answered his appeal! All the heed they paid him for a quarter of a century was mobs and hatred. What niggard support they gave him at the very last! And even in the death-grapple, when, the flag bowing low in peril, selfishness broke the chain, we turned the negro out, after centuries of wrong, ignorant, penniless, naked, without a roof, surrounded by the wealth he had created, and yet left with the ownership only of his bare body! The shock Garrison is alleged to have given this people—all necessary to stun us, drunk with prejudice, into sobriety—has never yet lifted us to a thoroughly just and honorable mood. Look even to-day at the timid selfishness with which Northern trade and party let the Mississippi be blockaded, the national arm defied, and ten thousand houseless victims, deluded into believing law could protect them, subjected to piteous agony.

You sometimes hear even now some narrow and superficial talker styling Garrison a man "of one idea." Men with their eyes open see that, as Carlyle says, "every road leads to the end of the world." So every great moral question must hold all others within it. No sooner was this question of mere chattel slavery afoot than it opened the way to all others. Toleration of opinion, the limits of authority, the relation of the citizen to the law and to government, the place of the Bible, the sphere of woman, race, layman, and priest, State rights and nationality—all were stirred and became involved. Mr. Garrison shrank from the discussion of none of them. On all he showed the same serene intrepidity, independence, and sagacity, and

the same true conservatism, as in his original crusade. Alive to all, ready for each as it crossed his path, his agitation contributed more than any one force in our time to the strenuous, practical, and fearless discussion of these issues. Whether an abolitionist should be heard in any town; whether his subject should be allowed in the lyceum; whether he himself should be countenanced, even if speaking on a popular theme—these questions taught toleration to common men who never read Locke. New England took at last the freedom of speech which Luther and Calvin had argued for, but which neither they nor most of their followers had dared to use.

It was no flippant bigot, but Harriet Beecher Stowe, who, in 1852, asked Mr. Garrison, "Are you a Christian?" What more is needed to demonstrate how stone-blind were then the best American thought and religion; how absolutely they were shut up to insist on always calling "evil good and good evil," "putting darkness for light and light for darkness," and insolently refusing to *test* things by the Master's touchstone, "their fruits"?

If to-day our atmosphere is largely free from this cant and superstition, if at least ten thousand pulpits would now blush to ask such a question, how much of this breadth, clear sight, and toleration is due to antislavery tornadoes "scourging before them the lazy elements which but for them would have stagnated into pestilence"? Adams thanked God in Congress that, at last, "the yoke [on free speech] was broken." Garrison broke a heavier and more cruel yoke. Free speech and broad culture know not to-day the debt they owe him. Dr. Channing thanked the Garrisonians, "in the name of freedom and humanity," affirming that their intrepidity had saved free speech. "They have rendered to freedom a more essential service than any body of men among us. . . . The first systematic effort to strip the citizen of freedom of speech they have met with invincible resolution. From my heart I thank them. I am myself their debtor." It is hardly time yet to measure the depth, or estimate the importance to church and college, of that forty years' agitation. As an intellectual awakening and moral discipline it has only three parallels in history—the age of Vane and Cromwell, Luther's Reformation, and the establishment of Christianity.

Its milestone among the centuries is simply that it killed chattel slavery. The grave just closed covers him whose hand lifted us to that spasm of half-way justice and insufficient shelter. The black race blesses him that, at any rate, their limbs wear no chain. But he freed master as well as slave. He broke more yokes than those

of the blacks—how many more, the next generation will judge better than we can. After forty years of empty decorum, his movement has made American life earnest. Religion ceases to be mere text and dogma, and red blood runs in our veins. He set in motion forces which will not cease to act until far greater reforms than those he lived to see are accomplished. And, without specially intending it, he was such an iconoclast that only those names of our generation will live which served the slave, or led in the conspiracy against him.

It may sound strange to some, this claim for Mr. Garrison of a profound statesmanship. Men have heard him styled a mere fanatic so long that they are incompetent to judge him fairly. "The phrases men are accustomed," says Goethe, "to repeat incessantly end by becoming convictions, and ossify the organs of intelligence."

The secret of this rare sagacity was that he put himself exactly in the negro's place. He did literally "remember them that are in bonds as bound with them." This oneness with the negro unlocked for him all the secrets of the slavery problem. The motive of most other antislavery leaders was an intellectual conviction. The root of Garrison's principle was in the heart; and as Madison says, "The heart, after all, is the best logician."

No sophism ever cheated the negro. He *felt*, and needed no argument. Garrison needed none. No ingenious theory, no plausible excuse, no subtile argument from necessity or convenience, ever perplexed him a moment. His heart detected the hollowness at once. The finest compliment ever paid him—because of its unconscious and delicate appreciation of this quality—was the first words Sir Fowell Buxton said to him. On his arrival in London, during his first visit to England, Garrison called and sent up his letters of introduction. Buxton came down to greet him. Stopping suddenly in his approach, he exclaimed, "Why! Mr. Garrison, I had supposed you were a negro!"

He had known Garrison only through the columns of "The Liberator"; and all his experience with antislavery laborers had never shown him a white man able to identify himself so exactly and completely with the negro.

The lasting freshness and youth of his intellect were as marked as its early maturity. At twenty-three he startled statesmen and made the great classes and interests of society "crash and jostle against each other like mighty vessels in a storm." Afterward, in those long, weary years, when the most zealous were tired, and some lost

hope—in cold district schoolhouses, thinly filled, and those few present persons of little account—all his fellow workers will remember the fresh, genuine, buoyant spirit in which he would come to the platform, kindling a whole audience as if that were his first appeal, the very baptism of his conscience in a new cause. That one heart held hope and youth enough for thousands.

That boy's moral courage, which, poised on his own single conviction of right, was all-sufficient against thirty millions of doubters, was of the same tough fiber with the serene resolve of threescore years and ten, which flung its rebuke on fifty millions of deluded men. This makes the greatness of our loss. No one can supply his place. In these hesitating and timid days the loss of one man of decided opinions, and willing to express them, is very serious. And Mr. Garrison, though old in years, had lost no whit of his strength, while every hour added to his influence. With such clouds over us, what aid, what a shield that brave, clear, wise, and now trusted counsel would be to us! That "finished man," whose death Burke, in his parental agony, so vividly painted, is to us an infinitely greater loss, just recognized and valued as he had come to be.

Patient of labor, his was a life of constant hard work, misunderstood and misrepresented, at his own cost; for he never accepted pay for any service in the reform-field. And so much did this become habitual that, in after-years, when he was called to other platforms, he hesitated long before accepting, and often finally refused the usual fee.

As for fame, in those dreary years there was little probability that the clouds would break away while he lived, or of any fame that his ear would ever drink in. A lofty ambition of course he had: that which seeks to leave the world better than one finds it—a serene faith that no good effort is ever lost, and no great service ever fails finally to be acknowledged. But that which we usually call ambition—the desire for recognition, the claim for acknowledgment or reward—of that he had as little as any man I ever knew. He was unaffectedly indifferent to money and fame. Borne down by calumny, but conscious that he was rendering most important service to his time, and intent on his one object, there was none of Bacon's wistful and tender appeal to "the next age." Indeed, there was rather a grand carelessness whether "the next age" knew anything, or what it thought, of him or his work. Most of our public men take the precaution to strengthen and vindicate themselves with posterity by studied explanations of what they did, and careful col-

lection of all they said. Garrison—"the best abused man of his day"—stooped to no vindication of his life, and left his words to be gathered up, or not, as neglect or loving reverence should choose.

Modest, and without a trace of self-assertion, he was still aware of his strength, as able men usually are. His boyish essays in journalism were so ripe and masterly that shrewd men supposed them written by Timothy Pickering and some of the oldest and keenest men in New England. He must have known that, if he would lay aside every weight and the solemn sense of duty that so heavily burdened him, few competitors could distance him in the race for worldly success. If he could have stooped to the easy conscience, ready time-serving, and lax honor and honesty of our great journalist, Mr. Garrison would readily have won as large success and commanding place as he did; for in personal magnetism, moral courage, eloquent speech, political shrewdness, common sense, and ability to hold a great party together, Mr. Garrison far exceeded him, while in the ability for hard work they were equals. He must have seen the public recognition and wealth that awaited him if he would only quit his great work and come down to meet them.

The character of his eloquence was peculiar. Some have denied that he ever was eloquent. So Hallam doubted whether Luther was eloquent. But, as his own times felt the great German's eloquence in speech and print, Hallam's doubt three hundred years after, in another tongue, may safely be put one side. Multiply the amount of your influence into the character and mood of your hearers, and the result is the measure of your eloquence. Mr. Garrison spoke in every Northern State, and on the other side of the ocean. His audiences held every class, sometimes bare human nature in its rudest form, sometimes the highest culture and coldest conventionalism of the age. Their mood was quiet and deference, or uproar and mob. The subject was odious to most of them. Some hated him beyond expression, others feared him and shrunk from him as the worst of infidels, and others, still, hung on his lightest word. Yet each and all welcomed him always to the platform, and he held them with sovereign mastery. The hearer whose ear was once caught seldom escaped or wished to escape his hold.

He never trifled, made no account of sharp points or minute particulars, was seldom humorous, not often sarcastic, and cared little for studied phrases. Although, to the surprise of most men, probably, there are more epigrammatic and pithy sayings in his speeches—"hits," as Brougham somewhat irreverently calls such

bursts—*mots* which will pass into literature—than can be culled from the orations of Webster.

His tone was that of a grave and serious indictment ; his whole soul freighted his words. Entirely forgetting himself, an intense earnestness melted every one into the hot current of his argument or appeal, and the influence, strong at the moment, haunted the hearer afterward, and was doubled the next day. He was master of a style of singular elevation and dignity. Windham said the younger Pitt "could speak a king's speech off-hand." So far as dignity of tone was concerned, Garrison could have done it. No American of our day could state a case, or indite a public document, with more wary circumspection, impressive seriousness, or grave dignity than he could. The "Declaration of Sentiments" by the Convention which formed the American Antislavery Society, and that Society's statement of its reasons for repudiating the United States Constitution, have a breadth, dignity, and impressive tone such as are found in few, if any, of our state papers since the Revolution, when Dickinson, Jay, Hamilton, and Adams won such emphatic praise from Lord Chatham.

In regard to classes of men his judgment was unerring, "as if a man had inquired at the oracle of God." Individuals, in general, he read with the sure instinct of a woman. When mistaken, it was often in thinking too well of them. But, like the sturdy old English moralist, indeed, like all men of a hearty and generous nature, there were some friends in whom he would acknowledge no fault, and some opponents in whom he could see no virtues.

He was no ascetic, but enjoyed life in all its forms and relations. He possessed his own soul. It was not possessed by antislavery, or any other reform idea. You could not be in his company an hour without feeling his ability, his original and decided character. But you might see him many times without having slavery, or any other wrong, thrust on your attention.

Like almost all men of large powers and conversant with great interests, his mood was genial and tender. A fearfully hard life had not embittered him in the least. Laughed at and lied about, hated, dragged through the streets with a halter, mobbed and imprisoned, he was neither soured nor vindictive. Serenely he put these things under his feet with quiet indifference, neither "bemoaning his hardships nor exulting in his triumphs."

Though it was as true of him as it ever was of any one that he feared not the face of man, still he was born a gentleman ; his tastes,

manners, bearing, and mood, were of the highest breeding and courtesy. He was at home in every circle, with a dignity that prevented undue familiarity, and made most men recognize his right to lead.

After Mr. Lewis Tappan and himself had been engaged an hour in earnest debate with a slaveholder who did not know them, the Southerner said to Garrison: "If all Northerners were as fair, courteous, and reasonable as yourself, we should not complain. It is madmen like Garrison that offend us."

Another fierce opponent, accidentally in Garrison's company an hour, after his departure asked a bystander the name of the man he had been disputing with, and, on learning it, sat down in tearful shame that he had so long and bitterly abused such a man.

I once saw him in a mixed company, when a clergyman had made a labored excuse for non-interest in the slave question and dissent from his views, lay his hand respectfully on the critic's arm, and his rebuke, "Sir, it is not light you need, but a heart," though apostolic in frankness, was so courteously spoken that the listeners of both sides assented, and the critic himself took no offense.

The time will come when men will name strength, courage, discretion, marvelous sagacity, inexhaustible patience, and a whole-souled devotion to justice and humanity, which never counted the cost, as his foremost qualities. Then the Church, instead of jealously gathering her skirts about her when he is mentioned, will bind his name proudly on her brow, claiming him not only as hers, but as her ripest fruit in this generation—the best, almost the only evidence of her essential Christianity and value.

If a grand purpose—one of incalculable worth and so difficult as to be almost impossible; unselfish and tireless devotion to it; rare sagacity in discovering the means to effect it; commanding influence in compelling aid from reluctant sources; and complete success, wrung from universal and bitter opposition, without compromising principle, or stooping to accept dishonorable aid—if all this be any evidence of greatness, then surely Mr. Garrison was one of our greatest men. "He will ever be recognized," says one well versed in our times, "as the central and supreme figure in that group of giants which the civil war produced."

Of course he had faults. But I was honored to stand so near him for forty years that some I could not see, and others I have forgotten. As Bolingbroke said of one of Marlborough's defects, "He was so great a man that I forgot he had that weakness."

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

IV.

THE POWER OF DISSOLUTION.

THE question in everybody's mouth in England for some time past has been, "When will Parliament be dissolved?" A late declaration of the Ministry has indirectly given the answer that it will not be dissolved just yet. The present House of Commons does not reach the full number which a House of Commons ought to reach. It has not six hundred and fifty-eight members. The number is a somewhat strange one, a number which has come about not by design, but by accident; but, as it has come about, it seems to be accepted as being in the eternal fitness of things. Six hundred and fifty-seven members would be too few; six hundred and fifty-nine members would be too many. Certain boroughs were disfranchised in the last Parliament, and the seats which they lost have not yet been given to any other boroughs. The House is therefore imperfect. The imperfection, we are told, is to be made up before the present Parliament comes to an end. But the Government has no proposal to make at present. Therefore Parliament will not be dissolved at present. Seemingly it will not be dissolved till next year.

By the present law of England a Parliament may last seven years from the time of its meeting. It can not last longer. As soon as the seven years are fully up, it falls to pieces of itself. What would happen if the seven years came to an end when the Houses were actually in session, no man can tell. The Speaker of the House of Commons has, from time immemorial, kept, as his last resource against disorderly members, the power of "naming" a member—that is, the power of calling him Mr. A or B instead of "the honorable member for such a place." Till lately the power was a mysterious one, kept in reserve, but never exercised. The Speaker sometimes threatened to "name" members, but no member

ever was "named." A Speaker of a former generation was once asked what would happen if he did "name" a member. He answered, with much solemnity, "The Lord in heaven only knows." The mystery has been solved in the present Parliament. A member has been "named," and nothing happened. Not only did the course of nature go on as before, but the House of Commons went on, and Major O'Gorman went on being a member of it. But what would happen if a Parliament were really allowed to die a natural death no one knows. It is certain that when the seven years were fully up the Houses would cease to be Houses. The members would be no longer members; the Speaker would be as another man. What would happen to the mace and the Speaker's wig, it is not for the uninitiated to ask.

As a matter of fact, things have never come to this stage. No Parliament, since the establishment of the existing laws about the duration of Parliaments, has ever died a natural death. All have been dissolved by the special act of the Crown before the time came when the operation of the law would have put an end to them. While the law fixes seven years as the longest possible life of a Parliament, custom has lessened the time to six. No one expects that the Parliament which first met in 1874 will be allowed to perish of itself in 1881. The only question—a question left to the uncontrolled decision of the Crown and its advisers—is, whether Parliament will be dissolved in 1879 or not till 1880.

Now the phrase "dissolution of Parliament" is in everybody's mouth, and yet it may be suspected that comparatively few people bear in mind what the exact meaning of the phrase is. It may be suspected that still fewer ever think what the power of dissolution in the Crown really implies, and how it came about that the Crown should be possessed of such a power. It is not at all unlikely that many people, if they were asked, would say that the House of Commons comes to an end by a dissolution, but that the House of Lords goes on untouched. They see that a member of the House of Commons ceases by virtue of the dissolution to be a member of the House of Commons—to be what is commonly called a member of Parliament. He may or he may not recover that position by a fresh election; but he loses it at least for a season. For some days, at all events, no one puts the letters M. P. after anybody's name. But the temporal peer who sits by virtue of an hereditary right, the spiritual peer who sits by virtue of an elective office,* takes his

* The Bishop's office, and with it his present or future claim to a seat in Parlia-

seat again in the next Parliament without any fresh election or nomination, and he loses nothing of title or precedence during the time when there is no Parliament in being. Hence it might seem at first sight that, while every dissolution makes a break in the existence of the House of Commons, it makes no break in the existence of the House of Lords. The next House of Lords, it may be said, will consist of exactly the same persons—or, in the case of deaths, of their representatives—as the present House of Lords, while the next House of Commons is practically certain to consist to some extent of different persons from the present House, while it is theoretically possible that it might consist wholly of different persons. But, in point of fact, it is by no means certain that the next House of Lords will consist of exactly the same persons, or their representatives. Part of the House of Lords is as strictly elective as the House of Commons itself. Sixteen of its members, the representative peers of Scotland, are not only elected, but elected for one Parliament only. It is not at all practically likely, but it is perfectly possible, that the peers of Scotland may choose a wholly different set of representatives in the next Parliament from those who represent them in the present. It is perfectly possible that sixteen members of the present House of Lords may find no seats in the next. And that large majority of the peers who will have the same right to seats in the next Parliament which they have to seats in the present will still sit, not by continuous succession from the present Parliament, but by wholly fresh ceremonies of admission. They will sit by virtue of a fresh summons from the Crown and of a fresh oath taken at the beginning of the next Parliament. The peer has a right to his fresh summons, which can not be denied to him; but it is by virtue of the fresh summons that he sits. In short, each particular lord goes on, with all his personal privileges, just as much whether Parliament is in being or not. But the House of Lords, as a body capable of meeting and acting, perishes, just as much as the Commons, by the dissolution of one Parliament,

ment, is “elective,” whether we look to the formal election by the chapter in the case of the elder sees, to the formal nomination by the Crown in the case of the two new sees, or to the practical appointment by the Crown in all cases. “Election” is an act which may be done by one elector as well as by many; in either case choice is exercised, while in the case of hereditary succession there is no choice.

At present, except in the case of five privileged sees, the Bishop’s office does not give him an immediate right to a seat in Parliament. He only succeeds to it in turn, the three junior Bishops having no seats.

and comes to life again, no less than the Commons, only by the meeting of the next.

The power of dissolution then is the power of putting an end to the being of both Houses of Parliament before the time when they would come to an end by the operation of the law. This power the law of England vests absolutely in the King or Queen ; but, like the other powers of the Crown, it must, according to the conventional constitution, be exercised only by the advice of the Ministers of the Crown. It is indeed understood that the Sovereign has somewhat more of personal choice in the matter of dissolutions than in most other matters. But it is only a negative choice. It is understood that the King or Queen may constitutionally refuse permission to the Minister to dissolve Parliament ; it is not to be supposed that any King or Queen would think of dissolving Parliament except by the Minister's advice. Still the King or Queen has the legal power of dissolving Parliament at any moment. Now a moment's thought will show that this is a power which is by no means necessarily involved in the action of the Executive branch of the Government. The President of the United States, large as are his powers in many ways, has no power of dissolving Congress. The founders of the American Constitution clothed the Executive Chief of the Union with not a few of the powers of kingship ; just as, when the Roman consuls took the place of the Roman kings, it was not so much that the actual powers were lessened, as that securities were taken for the manner of their exercise. The powers are in themselves kingly ; but he who exercises them is elected only for a fixed term ; he is responsible to the law even during that term ; in the discharge of many of his powers he has to obtain the approval of one branch of the Legislature for his acts. But some kingly powers are refused to him altogether, and among them is the specially kingly power of putting an end to the existence of the Assembly of the nation. If we turn to the chief European example of a true republican constitution, to the Confederation of Switzerland, we are still further from finding any such power vested in the Executive of the Union. Not only has the Swiss Federal Council no power of dissolving the Federal Assembly, but the notion of its possessing such a power is simply inconceivable. The Federal Council has none of the kingly powers of the American President, nor has the officer who bears the same name, the President of the Confederation, any personal authority apart from the Council of which he is the simple chairman. In fact, the relations between the Swiss Federal Council and

the Swiss Federal Assembly are of such a kind, they are so different from the relation in which an English king or an English minister stands to Parliament, they are so different from the relation in which an American President stands to Congress, that the notion of a power of dissolution being vested in the Federal Council is almost too absurd to think of. In England the power exists ; in America it does not exist ; in Switzerland we may say that it could not exist. In America it does not exist ; there are good reasons why it does not exist ; but there is no absurdity on the face of it in supposing that it might have existed. And it actually does exist in the latest republican constitution which any great nation has formed for itself. By the present French Constitution the power of dissolution is vested in the President, but with a restriction which is evidently borrowed from the kindred restriction which is placed on the power of the American President in some other matters. The French President may dissolve the Assembly, but only with the consent of one House of the Assembly itself.

Of this last arrangement I shall have to speak again. Let us see what are the results which we have gained at present. In England, where the executive power is vested in a king, the power exists without restriction. In France, where the executive power is vested in a president whose position, while it lasts, is very much like that of a king, the power exists, but under restrictions. In America, where the President's position is much less kingly than in France, but where he still has some kingly powers, it does not exist at all. In Switzerland, where not a rag or shred of kingship or kingly power cleaves to the Executive Magistrate, it not only does not exist, but it can not be conceived as existing. Why is there this difference ? Let us, for the present, put France aside, and look to the three constitutions, English, American, and Swiss, which have a clear historical connexion with one another. Why does the power of dissolution exist in England, and not in America or Switzerland ? It may be answered that the reason simply is, because both the American Congress and the Swiss Federal Assembly are so much shorter-lived than the English Parliament. The Congress exists for two years, the Assembly for three ; while the English Parliament, if left to itself, exists for seven. It may be argued that, when an Assembly has so long a possible existence as the English Parliament, it is prudent to vest somewhere or other the power of shortening its life in case of need, but that there is no need for any such power where the legal life of the Assembly is so short as it is in America

and in Switzerland. And no doubt this has practically a good deal to do with the matter. But this is not the origin of the difference between the practice of England and that of America and Switzerland. The English King had the same power of dissolution when Parliaments came to an end after three years. The real cause of the difference is in the nature of the executive power in the three countries. In England that power takes the form of a king ; in America and Switzerland it takes the form of a republican magistracy, of the President in the one confederation and of the Council in the other. Now I do not mean that the power of dissolution is absolutely and inherently necessary in the case of a kingly executive, and absolutely and inherently impossible in the case of a republican executive. There are Kings who have not the power of dissolution, and in France there actually is at this moment a President who has a power, though a restricted power, of a dissolution. All I mean is that the power is natural and obvious in the case of the King, and that it is not natural or obvious in the case of the republican Magistrate. If the King has not the power, if the republican Magistrate has the power, we may be sure that it is the result of deliberate design, not of unconscious constitutional growth. The power exists or does not exist, not because it came so by the silent working of historical causes, but because the power has been deliberately granted or deliberately refused from a conviction of the good policy of one arrangement or the other. In constitutions which were left to grow of themselves, the result is not likely to be the other way. In default of any deliberate enactment decreeing otherwise, the power of dissolution grows up naturally and easily in the case of a king ; it does not grow up naturally or easily in the case of a republican president or council.

I say that the power of dissolution grows up naturally and easily in the case of a king. That is to say, it follows almost as a matter of logical inference from a certain theory as to the relations between the Executive and the Legislature—that is in a kingly state between the King and his Parliament—which theory is likely to grow up in any state governed by kings, which as a matter of fact did grow up in England, but which never could grow up in any state where the executive takes a republican form. The King's power of dissolving Parliament is part of a theory as to the kingly office generally which gradually grew up under the influence of lawyers. The lawyers' theory looks on the King as the root and center of everything ; he is the one fountain from which all power, all honor,

even all property, is held to flow. The lawyers indeed always read history backwards; their theories have no root of primitive fact to stand upon; they commonly mistake the cause for the effect, and the effect for the cause; they mistake the rule for the exception, and the exception for the rule. But the mere logic of the process is commonly perfect. The objection must be taken at the very beginning. If once the premises are allowed, all the particular inferences follow as a matter of course. The King gradually became all that the lawyers say that he is, and, allowing for the practical though mainly unwritten restrictions of later times, he remains all that the lawyers say that he is. But he became so merely because the lawyers chose to say that he was so, not because he had either been so from the beginning or had become so by any formal enactment. Historically the lawyers' theory of kingship has not a leg to stand upon; but as a matter of reasoning it hangs beautifully together. Once admit the first link in the chain, and all the others follow without a break. From the lawyers' theory of the kingly power, it follows that the Parliament is the King's Parliament, as the army is the King's army, as the courts of law are the King's courts. The very name of Parliament, as compared with names like Congress or Assembly, points to the special relation between the Parliament and the king. A Parliament is in plain English a *talk*, a *colloquium*, in less pure Latin a *parlamentum*.* But it must not be thought that Parliament is so called, as nowadays it well might be, from the talk which its members have among themselves. The Parliament is historically so called because it came together to talk, to *parley*, with the King. The Speaker of the House of the Commons, who would never have got that title from his functions within the House, is so called because he was the great instrument of such talk or parley, the mouth-piece through which the Commons spoke to the King. The Speaker was a speaker indeed, when Sir Arnold Savage made those long discourses—one is tempted to call them sermons—which wore out the patience even of a strictly constitutional king like

* The name appears in French in the twelfth century, in Latin in the thirteenth. But it is merely a translation of the "deep speech" which, according to the English Chronicle, King William had with his Witan in the eleventh.

The oldest Latin spelling is "*parlamentum*," formed regularly from "*parlare*" = "*parabolare*." "*Parlement*" is the regular French form. "*Parliamentum*," "*parliament*," seem to mark a popular English pronunciation.

The equivalent word "*colloquium*" is sometimes used in England, and is very common in Germany. "*Loqui cum rege*" is a usual phrase.

Henry IV.* But, in the lawyers' theory, Parliament is not only an assembly which comes together to talk to the King ; it is an assembly which derives its power to talk or to do anything else wholly from the King's grant. In every Parliament, the lawyers would say, the Speaker of the House of Commons asks of the King for the confirmation of the accustomed privileges of the House. In this theory, as Parliament is called into being by the King's writ, he who called it into being can at any moment put an end to its being. In the theory of the lawyers the King can create and the King can destroy ; special enactments may bind him speedily to follow each act of destruction by a fresh act of creation ; but the power of creation and destruction is his nevertheless.

Now it needs no proof that no such theory as this could ever grow up in the case of a republican executive, whatever form such executive might take. It is not simply a question of the amount of power. We can conceive a republican magistrate clothed with much greater powers than those of a constitutional king. I must here draw a distinction. In one sense, the powers of a president or of a republican executive of any kind are almost of necessity greater than those of a constitutional king. That is to say, where the King can act only by the advice of his ministers, his personal will will count for less than the personal will of the President. The President may have a narrower range of legal power than the King, and yet may have a freer exercise of power within that range. That is, the President may be more powerful than the King, less powerful than the King's minister. What I now mean is that we can conceive a President, or other republican executive, clothed with powers which are not only greater than the powers which the constitutional King personally exercises, but greater than the powers which the law gives him, and which his ministers exercise in his name. We have very lately seen in practice that a formally smaller power, vested in a president, may really be greater than a formally greater power vested in a king. The English King has, by law, an unfettered power of refusing his assent to any measure, even though it has passed both Houses of Parliament.† But no English

* See Stubbs's Constitutional History, iii., 29.

† This power is commonly called the royal *veto* ; but that name is not strictly accurate. The name *veto* must come either from Rome or from Poland, and both in Rome and in Poland it meant something quite different from the process to which the name is applied either in England or in America. A power of *veto*, a power of forbidding, means a power of stepping in to hinder something which, if the power is not exercised, will naturally take place. It does not imply that the active assent of the person

king, no English minister, ever thinks of exercising such a power. In Switzerland no such power exists. In America the President has a conditional power of refusing his assent, and that power is freely exercised. The President is in this case not only more powerful than the King, but actually more powerful than the Minister. Still it is only in practice that he is more powerful; in theory the King is in this matter more powerful than the President. But a republican president might be clothed with the fullness of kingly power, according to the highest views of kingly power: he might be, not of usurpation but of free grant, ten years president or consul for life; and yet no one would dream that the other powers of the state drew their authority from him. The Assembly of the nation might be far weaker than the Executive Chief of the nation, and yet no one would argue that the powers of the Assembly were the grant of the Executive Chief. The Parliament would still not be his Parliament, in the sense in which, according to the lawyers' theory, the English Parliament is the King's Parliament. He might have the power of dissolving Parliament; but he would have it, not because the Parliament was called into being by him, but because the power which had called both him and the Parliament into being had chosen to invest him with that power.

In the case of America then the power of dissolution does not exist, because it was not a power which was inherent, or even obvious, in the idea of a republican president, while the founders of the Constitution were not led by any conviction of its expediency to clothe the President with it. In England it does exist, because, though not necessarily inherent in the idea of a king, it was an

invested with the power of *veto* is needed; it rather implies that it is not. The Roman Tribune could hinder any vote of the Senate or people, any act of the consuls or other magistrates. But those votes and acts did not need the active assent of the Tribune; the Tribune could forbid their taking effect; if he held his peace, they took effect. In England, on the other hand, a bill which has passed both Houses of Parliament is of no force till it has received the active assent of the King; if he wishes to stop the measure, he has no need to forbid; he has simply to decline to confirm. So, except in one particular case defined by the Constitution, the assent of the American President is needed for a measure which has passed both Houses of Congress. Both in England and in America it is an active assent which is needed; dissent is negative. Where there is the *veto* strictly so called, dissent is positive. The true *veto* would be, if an act of Parliament or Congress took effect of itself if the King or President said nothing, but might be stopped if the King or President stepped in to forbid it.

In the Convocation of the University of Oxford there is a real power of *veto*. The Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor alone, or the two Proctors together, can hinder any measure; but their active assent is not needed.

obvious inference from a certain prevalent theory of kingly powers, and because no conviction of its inexpediency has ever led to its abolition, either in law or practice. I say, either in law or in practice, because it is of course conceivable that the power of dissolution might have remained untouched by any legal enactment, and might yet have become as unheard of in practice as the kindred power of refusing the royal assent to a bill which has passed both Houses. But, though the power of dissolution is an obvious inference from the lawyers' theory of kingly power, yet, like the other so-called prerogatives of the Crown, it grew up by degrees and by force of circumstances. The power of dissolution in one sense must, in the case of any assembly, be vested somewhere, and it is most naturally vested in the chairman of the Assembly. There must be some power somewhere of saying that the business of the meeting is at an end, and that it is therefore time for the meeting to break up. Even in the mysterious case of a Parliament being dissolved at a certain moment by mere tract of time, it would most likely be thought seemly that the Speaker of each House should announce that the fatal hour had come, much as Archbishop Heath announced the fact of Queen Mary's death to the Parliament which was then sitting, and which was thereby dissolved. But such a power as this is quite distinct from the power of dissolving at pleasure—of dissolving, it may be, in the midst of business—of dissolving, it may be, against the will of the Assembly dissolved—of dissolving, it may be, by way of punishing some proceeding of the Assembly—of dissolving in the hope of getting rid of an obnoxious assembly, and of finding some future assembly more ready to do what is wished. This kind of power of dissolution seems to involve several things. It is not a power likely to arise in an early or primitive state of things; it implies a very considerable advance of constitutional growth. It implies that the Constitution is representative and elective. It implies, we may safely add, that the form of the executive is monarchic. And we may further add that the power of dissolution in fact arises out of the power of prorogation. The power of putting an end to the existence of the Assembly springs out of the power of artificially prolonging its existence.

The primary object of dissolution in a constitutional state is to get rid of the existing Legislature in the hope that another may come in its place which may better suit the purposes of those who dissolve it. Supposing everything to be done without force or corruption, supposing that it is intended that the new Assembly

shall be brought together by perfectly fair means, such a dissolution forms an appeal to the country. The King or minister virtually says to the electors: "Your present representatives and I do not agree; do you judge between us; send back the same men or other men, according to the decision which you take in the matter." This is a fair and constitutional appeal. Of course, a dissolution might be made the opportunity of getting together a packed assembly by some unlawful means; but we are supposing this not to be the case. The appeal is to the electors to judge between the Executive and the existing Assembly. They determine, by their choice of members of the new Assembly, whether they approve of the acts of the late Assembly or not. And the principle is exactly the same in a case which at first sight seems to be exactly opposite. In the case which has just been put, the Executive dissolves, because the existing Assembly is against it, while it has at least the hope that the country at large may be for it. But sometimes an executive which is in no kind of present danger will dissolve in order to get rid of any chance of future danger. In the case already put, the Executive dissolves because it is in a minority in the Assembly; in the case now to be put, it dissolves while it is in a majority in the Assembly. The Executive has the Assembly with it; it believes that it has the nation with it. But the Assembly is drawing near the term of its natural life; there must, in any case, be a dissolution before long. The Executive may therefore think it wise to dissolve at once, while it feels sure that the new elections will be in its favor, rather than to wait, and so to run the risk of something happening which may make the elections less favorable. A dissolution thus skillfully timed may secure to the Executive a renewed lease of power for the whole term of the next Assembly. But such a dissolution as this is no less an appeal to the country than the other class, the "penal" dissolution. The country is appealed to, to give the Executive the support of a new assembly, even though in this case it has not lacked the support of the old one. The country is called on to pronounce its opinion on the conduct of the Executive by its choice of a new assembly, even though the conduct of the Executive may have been in no way censured by the existing Assembly.

It is plain that this very elaborate and artificial use of the power of dissolution implies an advanced stage of constitutional growth. It implies the existence of a representative and elective assembly. In a constitution of the earliest type, whether aristocratic or democratic, the power of dissolution in this sense could not exist. In such con-

stitutions there is no election or representation. The Assembly consists of the whole body, either of the nation or of a privileged class in the nation. In such constitutions there can be no dissolution of the Assembly, except in the sense of declaring that the business of that particular meeting is over. When the Assembly meets again, there is no change in the persons who compose it; every man who was at the first meeting can, if he chooses, appear at the second. The democratic *Ekklesia* of Athens and the aristocratic Great Council of Venice were alike incapable of dissolution; the *Landesgemeinde* of Uri or Glarus is incapable of dissolution in our own day. Not only is there no constitutional power to dissolve it; its dissolution, in the sense in which we speak of the dissolution of an English Parliament, is a contradiction in terms. But, besides this, the power of dissolution not only implies that the Assembly is elective and representative, it implies that the assembly is, perhaps not necessarily dominant, but at all events very powerful in the state. It implies that the approval of the Assembly is needed for the acts of the Government, and that the government can not be carried on in the teeth of a hostile assembly. It does not necessarily imply that the elaborate ministerial system of England is in full working; but it does imply that the Assembly has the power of legislation and the power of the purse. The King dissolves the Parliament which refuses supplies, or which refuses to pass the measures which he approves and brings in measures which he disapproves. If he is a scrupulous ruler, he does this in the hope that a new election may give him a more friendly Parliament; if he is an unscrupulous ruler, he does it in the hope of securing a complying Parliament by irregular means, perhaps even with the object of getting rid of Parliaments altogether. All this may very well happen in that stage of constitutional progress when the powers of Parliament are fully established by law, when it is acknowledged that the King may lawfully do this, but may not lawfully do the other, but when King and Parliament meet, and sometimes, like Henry IV. and Sir Arnold Savage, dispute, face to face, without the conventional device of a ministry as a guide to King and Parliament alike. But the refinement of a dissolution which is not penal, the dissolution of a friendly Parliament because at that moment it is likely to have a friendly successor, while there is a chance that a year or two hence its successor may be less friendly—such an extreme subtilty as this is more in character with the rule of a minister than with the rule of a king. It is the calculation of one who not only depends on the will of the

national Assembly for the acceptance of his legislative measures or for the means of carrying out his policy, but who further depends on its will for his continuance in any place of authority at all.

Now it hardly needs proof that this last state of things at least can have no place in a true republican constitution. The position of the King, while the King still acts personally, is one in which an American President may easily find himself. The President may suggest a certain course of legislation, and Congress may refuse to legislate on the matter. The President may wish to carry out some scheme of policy, and Congress may refuse him the means to carry it out. And yet each of the two powers may be acting within its constitutional right, without the slightest breach of the law. Experience indeed has shown that, when things do come to a real struggle, Congress is stronger than the President; but there may be important differences and difficulties without coming to such a struggle as this. And there is no legal way out of them. The President can not dissolve Congress; Congress can not depose the President.* Neither power called the other into being; therefore neither power can put an end to the being of the other. But in England the Ministry and the House of Commons are armed with powers of mutual destruction. The Minister can practically dissolve Parliament; that is, he can advise the King or Queen so to do. The House of Commons can practically depose the Minister; that is, it can pass a vote which leaves no course open to him but that of resigning.† That is, each power can practically destroy the other, because neither can do it formally, because whatever is done must be formally done in the name of the power which, as it formally calls into being both Minister and Parliament, can alone formally end their being. The King or Queen alone can dissolve Parliament, because it is the King or Queen alone who called the Parliament into being by a royal writ. The King or Queen alone can dismiss the Ministers, or accept their resignations, because it is

* That is, it can not depose him simply because it dislikes his policy; it can not get rid of him by a vote of want of confidence. A judicial deposition on an impeachment for a definite crime is another matter.

† It follows that, in many cases, a minister may dissolve a hostile Parliament; but so to do is his last chance. If the new Parliament is also hostile, he must resign. These are all subtleties of the unwritten constitution; they are absolutely unknown to the actual written law of England; it would seem impossible to provide for such cases beforehand by any written law.

from the King or Queen alone that they received their appointments to their offices. The House of Commons can point out by unmistakable signs whom it wishes to have at the head of affairs ; but it is the King or Queen alone who can actually place him there.

The natural conclusion surely is that the power of dissolution is an essentially royal power—a power which naturally grows up in the case of a king, but which seems out of place in the case of a president or other republican executive. The King can dissolve Parliament, because it is his Parliament ; the President can not dissolve Congress, because it is not his Congress. How then as to the case of France, where the President has a qualified power of dissolution, a power of dissolution with the consent of the Senate ? It is plain enough whence this provision comes : it is an imitation of the provision of the American Constitution which requires that many of the chief executive acts of the President shall be confirmed by the Senate. And we may safely say that it is a wise model foolishly imitated. The joint action of President and Senate seems admirably suited for the exercise of the treaty-making power ; it does not seem in the least suited for the exercise of the power of dissolution. It is surely an invidious arrangement to vest the power of dissolution, or any share in the exercise of that power, in that branch of the Legislature which is least affected by a dissolution, which is perhaps not affected by it at all. Of all the arrangements which can be even conceived in England, the most insufferable would be one which should vest the power of dissolution in the King acting with the consent of the House of Lords. But, though the limitation on the French President's power of dissolution is clearly a corrupt following of republican America, the power of dissolution itself, as vested in a republican magistrate, is no less clearly a corrupt following of monarchic Europe. The whole position of the French President is far more closely borrowed from that of European kings than is the position of the American President. His personal powers are doubtless less than those of his American brother ; but that is because they are limited in exactly the same way in which the powers of a constitutional king are limited. The American President has his ministers, and his ministers have grown into a degree of importance which it is plain that the first founders of the Constitution never thought of. Still their position is wholly different from the position of the ministers of a king. In every constitutional kingdom, it is held essential that the King's ministers should be members of one or other branch of the Legislature. It is in

Parliament that they live and move, and have their being ; it is Parliament which indirectly appoints, and which can indirectly remove them. But the ministers of the American President are expressly shut out from both Houses of Congress. An American Congress hears a presidential message ; it never hears a ministerial statement. But the ministers of the French President hold essentially the same position as the ministers of a king. They are a parliamentary ministry, while the ministry of an American President is necessarily an extra-parliamentary ministry. It was one of the charges brought against the late French President that he chose a ministry which was extra-parliamentary. He was held, and truly, to be upsetting the safeguards of parliamentary freedom by adopting a system which was formally the same as that which was established in America as being in itself the chief of those safeguards. Doubtless it was only in form that there was any likeness between the cases ; but even the formal likeness is worth noting. The truth is that the American system is strictly republican. The relations between President and Congress, whatever may be their advantages and disadvantages, follow naturally from the decision of the founders of the Constitution that the executive power should be vested in a single man and not in a council, and that that single man should be, not a king, but a magistrate, elective, terminable, and responsible. One of those consequences is that that magistrate is not clothed with the power of dissolution. In France, as far as concerns the relations among the powers of the state, all that seems to have been done is to exchange the hereditary King for a king chosen for a term. The French President's relations to the Assembly are clearly far more like those of a constitutional king than they are like those of an American President. Among his other kingly relations, it did not seem so very unnatural to give him the kingly power of dissolution. But some kind of lingering feeling that it was a somewhat singular power to place in the hands of a republican magistrate, seems to have suggested the limitation that the power can be exercised only with the consent of the Senate.

We come back then to our old definition. The President can not dissolve Congress, because it is not his Congress. The King can dissolve Parliament, because it is his Parliament, because, at all events, lawyers have ruled that it shall be his Parliament. But it is quite worth while to mark the steps by which the Parliament became the King's Parliament, and to mark, at the same time, the steps by which the power of dissolution grew up. In the primitive

Assembly of the nation, as in any other primitive assembly, the Assembly was in no sense the King's Assembly. He did not call the Assembly into being ; for the Assembly was simply the nation ; he at most, as a matter of convenience, fixed the times and places of its meetings. But he could not fix the time and place of the most important of all assemblies of the nation, that which, when the King died, came together to choose his successor. It is plain that, as long as the Crown was habitually elective, there was no room for the two favorite doctrines of lawyers, the doctrine that Parliament draws its being from the King's writ, and the kindred doctrine—now got rid of—that Parliament ceases to exist along with the King from whose writ it drew its being. The power of dissolution, in the modern sense, could not exist as long as the Assembly was the nation, or such part of the nation as was able and willing to attend. It could not exist till the Assembly had put on a representative and elective shape. That is, in England it could not exist till the thirteenth century. But, though it could not begin before, it did not at all follow that it must begin then ; and in fact the practice of dissolution, in anything at all answering to modern ideas, is of much later date. It arose, as has been already said, out of the practice of prorogation. An early assembly came together ; it had the talk with the King from which it took its name of Parliament ; it then dispersed, and its members went home again. When the state of public affairs made it needful that there should be another talk between king and people, another assembly came together, an assembly summoned by fresh writs, and whose elective members were chosen by fresh elections. Edward III. sometimes held more than one Parliament in the same year ; but they were held by fresh writs and fresh elections. The counties, cities, and boroughs may or may not have elected the same representatives a second time—that was their own affair ; the members, whether the same or different, appeared each time by virtue of a fresh choice. There was as yet no political or social *status* attached to the position of member of Parliament ; the knight, citizen, or burgess was simply sent by his fellows to act in their names on a particular occasion. The practice of prorogation, the practice of continuing the same Parliament in being for several years, of calling the same men together without any fresh election, is a later subtilty, one which is not likely to be thought of during the early stages of a Parliamentary constitution. It became established as a common practice in the

course of the fifteenth century. And this practice necessarily involved the power of dissolution. In the earlier state of things, when the business for which the Parliament came together was done, the Parliament was dissolved as a matter of course. But now, at the end of each session, when the immediate business was done, the question arose: "Shall this Parliament be dissolved at once, and another Parliament be summoned when another is wanted; or shall this Parliament be simply prorogued for a season, ready to come together again whenever there is fresh business for it to do?" Thus the King had the choice of putting an end to the Parliament, or of keeping it alive, as best suited his ends. If it so suited him, he could keep on the same Parliament from the beginning of his reign to the end. And many Parliaments, notably one famous one of Charles II., were kept in being for many years. This was a grievance: for a Parliament might thus go on, nominally representing the nation, long after it had ceased to possess the confidence of the nation. There was therefore no feeling against the Crown's power of dissolution, while there was a feeling against the Crown's power of keeping on a perhaps subservient Parliament by endless prorogations. Hence we find more than one act passed to limit the duration of Parliaments, while the power of dissolution was never limited, except by the single act which, under most special circumstances, debarred the King from dissolving the Long Parliament. The power of dissolution is a power which naturally fits in with the conventional relations of king, ministry, and Parliament, as now understood in England. It had no place in the wholly different relation between the Legislature and the Executive which was established by the American Constitution. In that Constitution therefore it is not found. In the Constitution of the French republic it does find a place, because in that Constitution the relations of the Executive toward the Legislature are rather kingly than strictly presidential.

At the same time, though the power of dissolution fits in well with the ordinary practice of constitutional monarchies, it is by no means necessarily involved in that practice. There are constitutional kingdoms where the power does not exist. Its practical working has a good deal to do with the duration of Parliaments. As long as a Parliament may last for so long a time as seven years, the power of shortening its life is not likely to be found fault with. If the duration of Parliaments should ever be reduced to one year, we may

be sure that the power of dissolution will vanish. In the case of a reduction to three years, the question whether there should be a power of dissolution or not will have to be distinctly argued on its merits ; and a most interesting and instructive debate ought to arise out of the argument.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

V.

THE FOUNDER OF THE KHEDIVATE.*

BY THE LATE JOHN L. STEPHENS.

THE same year gave birth to two of the most extraordinary men who have ever lived. Both Napoleon Bonaparte and Mohammad Ali were born in 1769. The race of one is already finished, and a small island in the midst of the Atlantic contains all that is left of him for whose ambition Europe was too small. The other, now nearly threescore and ten, sits securely on a throne of his own making, a study and a problem. Like all who, for more than two thousand years, have preceded him on the throne of Egypt, Mohammad Ali is a stranger to the land over which he rules. He comes from the wild province of Albania, of a race distinguished from its earliest history for its bold, restless, and indomitable spirits. Fifty years ago we find him as an orphan boy in the town of Cavalla, attracting the attention of the Governor, and acquiring under him the qualification requisite for distinction in his barbarous country—vigilance, intrepidity, and skill in the use of arms. Next he appears as a petty collector of taxes, where he signalized himself by his uncompromising execution of the duties of his office, and his wanton disregard of the misery and blood that it cost. Upon one occasion, when the inhabitants of a particular village refused to pay their quota of tax, Mohammad Ali undertook to compel them, and, hastily arming a few followers, he rode into the village, entered the mosque at the hour of prayer, and, pretending a secret mission, sent for four of the principal inhabitants to come to him. As soon as they appeared he ordered them to be bound hand and foot, overawed the populace by threatening to put his captives to death, and carried them in triumph to Cavalla.

In the East, even yet, a single act of daring may open the road

* This paper, by one of the most distinguished of American travelers, was written some forty years since, on the return of the author from the East. It is now given to the public by the kind permission of his relatives.—EDITOR.

to fortune, though unhappily it makes but little difference, so that it suits the particular emergency, whether that act be good or bad ; and this dashing stratagem, to call it by no harsher name, procured for Mohammad Ali the rank of búluk báshee, or captain of a company, and a rich wife. Relieved in a measure from the active duties of a soldier, he turned tobacco-merchant, and continued dealing in a small way in tobacco and blood, until the invasion of Egypt by the French called him to a wider field. The contingent of three hundred troops required from the town of Cavalla was placed under the command of Ali Ághá, the son of the Governor, and Mohammad was sent with him as a sort of mentor and second in command. Ali Ághá soon became disgusted with military life and returned home, leaving Mohammad in command ; and, during the whole of Napoleon's invasion, Mohammad Ali, with a spirit as daring as his own, was fighting in the Moslem ranks, and his personal bravery on the field of battle, in many desperate engagements with the French, attracted the attention of the Pasha of Egypt, by whom he was recommended to Khusruf, the Governor of Cairo.

On the expulsion of the French, the Mamelukes, "that indestructible plague of Egypt, that weed always alive," were in arms in the upper provinces, waiting for a favorable opportunity to descend upon Cairo. Youssof Bey was sent against them with a large army, with Táhir Pasha and the young Albanian in command of divisions under him. The expedition terminated unfortunately and disgracefully for the Turks, and Táhir Pasha ascribed their defeat and the disgrace attached to it to the cowardice or treachery of Mohammad Ali. His enemies will probably acquit him of cowardice, and probably, too, all who could have convicted him of treachery are long since out of the way ; but, whether the charge was true or not, Khusruf was willing to believe it, for he already looked upon the young Albanian as a dangerous man. In an evil hour for himself, he sent an order to Mohammad to leave the country with his wild Albanians ; but Mohammad refused to stir until the arrears of his soldiers were paid. Khusruf sent again, with the fatal order to appear before him in the night ; and Mohammad returned for answer that he would appear in broad daylight in the midst of his soldiers. Khusruf, alarmed, called into Cairo the Albanians under Táhir Pasha, hoping to find his safety in the intrigues of the rival chiefs ; but the Albanians, however much they might quarrel among themselves, were unanimous in demanding their pay. They attacked the palace, drove the Governor and his

household out of the city, and installed Tâhir Pasha Governor of Cairo. His rule, however, lasted but three weeks. The Porte sent a Pasha of high rank to assume the command ; but the beys, having now the upper hand, seized him and put him to death, and the actual government of the country reverted to the Mamelukes under Ibrahim and El-Bardeesee—subject, however, to the pretensions of Mohammad Ali.

Mohammad Ali did not belong to the Mamelukes, and to be not of them was to be against them, as he was sure in a struggle for power to have them against him. Fearing their ascendancy, he contrived to embroil El-Bardeesee, the Hotspur of the beys, with his associates ; and, seizing the proper moment, attacked El-Bardeesee with his own hands, and drove him from the Citadel. But the Grand Seigneur now looked upon Mohammad Ali with suspicion, and in the year 1804 sent orders that the Albanians should return into their own country ; but Ali disregarded the mandate, alleging that their presence was still necessary to repress the turbulent spirit of the Mamelukes. In 1805 the Porte tried to get him out of Egypt by conferring on him the honorable appointment of Pasha of Jiddeh and Mecca, on the eastern shore of the Red Sea. He went so far as to put on the mantle and cap peculiar to his new office ; but his army, being prepared beforehand, opposed his going, became clamorous for pay, and threatened violent and open rebellion in case of refusal. The sheiks gathered round in a body, elected him Governor of Cairo, and begged him to save Egypt from the horrors of a civil war. Tumult and confusion ensued, in the midst of which Mohammad Ali alone was calm. He listened with apparent reluctance, and as he said, to save Egypt from greater evils, accepted the power offered him ; and, amid the shouts of his soldiers, was proclaimed the new representative of the Grand Seigneur.

The Mamelukes were unwilling to lay down their arms without one more blow at their old enemy, and Mohammad Ali, longing for another encounter with them, tried to induce them to attack him in Cairo. With one of his characteristic plans of treachery, he induced the sheiks to invite the beys into Cairo and promise them assistance. These daring soldiers, relying upon the promise of the sheiks, seized an opportunity of bursting in a gate which had been opened to admit some loaded camels, and, dividing into two parties, dashed fearlessly through the streets, sounding their martial instruments ; but they were attacked on all sides, fired upon and beaten down without mercy. And such a perfect slaughter was made that

from that time the Mamelukes ceased to be formidable as a body. Prisoners shared the same fate, and more than a hundred heads were sent to Constantinople to grace the walls of the Seraglio. The Porte, in pursuance of its usual policy, of preventing the ascendancy of any one interest, now determined to support the beys, and for this purpose sent an envoy to Mohammad Ali, commanding him to render himself at Alexandria, and to assume the government of Salonica.

But the wily Albanian knew too well the policy of the Divan to accept such promotion. He asked his followers "whether he would not now, when he had around him a strong band of faithful countrymen and men at arms, be a fool and a craven to abandon to his enemies the station he had won with his sword. Cairo," he exclaimed, "is to be publicly sold : whoever will give most blows of the saber shall win it and remain master." While opposing the order of the Sultan he was most respectful in his demeanor toward his representative, always regretting that the distracted state of the country prevented him from obeying his master's orders ; while at the same time he was plotting with the Turks, Albanians, Egyptians, and Mamelukes, and sending money to Constantinople to buy friends in the Divan. At length the Sultan, finding it impossible to dispossess him, and on the eve of a war with Russia, sent him the regular firman, investing him with the title of Viceroy of Egypt. The remnant of the Mamelukes was still in arms in Upper Egypt, but he marched against them, defeated them, and was preparing to follow up his blow to their utter annihilation, when he was recalled by intelligence of the contemplated invasion of Egypt by the British. The result of that unfortunate expedition is well known : Alexandria was taken, but the flower of the little army was cut off, and four hundred and fifty of their heads were publicly exposed at Cairo.

The departure of the British enabled him to give his attention to the internal affairs of his Government ; and one of the first measures he seems to have determined upon was the complete and absolute extermination of the Mamelukes. One word with regard to the Mamelukes. It will be remembered that the great Saladin, like the present Pasha, was a usurper of the throne of Egypt. Having no confidence in the native troops, he organized a guard of strangers, composed of slaves bought or captured on the southern shores of the Caspian, and called, from their condition of slavery, Mamelukes or bondsmen. Every year their strength was increased by young men introduced as pages and trained to the use of arms ;

and the slave from Georgia and Circassia no sooner set his foot in Egypt than his ideas underwent an entire revolution. Everything tended to rouse his ambition and audacity : an unbounded career opened before him ; in a few years the Mamelukes were the lords of Egypt ; and in less than a century the defenders of the throne, like the Prætorian Guards and the Janizaries, became its masters. Splendidly dressed, armed with a carbine, pistols, and Damascus sabers, mounted on noble Arabians, of unbounded confidence and daring and reckless intrepidity, they formed that race of barbaric chivalry of which Napoleon said that, with such cavalry and French infantry, he could conquer the world.

“Accursed be the Mamelukes, and good fortune to the land of Egypt !” was his first proclamation when he landed on her soil ; and this long career of cruelty and oppression, of gross sensuality, treachery, and blood, might almost warrant the cry—“Cut them down ! why cumber they the ground ?”

But the cold-blooded manner in which they were massacred brands the Pasha as a traitor and murderer. His son Toosoon being selected to conduct the war in Arabia, he appointed a day for investing him with the supreme command. The ceremony was to take place in the Citadel ; and the Mamelukes, who were supposed to have made their peace by their brave coöperation in repelling the British, were invited to attend. They came dressed in their most splendid costumes, and, with the brave Shâheen Bey at their head, offered the Pasha their congratulations ; were presented with coffee and smoked the pipe of peace, and Mohammad Ali conversed with them individually, with every appearance of cordiality and kindness. The interview over, they took their leave, mounted their horses, and were escorted from the palace by a troop of soldiers. In leaving the Citadel it was necessary to go through a narrow passage ; and they had no sooner entered this passage than the gates were closed, and a deadly and destructive fire was poured upon them. Penned up, without any chance of escape, and even without the power to strike a blow in their defense, these daring soldiers, who had braved death in a hundred battles, were shot down and killed like dogs. One only escaped. He arrived at the Citadel too late to take his place in the procession, and waited until they had entered the fatal passage, but, seeing the gate shut suddenly and hearing the report of firearms, he suspected the treachery, spurred his horse up the rampart, and, choosing rather to be dashed to pieces than to be butchered in cold blood, drove him over the precipice. The horse was killed,

but the rider escaped unhurt. Four hundred and seventy mounted Mamelukes, with their numerous retinue of attendants, were slain. The Citadel presented the appearance of a slaughter-house. Mutilated corpses choked up the passages, and on all sides were broken weapons, garments covered with blood, and horses richly caparisoned, stretched by the side of their masters, pierced with balls. Some of them took refuge in the Pasha's harem and the house of Toosoon, but they were all dragged forth and beheaded on the spot. The lifeless body of the brave Sháheen Bey was exposed to every infamy ; a rope was passed round his neck, and the bloody carcass dragged through the most populous parts of the city.

The streets, during two whole days, bore the appearance of a place taken by assault. Every species of outrage was committed with impunity, under pretense of searching for the devoted Mamelukes ; and it was not until five hundred houses were sacked, much valuable property destroyed, and many lives lost, that Ali and his son descended from the Citadel to repress the fury of the soldiers.

The same treacherous measures were pursued in the provinces : every Mameluke in Egypt was hunted to death, and the heads of the principal officers embalmed and sent to Constantinople as a present to the Sultan.

To the disgrace of civilized man, it is said that this scheme for the murder of the Mamelukes was suggested by Dr. Manecei, an Italian, physician to the Pasha ; and it is also said that the Mamelukes themselves, when in the act of retiring, consulted whether they should not take advantage of the opportunity to murder the Pasha, but were intimidated by his strong body of soldiers. I have given this account upon the authority of Europeans ; but I ought to add that, a few months since, in this city, in conversation with a Turkish officer high in the Pasha's service, who was in Cairo at the time of the massacre, on the suggestion being made that the Mamelukes were so reduced that their extermination was cold-blooded cruelty in the Pasha, he denied, with great indignation, that such was the fact, and vehemently protested that the Mamelukes were then so strong that their destruction was absolutely necessary for the Pasha's own security ; and in evidence of it, and in full justification of his Highness, added that more than four thousand were killed in Cairo, and fifteen thousand in the upper provinces.

But to continue. The Pasha turned his whole attention to the war in Arabia. This war against the Wahnábees was regarded as holy by the Turks and Egyptians, and all Mohammedans of the same

sect with themselves. More than a century ago, Abdel Waháb, the Socinius of the Mohammedans, disturbed the minds of the faithful by new and strange doctrines in regard to the character of the Prophet ; attacked the idolatry of the pilgrimage to Mecca and the tomb of Mohammad, and inculcated the principles of pure Deism, reducing the whole duty of man, as a religious being, to prayer and good works. Though aiming at the destruction of the reverence paid to the Prophet, he adopted his principles and practice so far as to take up arms for the conviction of skeptics. At the head of twenty thousand men he advanced into Persia, breathing persecution and religious intolerance, attacked the city of Herbetek, and, putting the inhabitants to the sword, plundered and desecrated the sepulchre of Ali, the grandson of the Prophet, a favorite place of pilgrimage among the Persians. In the beginning of the present century, the son of Abdel was murdered by a citizen of Herbetek, to avenge the indignity done to the holy tomb ; and Schdvod, his successor, in retaliation, directed his arms against Bassorah and Irak. He defeated the Scherif of Mecca, and with forty thousand men entered the holy city, broke open the tomb of the Prophet, stripped it of its long-venerated treasures, melted the golden vessels, chandeliers, and vases, and, having exposed the whole to public sale, distributed the money among his soldiers. This daring act of sacrilege roused the indignation of every true believer, and Mohammad Ali was commanded by the Sultan to punish the daring heretic and deliver the holy city.

The first campaign in Arabia under Toosoon Pasha was crowned with success. He took the city of Medina, the keys of which were forwarded by his father to Constantinople ; but afterward the Egyptian army sustained severe reverses, and it needed the presence of Mohammad Ali himself to restore the confidence of his soldiers. During the progress of this war he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and paid his devotions at the tomb of the Prophet. While engaged in this holy work he stopped at Jiddeh, where, in a fit of passion, with his own hands, he pulled out the eyes of Hoseyn Ághá, the agent of the East India Company ; besides which, in return for the kindness and hospitality with which he was received by the Scherif Ghaleb, he seized his host and sent him a prisoner to Cairo, and plundered the palace of immense treasures. About this time he suffered a severe blow in the death of his son Toosoon, as was supposed, by poison.

Ibrahim Pasha, who was sent to replace him, literally fulfilled

his father's oath to destroy the city of the Wahhábees, so that not one stone of it should be left upon another. The inhabitants who escaped the sword were driven into the desert, and Ibrahim is remembered at this day as the scourge of Arabia and the curse of Duayeh. Mohammad Ali well knew that a throne gained by treachery and blood could only be secured by physical force. In his several engagements with Europeans he had seen enough to convince him of the importance of discipline and military training, and very early in the administration of his government he attempted to organize a corps on the system of European tactics. For this purpose he secured the services of several Frenchmen, who had remained in Egypt after the departure of Napoleon.

From the very first the attempt was vehemently opposed by the native troops, and particularly the free spirit of his wild Albanians could ill brook the trammels of warlike science. The subaltern officers were assassinated in the streets, and the superiors were insulted on parade; severe punishments were inflicted, and more severe measures taken by the Pasha, until murmurings and conspiracies broke out into open mutiny and revolt. On the 4th of August, 1815, all the troops in the neighborhood of Cairo marched against the Citadel, with the avowed purpose of putting Mohammad Ali to death.

Fortunately for him, he was at one of his palaces near the European quarter of the city; and it is remembered of him to this day by the Franks, that on the first breaking out of the disturbance he sent them five hundred muskets, with the necessary ammunition, to defend themselves in case the fury of the soldiers should turn against them. The whole city was in convulsion; the soldiers roamed through the streets like banditti, plundered the bazaars, and committed all kinds of excesses. Mohammad Ali remained all day in a terrible state of suspense, liable at any moment to be dragged forth to destruction, when he was extricated by Abdur Bey, a faithful Albanian, warmly attached to his person, who, gathering around him a band of about three hundred of his own countrymen, forced a passage to the Citadel and lodged him there in perfect security. This took place late in the evening of that day of confusion and terror, and, when it was discovered that the Pasha had been so long within their reach and had escaped, the fury of the soldiers knew no bounds; they broke out again into fresh excesses, pillaged the bazaars, and sacked the dwellings of the inhabitants. Before morning Mohammad Ali had proclaimed a general amnesty to all who

had taken part in the rebellion, and indemnification to all the citizens who had suffered by the pillage, and had promised to discontinue the odious system of European discipline. For a long time no attempt was made to renew it ; but the Pasha had not abandoned his plans. Knowing the indomitable nature of his Albanians, he resolved to operate upon the subdued spirit of the Fellahs of Egypt and the still more unresisting natives of Sennár and Kurdufán. For this purpose he fitted out an expedition under his son Ismail, as well to reduce the upper provinces as to procure recruits for his new system.

The success of Ismail was complete in both. Thousands of captives were sent down to Aswán, where they were first vaccinated, and after their recovery were immediately subjected to all the rigor and restraint of European military discipline. It was remarked of them, particularly the Nubians, that they neither rebelled, nor murmured, nor complained ; but a deep and settled melancholy seemed to take possession of them, and, without any visible bodily malady, they pined away and died by thousands. Out of twenty thousand sent down to Aswán, not more than three thousand remained alive at the end of two years. Medical men ascribed this dreadful mortality to the operation of moral rather than physical causes ; torn from their families and homes, many of them seemed to consider life a burden, and almost literally laid themselves down and died.

Even this could not shake the determination of the Pasha. He placed five hundred tried and faithful Mamelukes under the command of Colonel Sèves, formerly aide to Marshal Ney, to be trained as officers, and at the same time impressed thirty thousand Arab Fellahs, who were sent under a strong military guard into Upper Egypt. The ultimate success of Mohammad Ali is to be attributed mainly to the valuable services and conduct of Colonel Sèves.

Several times the Mamelukes became discontented and threatened to break out into rebellion, but he silenced them and gained the respect of this wild soldiery by offering to meet with his saber, single-handed, all who dared dispute his authority. On one occasion, in firing, a ball was heard to whistle close by his ear ; without the slightest emotion he ordered them to reload their pieces. "You are very bad marksmen," he exclaimed. "Make ready ; fire !" They fired, but no ball was heard. His determined courage disarmed their animosity, and acquired for him a personal admiration which enabled him to carry through the grand scheme of the Pasha.

Colonel Sèves is now Governor of Acre, under the title of Suleymán Pasha ; he has been constantly with the army in peace and in war, and at Konieh his charge of cavalry decided the battle against the Grand Vizier. He is a man of talents and acquirements, of personal honor and integrity ; but we can not forget that he has assumed the turban and stands branded as a renegade to his religion. But the success of Mohammad Ali was clouded by another severe domestic affliction : Ismail Pasha, his favorite son, a young man of mild and amiable temper, died a miserable death while prosecuting the war in Upper Egypt.

In revenge for an accidental insult to a native chief, the building in which he slept was surrounded with a mass of combustible materials, and the house and every one within it were burned to ashes. Achmet el Defterdár, better known as Defterdár the Cruel, to avenge the murder of Ismail, butchered in cold blood twenty thousand of the inhabitants, men, women and children, and Ibrahim Pasha, returned successful from the Arabian war, pushed the Egyptian arms into districts which neither the Persians nor Romans had been able to penetrate.

But a new battle-field now presented itself to Mohammad Ali. Greece had risen from her long slumber ; her mountain warriors had determined to be free, and in an instant the whole of the Morea became a scene of violence and bloodshed unknown in the annals of modern war.

The Sultan, everywhere defeated, called upon Mohammad Ali for aid. It has been imputed to Mohammad Ali that the Greek Revolution was incited by him ; whether this be true or not, it is generally believed that he regarded it with a favorable eye, as it called the attention of the Sultan to that part of his empire, and kept him from looking too closely into the affairs of Egypt. He obeyed, however, the order of the Sultan, and directed Ibrahim Pasha to withdraw his troops from the desert of Dongola and Kurfán to the more sanguinary fields of the Morea. The particulars of this war are matters of history. The part enacted by Mohammad Ali was in character. It was no part of his plan to bring it to an immediate close ; for, if the Egyptian and Turkish troops had coöperated with that view, they were strong enough numerically to form cordons across the whole country, and sweep every Greek into the sea. His plan was to protract the war until the Sultan's troops became discouraged and disheartened, that in the end the value of his own services might be more fully appreciated.

In another particular, too, his conduct was characteristic : with the first levy of men he sent his most turbulent Albanians, whom, under any circumstances, he was anxious to get rid of. These it is well known were exposed in every desperate encounter, so that they were soon all cut off. His second levy was composed again of Albanians, who were also exposed in every possible situation ; and, their reckless courage never allowing them to regard any danger, they too were cut off ; and, thus having rid himself of his most troublesome subjects, he sent a large reënforcement of his disciplined Egyptians, who turned the tide of war against unhappy Greece, and would have ended by again enslaving her, if the great Christian powers had not interposed and saved her. The piercing cry of distress that came from the struggling land to our distant ears was a cry to save her from the hands of Mohammad Ali.

It was he who was burning her villages, sacking her cities, and murdering her inhabitants, and who had sworn that he would not cease until the whole of the Morea became a frightful desert. According to the practice of the Porte, that which is wrested from her, and she can not get back, she confirms in the possession of the rebel, and Palestine and Syria now remain in the hands of Mohammad Ali as a reward for drawing his sword against his master. He still continues to pay the Sultan tribute, but for a long time his spirit has been chafing under the burden. "Why," he is constantly asking those around him, "why should I pay the Sultan tribute, when I can beat him any moment I please?"

Every time the tribute becomes due there is a question of war. Within the last few months he gave notice to the four great Christian Powers that control the affairs of the East, that he would no longer pay ; that he was determined to be free, or fight. He was repressed and kept back, but he now sits like a lion waiting for a spring, and at this day Mohammad Ali is the only man living to disturb the peace of the civilized world. His last war was that of open rebellion against the Sultan.

Seizing upon some trifling quarrel with the Pasha of Acre, he sent the now formidable Ibrahim to attack that city. The Sultan ordered him to withdraw his troops. He refused, and was declared an outlaw and rebel, and a price was set upon his head. He now threw off all show of vassalage, and Ibrahim Pasha, at the head of a large and well-disciplined army, marched into Syria, took Jerusalem, Damascus, and Aleppo, beat the Sultan's troops in battle after battle, wrested from him province after province ; in midwin-

ter led his Egyptians across Mount Taurus, defeated the Grand Vizier with the flower of the Turkish army almost under the walls of Constantinople, and would have driven the Sultan from the home of the Mahmoods, but that the Russians, the old enemies of the Porte, came to his relief.

Such is a brief sketch of the life of Mohammad Ali, an orphan boy of Cavalla, a tax-collector, a tobacco merchant, a soldier of fortune, a Pasha, and a Viceroy, exercising a more absolute and despotic power than any potentate upon earth. His better qualities are such as ought to attract admiration ; but in his long life of stormy passion we do not once find anything noble in his impulses.

We might, perhaps, forget his cruelty and bloodshed if, like the heroic Saladin, he had sometimes shown that he felt the ties which bind brave men together ; we might even forget his cruelties, but we can not forget his long career of duplicity and treachery ; and I remember when I saw him, as I looked into his dark, rolling eye, and ran over rapidly the stormy scenes in the life of that white-bearded old man, I thought more of his innumerable acts of treachery than of the blood which he had shed.

In private life, however, Mohammad Ali is said to possess many excellent qualities. And, first of all, he never forgets his old friends. All who served him in early life were rewarded as soon as he was in a condition to do so ; they grew with his rising fortunes, and the few who remain sit round him now in offices suited to their skill and capacity, or as pensioners on his bounty. And he has never forgotten the little town of Cavalla. All his old friends there are provided for, and once a year regularly a vessel is sent loaded with provisions to be distributed among his poor relations. These relations have increased wonderfully as Mohammad Ali has advanced in fortune ; but, nevertheless, even now every vagabond who comes from Cavalla and claims to be a kinsman of the Pasha is sure to be well received in Egypt. He has never been known to shake off an early friend, even for subsequent ingratitude.

The attachment of his old comrades and followers, of those who have grown up under him, of the whole of his official and military household, is without bounds. His *kervashes* are excited when they mention his name, and would go through fire to serve him. The man who can feel himself, and can create in others, such strong attachments, must possess qualities that redeem a thousand faults. But perhaps the most interesting trait in the private character of this extraordinary man is the respect which, even at this day, he

pays to the memory of his first wife. Outside the walls of Cairo, in the unwatered sands, is a vast necropolis, with ranges of turbaned head-stones extending many miles into the desert. In this great city of the dead, near the tombs of the Mamelukes, with their domes and minarets and all their princely architecture crumbling to ruins, called the greatest structure of modern Egypt and almost rivaling in magnificence the burial-places of her ancient kings, is the tomb of the Pasha. It is a large stone building, with several domes strongly but coarsely made. The interior, still solemn and imposing, is divided into two chambers. In the first, in a conspicuous situation, covered with large and valuable cashmere shawls, is the tomb of his early wife. Once a year regularly the Pasha visits Cairo; and though nearly a generation has rolled by, and the fervor of youthful love is gone, and his head has become white, and his favorite children are removed by death, even now, every day and alone he mourns and prays at her tomb.

The Pasha is simple and unostentatious in his habits. He rises at about three o'clock in the morning, and is in the audience-hall, ready for business, before sunrise. An hour after, he visits the fleet and arsenals in his barge, or the factories, barracks, etc., on horseback. At nine or ten he retires to the harem, where he breakfasts and sleeps. At three he receives, in the male apartments of the harem, his confidential ministers and secretaries, and has read to him the daily reports and journals from every part of his extended dominions.

Formerly he always dined in public, and sometimes does so now, but in general he dines in the harem about an hour before sunset. At sunset he goes to the audience-chamber, where he attends to business, receives consuls, merchants, and travelers, and engages in general conversation till eleven o'clock, when he retires to the harem, and it is said has translations of books and journals read to him, by eunuchs and women trained for the purpose, till a late hour. Some of the ladies of Alexandria are in the habit of visiting the ladies of his harem, and they report that the sternness of his nature, his love of war and strong excitement, render him comparatively indifferent to all the beauties who grace the seraglio of an Eastern despot. He is kind, playful with his children and grandchildren, and frequently has five or six of them playing on the divan in the audience-chamber. He takes a great interest in the private affairs of his friends and followers, and even of the European residents, and condoles with them upon any misfortunes. He enjoys all the gossip and scandal circu-

lating among the Europeans, and is looked upon by them with the kindest feelings.

At forty-five Mohammad Ali learned to read and write, and he is no great proficient in book-learning now ; but he has acquired an astonishing degree of knowledge in the natural way, by seeing and hearing. He is a man of extraordinary sagacity ; knows thoroughly all the passions that operate upon human conduct ; and upon a first interview his eagle eye reads the very hearts of most who approach him ; and then follows a course of conduct such as would not disgrace the graduate of a European college of diplomacy. If he has to deal with a bold, daring fellow, he is mild and conciliatory ; if with a craven, he is threatening and terrible ; the avaricious he bribes ; and a high-minded, unsuspecting man he wins by the most delicate and insidious attentions. Upon one occasion, wishing to impress a foreign consul with the idea of his determination and energy, he contrived to introduce an anecdote of his younger days, when on a new distribution of tents, after the battle with the French at Heliopolis, there was a very handsome green one which all the officers wanted. "And," said the Pasha, "I said to myself, 'I should like to have that tent and I will have it.' The commissary, distracted by their quarrels, and at the same time knowing that his decision would not be submitted to, cried out, 'The boy Ali shall have it.' And," said the Pasha, rising in his seat and his eyes flashing, "the boy Ali *had* the tent ; and from that time what the boy Ali has resolved to have, he has had."

But, be the character of Mohammad Ali what it may, he has proved himself an extraordinary man ; and it has been well said that he has wrought a greater change in Egypt than has been effected by revolution or conquest since the days of Alexander the Great. And, first, he has made Egypt as safe for the traveler as England or America. The streets of Alexandria and Cairo are as secure as those of London or New York, and a man may stroll on the banks of the Nile as safely as by the Thames or the Hudson. When he came to the throne the whole country was torn and distracted by internal wars ; the banks of the Nile, even in the neighborhood of Cairo, were infested by robbers and banditti—Albanians, Mamelukes, Bedouins, and hostile tribes of Arabs—all of whom were constantly at war with each other. Even the pyramids, only twelve miles from Cairo, were inaccessible. In 1810 a French traveler was obliged to have an escort of five hundred horsemen to enable him to visit them. Now, not only the way to the pyra-

mids, but the whole valley of the Nile to the Upper Cataracts, and the whole of the Holy Land, Damascus, "the smile of the Prophet," and Palmyra in the desert, are as safe as any part of Europe. Indeed, perhaps they are more so. Certainly the traveler there is treated with more respect. The Pasha is anxious to open his country to strangers and travelers; he invites them there, and gives them a firman which commands every officer in his government, at the peril of his head, to receive and treat the bearer with all consideration and respect. In no country has the Frank so many privileges; and I have seen the Arabs on the Nile beaten by a traveler in such a way as in Italy would have procured him a stiletto. And perhaps it is but justice to the Pasha to say that, in the administration of his internal affairs, though he does not regard human life, he does not kill without cause. He has subdued the disaffected and turbulent, and reduced the whole of his dominions to a state of tranquillity and security, as much by the certainty as by the sanguinary nature of his punishments. An instance of this certainty was related to me by one resident in Cairo at the time. In 1833 the Colonel of one of his regiments in Mecca had rendered himself odious to the soldiers, and while on parade, firing with blank cartridges, the officer was shot. No notice was taken of it at the time, and it was thought that the thing was all forgotten.

Two years afterward, in the regular course of exchanges, the battalion returned to Cairo, marched into the Citadel and piled arms. A court-martial was immediately called, and the battalion found guilty of the murder. As the individual could not be discovered, the battalion was decimated, and a hundred and thirty-four were marched outside the gate in separate squads, and shot by their own comrades. My informant happened to be riding outside the walls, and, attracted by the roll of musketry, saw the execution of the luckless soldiers, some sitting, some standing, and some on their knees, according to the humor of the officers.

Circumstances afterward brought my informant to this country, and, on his return in July last, he was lighted into the harbor of Alexandria by the blaze of one of the Pasha's frigates, which illuminated the dark surface of the waters many miles into the ocean. This was on Sunday night. It was supposed that the frigate was set on fire, and on Monday the whole of the officers and crew, one hundred and fifty in number, were arrested. On Tuesday they were put on their trial for their lives. The examination continued Wednesday and Thursday, on Friday sentence was pronounced, on

Saturday the Pasha confirmed it, and on Sunday at twelve o'clock twenty-seven officers were degraded and sent to the galleys for life, and nine sentries were shot. "If innocent," says this summary dispenser of justice, "Mohammad has received them into paradise ; if guilty, they deserved the death ; and, either way, it is a warning to all incendiaries."

Constantly apprehensive of an attack from the Sultan, he is draining the resources of his country to support his army and navy ; and throughout the whole of his government all that the Pasha has done for Egypt he has done for himself. He has advanced himself, and he has dragged Egypt after him. He has used it as an estate for life, and the people as his slaves. He has increased the revenues by accumulating in his own hands what was before shared by the Mamelukes and officers of the Sultan, and by increasing the labor of his subjects. Their sweat brings gold into his treasury. He controls their labor, takes the products into his own granaries, at his own price, and, to a great extent, he is the only proprietor, manufacturer, and merchant in Egypt. He is familiar with the modern history of most of the nations of Europe, with their politics, and with the names of their leading ministers and statesmen ; knows particularly their state of advancement in the useful arts, and has very large commercial relations, particularly with England and France. Nor is he ignorant of the existence of such a country as our own.

The land over which Mohammad Ali reigns is a land favored by Heaven. In the ninth century the Caliph Omar wrote from his throne in Bagdad to Amrou, his lieutenant in Egypt :

"O Amrou, son of De el Aa's, I desire of thee, upon the receipt of this letter, that thou makest me a picture of Egypt so exact and lively that I can imagine myself to see with my own eyes that beautiful country. Greeting !"

The answer of Amrou is true at this day :

"O Prince of the Faithful, paint to thyself a dry desert, and a magnificent country between two mountains, of which the one has the form of a hill of sand, and the other the back of a camel. Behold Egypt ! All its productions and all its riches come from a blessed river, which flows with majesty through the middle of it. The moment of the increase and the retiring of its waters is as regular as the course of the sun and moon ; there is a fixed time in the year when all the sources of the universe come to pay to that king of rivers the tribute which Providence has subjected them to-

ward it. Then the waters increase, overflow its banks, and cover the whole face of Egypt, to deposit there a productive sediment.

“There is no more any communication from one village to another but by light boats as numerous as the leaves of the palm-tree.

“When at length the moment arrives that the waters cease to be necessary to the fertility of the soil, that docile river returns within the boundaries that destiny has prescribed for it, to allow to be gathered up the treasure that it has concealed in the bosom of the earth.

“A people protected by Heaven, and which, like the bee, seems destined to work only for others, without profiting itself by the price of its labors, opens lightly the bowels of the earth, and there deposes the seed, of which it attends the fruitfulness from the kindness of that Being who makes grow and ripen the harvest. The germ develops, the blade rises, the ear forms by the aid of a dew which supplies the place of rain, and which maintains the nourishing moisture with which the soil is imbued. To the most abundant harvest succeeds all at once sterility. It is thus, O Prince of the Faithful! that Egypt presents by turns the image of a powdered desert, of a liquid and silvery plain, of a black and muddy marsh, of a green and waving prairie, of a flower-garden adorned with various flowers, and of a field that has just been plowed, with a harvest turning yellow. Blessed be the Creator of so many marvels!”

For a long time Egypt, in the eyes of the civilized world, existed only in the recollections of the past. It was her great antiquity, the darkness that overhung her early history, the recollection of her Pharaohs and her Ptolemies, and the later glory of her caliphs, that filled the mind of the traveler as he wandered through her unpeopled deserts and among her ruined temples. But old things are passing away, and all things are becoming new. For a little while yet we may cling to the illusions connected with the past; but the mystery is fast dissolving, the darkness is passing away, and Greece and Rome and Egypt herself henceforward claim our attention as living and existing things. Already they have lost much of the deep and absorbing interest with which men turned to them only a generation since; they are no longer robed in mystery.

VI.

THE FUTURE OF RESUMPTION.

It is now six months since the resumption law of 1875 went into operation, and we have in the letter of Secretary Sherman addressed to the Senate, May 19th, a succinct statement of its immediate results up to that time. By this we learn that the Treasury had redeemed only \$4,133,513 in notes—less, as a matter of fact, than it had received in gold in exchange for notes—and that the “coin reserve” had been increased to \$138,000,000, or about forty per cent. of the outstanding legal tenders. On its face this is an exceedingly satisfactory showing. It demonstrates the remarkable confidence of the public in the capacity and determination of the Government to maintain the redemption of its notes; it shows that the demand for gold has not been stimulated to the slightest extent by even the shadow of suspicion on this point, and has been determined wholly by the requirements of a very limited class from time to time; and, in the exhibit of the resources of the Treasury, it gives warrant for the expectation that this confidence will not abate. Were we at liberty to suppose that the situation would remain under the control of the Secretary as completely as it now is, and has been since the opening of the year, we might reasonably hope that the present scheme of redemption is to be a complete and permanent success, and that our currency would remain, what it is practically to-day, a currency of coin—of paper constantly redeemable in gold, and of equal value with gold.

But it can not be denied that there are elements in the situation which are not within the control of the Secretary of the Treasury; which, on the contrary, are steadily tending to place obstacles in his path, which it will be very difficult, if not impossible, for him to surmount; and which he himself has acknowledged in the plainest terms to be very formidable. Nor are these elements accidental,

unimportant, or transient. They flow from the very essence of the resumption laws ; they are likely to prove of constantly increasing force, and they can only be removed by radical changes in the statutes. They may be summarily described as the prohibition by the act of May 31, 1878, of the retirement of the redeemed notes, and the accumulation of standard silver dollars in the Treasury under the famous silver law of February 28th, of the same year.

There is no doubt that the resumption clause of the act of 1875 was intended by its author, Judge Edmunds, of Vermont, to provide for the permanent and absolute retirement of redeemed United States notes, but that construction was not so clearly expressed but that Mr. Sherman, then senior Senator from Ohio, and chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate, felt himself justified in declining to maintain it in debate. The law, as passed, left this point undecided, and gave to the enemies of resumption, aided by its timid or lukewarm friends, the opportunity which they afterward seized to force upon the Treasury the law of 1878. Under this law, forming an integral part of the legislation regulating redemption, the United States notes were not to be *paid*, in any ordinary acceptation of that word, since the payment of a promissory note, whether that of an individual or that of a government, involves its cancellation and the termination of its legal existence ; they were simply made exchangeable, at par, on presentation, for coin. The distinction is a vital one, and can not be too much insisted on. By the redemption law, as Judge Edmunds intended it, the notes of the Government were to be paid, retired, canceled, destroyed. They were to pass for ever from the currency, to be replaced by gold. The Government, by the operation of this law, was gradually to take its heavy and unsteady hand off the financial affairs of the country ; it was to withdraw from the exercise of the function of currency-making which had become so dangerous and had worked so much mischief ; it was to leave the business of the country to regulate itself by the laws which are higher than the laws of Congress, simpler and far safer ; in a word, the forced war loan, which had been levied in the form of legal-tender notes, was to be paid, and the Government was to leave to the business community the freedom which is its right.

But by the law, as it was amended in 1878, nothing of this kind was provided for. So far from the notes being paid, they were expressly directed to be reissued ; they were made a perpetual element, and the controlling one, in the currency ; the Government

was maintained in the position which it had been forced to take, and had taken so reluctantly, as the manufacturer of paper money; and the vast disturbing influences, the fearful uncertainties, the incalculable dangers arising from the interference of the political power with the financial system of the nation, were not only not put an end to, but were expressly continued. As far as Mr. Sherman himself is concerned, it would be a waste of sympathy to commiserate him for any difficulties to which he may be subjected, for no one is so largely responsible for their existence as himself. Although for twenty years the present Secretary has been intimately connected with the finances of the Government; although, during that time, he has had a voice of constantly increasing influence, and, of late, a controlling voice, in shaping the policy that has been adopted, he has never had, and has not now, a clear idea of the principles by which finance is governed. He has, it is true, learned much, but he is still deplorably and even ludicrously ignorant regarding certain fundamental truths. He has never understood, and does not now understand, that the legal-tender notes are a debt, and nothing else, and that the arbitrary quality of money, which was given them by the legal-tender provision, was a device to make borrowing by their means easier. He has always been hopelessly confused as to the strict constitutional power and as to the equitable obligation of the Government with reference to these notes. At times he has had a dim sense of the economical enormity involved in making evidences of debt serve the purposes of money, when they were not worth their face value; but he still cherishes the illusion that the entire duty of the Government is discharged when it maintains these notes at what he is pleased to call a "parity with coin." He easily forgets, if he has ever clearly grasped, the great dangers to which a legal-tender government currency, imperfectly redeemable, exposes the entire business of the country.

It would be easy, were it necessary, to cite page after page from his speeches and reports, to support the view of his position toward the legal tenders which we have indicated, but it is not necessary. He would himself be the last to deny that he has for a long time contemplated with satisfaction the continued existence of a government currency, and that his utmost hope or desire with reference to such a currency is to keep it redeemable in coin, or as he expresses it "equal to coin." What that "coin" shall be, and what the relations of the different metals of which it is composed, we shall discuss further on. At present, we desire to fix attention

upon the fact that the Secretary has not advocated the permanent retirement of a government paper currency.

Obviously Mr. Sherman's notion as to a government currency is very different from that of the "fiat-money" men. He believes in the necessity and duty of redeeming government notes; but the misfortune is, that he does not recognize the enormous if not insuperable difficulty, under our system of government, in maintaining redemption uninterruptedly; and the further and greater misfortune is, that he practically concedes the authority of the Government to keep in circulation its own notes as legal tender. From this position the "Greenbackers" pure and simple draw great comfort and encouragement. They take Mr. Sherman's concession as to Government authority and as to the advantages of a government currency, and they reject his condition of perpetual redeemability. They say that if it is right and well to keep sixty per cent. of the legal-tender notes uncovered by a coin reserve, it is just as right, and more profitable, to so keep the whole of them; that the fiat of the law which makes money of \$210,000,000 of promissory notes for which the Treasury holds no coin equivalent, can equally make money of \$350,000,000. They go a step further, and declare that if a paper currency of nearly \$700,000,000 can be kept at par with the present reserve held by the Treasury and the banks, it could be kept at par if issued entirely by the Government and without a reserve. Doubtless this is nonsense; but it is very popular and dangerous nonsense, to which the only complete response is, that government paper and bank paper alike is simply evidence of debt, and that, as far as the Government's share is concerned, the supreme duty is to pay it as rapidly as possible, and meanwhile to take all necessary measures to make it actually worth its face value. So long as the Government entertains and acts upon the fascinating fallacy that it is a part of its business to furnish its notes as currency, these errors will be continually propagated. It will always be easy for demagogues to hold out to the needy and unthinking the tempting hope that prosperity can be secured by "more money," meaning by that delectable phrase more government notes, which cost nothing, and pay debts.

And as, under the theory which Mr. Sherman's loose conceptions sustain, the regulation of the currency depends upon the action of Congress, which in its turn depends upon the variations of public opinion, the extreme difficulty of keeping the notes continually redeemable is apparent. It is still more apparent when we

remember by what lucky accidents we have been kept from an unlimited issue of paper money within the last ten years. Since Mr. McCulloch's policy of paying—not exchanging—legal-tender notes was abruptly broken up by Congress, we have never seen the time when a majority in both Houses was firmly in favor of the retirement of the legal tenders. Even the Congress which passed the so-called "resumption act" of 1875 intended no such policy. On the contrary, that act was the result of a compromise, the parties to which interpreted it each one to suit itself, and which the inflationists clearly meant should leave the right to issue legal tenders undenied, and the duty of retiring redeemed notes unasserted. At one memorable crisis, the actual increase of the legal tenders was enacted by Congress, and was prevented only by the power which the Constitution gives to a minority exceeding a third of either House when aided by the veto of the President. In that instance the veto of General Grant, though of incalculable value in effect, was not based on any clear financial convictions, and its issue was for some time very doubtful, and at one moment was more than doubtful. Again, under the administration of the Treasury by Messrs. Boutwell and Richardson, the amazing doctrine was announced and partially acted upon, that the notes redeemed by Secretary McCulloch formed a part of the "reserve" of the Treasury, to be issued at the discretion of the head of the Department. This doctrine, though roundly condemned by the Finance Committee of the Senate, was never disowned by Congress; and, before the passage of the act of May 31, 1878, which fairly established it upon the statute-book, it remained the unwritten but undisputed law of the country.

And it must not be forgotten that the current of opinion in Congress, even since the passage of the resumption act, has been toward, not away from, inflation, and the passage of the law of 1878 was an unmistakable tide-mark, showing to what a dangerous point the current had then advanced. We are justified, therefore, in saying that, so far as concerns the actual legal provision for a sound currency, the situation is a very insecure one, and it is equally plain that for this fact the incomplete conceptions and fatal concessions of Mr. Sherman are largely responsible. We now have laws which direct the redemption, on presentation, of the United States legal-tender notes in coin, and which clothe the Secretary of the Treasury with power to provide coin for such redemption to the extent that he can command surplus revenue, or can borrow on bonds at par, bearing interest at not more than five per cent.;

but we also have laws which direct the Secretary to reissue and keep in circulation all the notes so redeemed, and all these laws are liable to repeal or modification whenever a majority of Congress, with the President, shall determine. That such a solution of the currency problem is not a safe, satisfactory, and permanently favorable one, must be obvious to every sensible observer. It leaves the right of Congress to issue legal-tender notes, if not conceded, at least undenounced ; it leaves the volume of authorized government paper undiminished ; it provides no mode of diminishing it ; it leaves the means of continued redemption at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury for the time being ; and, finally, it exposes the whole scheme to modification or repeal by Congress and the President.

Another and very important element of danger is found in the nature of the coin in which the legal-tender notes are by law, for the time being, redeemable. The process of redemption has gone on so smoothly so far, the public has found gold awaiting the holders of legal-tender notes at the sub-Treasury in New York, and sees so little reason for thinking that gold will not always be there on demand, that the actual provisions of law, and their effect upon the Treasury, are lost sight of. As a matter of fact the legal tenders are redeemed in gold solely because the Secretary of the Treasury, in the exercise of a discretion nowhere distinctly conferred upon him, has chosen to say that they shall be so redeemed. By law they are redeemable in "coin," and "coin" means equally gold and silver. The decision of the Secretary that gold, and not silver, shall be paid out at the sub-Treasury is one which all friends of an honest and sound currency must approve, which has been of incalculable advantage to the country, and has protected us from an immediate, complete, and disastrous failure of resumption ; but it is, nevertheless, an arbitrary decision, which is not sustained by the letter of existing laws, and which it would be very easy to condemn, with much show of reason, as contrary to their spirit. It can not be fairly denied that when Congress made the standard silver dollars a full legal tender, and directed their coinage in considerable amounts, it did not intend that, when coined, they should be piled up in the vaults of the Treasury, and it did intend that they should be paid out without discrimination by the Government. Were they so paid out, were it once understood that a holder of legal tenders, or of coupons, or of called bonds, presenting them for payment, was liable to receive a certain proportion of his dues in silver dollars,

the intrinsic value of which is only eighty-five or eighty-seven cents each, it is easy to see what would be the effect, not only on the legal-tender currency, but upon all forms of the public debt. It would be disastrous, and to an extent which no one can measure.

Happily, in our much-governed land, where statutes increase by the thousand each year, and where the legal maxim, that every man must be supposed to know the law, is an absurd assumption, the public reasons as to what the law provides by what actually takes place. As the United States notes are redeemed in gold it is assumed, without question, that the law requires redemption in gold, and that they will continue to be so redeemed. But this is an illusion which may be, and which, if the law is not changed, must be, sooner or later rudely dispelled. While under the order of the Secretary of the Treasury, as arbitrary as the vermilion edict of the Emperor of China, United States notes are being exchanged for gold whenever presented, there is being gathered into the Treasury a constantly increasing amount of depreciated silver dollars, which by law are legal tenders for all debts, including the government notes. It is only a question of time whether this volume of silver will rise high enough to break down the barrier opposed by the will of the Secretary, and force its way into the currency of the country. The Secretary holds it confined now, and he undoubtedly will continue so to hold it as long as he can, or as long as he maintains the idea of his duty regarding it which he now entertains. But it can not be denied and ought not to be forgotten that he is pursuing his present policy not because the law authorizes him to do so, but because no law prevents him. Every week adds to the difficulty of his task, since with every week the silver dollars are increased by half a million.

In the mean time other forces tend to embarrass him. Apart from what Congress may actually do to take his hand from the floodgate, there is the possible influence of the political agitation for silver, which may be considerable. Mr. Sherman is a patient politician, and, where he is sure of results, he is not without tenacious courage, but he is not a man to face difficulties while they are yet in the distance. He has a profound respect for that unknown quantity, the floating vote, and he regards with a superstitious dread any body of voters of whom he imagines that they hold the balance of power in a doubtful election. It is for this reason, probably, that the Republican State Convention of Ohio, which met on the 28th of May, and which was unquestionably directed by his friends, was made or allowed to keep complete silence as to the sil-

ver movement which had then reached a crisis in Congress, and had achieved a very important and substantial victory.

It is an open secret that Mr. Sherman has aspirations for the Presidency. We shall not do him the injustice to suppose that he would consciously allow them to warp his convictions of official duty, or cause him to yield to any policy which he believed injurious to the country. But unfortunately his convictions as to silver are no more clear and firmly settled than his convictions as to Government paper money, and it is by no means impossible that they may waver under the stress of any apparently powerful movement which threatens danger to the realization of his hopes. The humming of the Presidential bee in their bonnets has confused the minds of men more clear-sighted and of more decided views than he. Should he take it into his head that the votes of the silver men could be won by a partial surrender of his present very difficult position as the arbitrary guardian of the silver in the Treasury, it is by no means certain that he would not make such concession as would ultimately prove fatal. Hitherto he has always acted far beyond what his public utterances could have led us to expect, and he is entitled to respect for the firmness with which he has done so. But the very fact that he is not stiffened, if we may use the word, by the requirements of consistency with his public declarations, and that he can yield a little, or indeed a good deal, without incurring the dread charge of "stultification," makes him the more liable to yield. As he is the self-appointed custodian of the silver reserve, as it is by his own unforced resolution that silver is kept out of the currency, as he can give way at any moment without violating the law, and in truth with greater regard for the actual statutes than he shows in remaining firm, we are compelled to take note of those peculiarities of his character and his political position which make it possible that he may change his policy. And, as we have indicated, these are not insignificant.

But, though we put aside, in order to call attention to this phase of the subject, the possibilities of legislation by Congress, when we come to regard these possibilities we find that they are of the gravest kind. The Warner silver bill, when it passed the House of Representatives, was stoutly opposed by the Republicans, and on its final passage received only four votes from that party. But while it was pending an amendment was proposed by a "National Greenback" leader (they are all leaders, for that matter), by which "the Secretary of the Treasury is directed and required to cause to

be paid out, without discrimination, standard silver coin belonging to the Government, which may at any time be in the Treasury, the same as gold coin, in liquidation of all kinds of money obligations against the Government." The amendment was adopted by a vote of 142 to 75, which was within three votes of two thirds of the House at the time. This vote is one of the most significant and one of the most ominous that has been given on the silver question since the passage of the law now on the statute-books. It shows that, whatever may be the position of the Republican party on the question of free coinage, that party can not be always relied on to sustain the Secretary in his present course. It shows, too, that the defection in the Republican ranks on this point is so great that, should a simple law embodying the substance of this amendment be proposed in Congress, it would not only be very likely to pass, but, even should it be vetoed by the President—something more desirable than certain—it would be quite possible that it would be passed over the veto. And this possibility will grow greater as time passes and the silver in the Treasury continues to gather.

Here, then, are the contingencies with reference to resumption which the country must face, and in regard to which public opinion ought to be enlightened in every possible manner. We have a scheme of redemption which is excessively defective; which provides not for the payment and withdrawal of the legal tenders, but simply for their exchange at par for "coin"; we have as a constantly increasing part of the "coin" depreciated silver dollars, the use of which, in redemption of the notes, would completely derange if it did not overturn the scheme; we have, as a safeguard against this danger, only the will of the Secretary of the Treasury, which may be weakened by political considerations, or overridden by the action of Congress; and we have in the country no political organization fairly and completely committed to the policy of permanent redemption in gold. We submit that this situation is one which can not be safely met by a policy of *laissez aller*, *laissez passer*, but only by the most vigorous efforts to awaken a public opinion that shall insist upon its complete reform.

VII.

RECENT WORKS ON ANCIENT HISTORY AND PHILOLOGY.

Pezzi's Aryan Philology.
Pictet's Origines Indo-Européennes.
Hearn's Aryan Household.
Keary's Dawn of History.
Duncker's History of Antiquity.

THE immense increase of scientific knowledge brought about during the present century by the systematic employment of the comparative method has been nowhere more strikingly exemplified than in the study of philology. And I do not know where one could obtain a more just and accurate notion of the results which have been obtained in this study during the last twenty years than by reading M. Pezzi's erudite and lucid summary of these results.* True, M. Pezzi's book is hardly intended for the "general reader." It would be quite unintelligible to a reader not already extensively and deeply versed in philological studies. Its object is not to popularize the science of language, but to sum up the work of the present generation of scholars in as concise, coherent, and impartial a statement as it is possible to make. And it realizes this object to quite a remarkable degree. The author's skill in shaping and controlling his vast wealth of material is very noteworthy and merits the highest praise. Seldom has so much food for thought been got into a compass of two hundred pages. The cautious and judicial temper shown throughout is no less admirable. M. Pezzi is always historical and nowhere dogmatic. He states the problems clearly, and expounds the various solutions that have been offered, with a spirit that is warmly appreciative even when most keenly critical ;

* Aryan Philology according to the Most Recent Researches. Remarks Historical and Critical. By Domenico Pezzi. Translated by E. S. Roberts, M. A. London: Trübner & Co., 1879. Small 8vo, pp. 199.

and here he leaves the case, without inviting us to adopt any particular conclusion. In the case of such abstruse and delicate inquiries as those with which modern Aryan philology occupies itself, a work conceived and executed in this spirit can not fail to be useful. The wish so modestly expressed by the author, that his work might form a worthy supplement to the "Compendium" of Schleicher and the "Geschichte" of Benfey, has been, I think, more than realized.

On turning over the pages of this little book, the reader, who should come to it abruptly from the philological studies of a generation ago, would first be struck with the multitude of new names—such as Jolly, Schmidt, Ludwig, Heymann, Lottner, Fick, and especially Ascoli—while the venerated names of Bopp and Grimm appear but rarely. This is not because the work of these great scholars is becoming superseded, but because their main results are no longer matter of question, but have become part of the very bone and marrow of that most modern scholarship which is occupying itself with still more minute and profound researches. Since Schleicher, the great work of Aryan philology has been the reconstruction of the Old Aryan (or, as M. Pezzi has it, the Proto-Aryan) mother-tongue, from which the so-called Indo-European languages are descended. At least, the comparative researches that have been made have owed their chief interest to their bearing on this problem. In philology, as in zoölogy and botany, questions of classification have become irretrievably implicated with questions of genealogical kinship. Whether we are considering consonants and vowels, or the case-endings of nouns, or the syntax of moods and tenses, it is impossible to describe accurately the relations of the several Aryan languages to one another without involving a perpetual reference to the common original from which these languages sprang. The first noteworthy attempt at reconstructing the mother-tongue was made by Schleicher, who even went so far as to write a story in it by way of illustrating his conclusions. Respecting this bold attempt it has been well observed by Schmidt that, even with regard to those words and forms which can be proved to have existed in Old Aryan, we are unable to ascertain the chronology. Granting that a word A and a word B both existed in Old Aryan, in the times of the *Spracheinheit*, we do not know but A may have become obsolete before B came into general use. So that it is not unlikely that Schleicher, in his story, though each separate word may be correctly reproduced, may nevertheless write an Old Aryan style as anomalous as would be the style of a writer of hypothetical

English, who should mix up in one and the same sentence the diction of Chaucer, of Dryden, and of Longfellow. It is difficult, at present, to see how chronological considerations can be applied to the vocabulary of Old Aryan, in the absence of that kind of historic evidence which written records or inscriptions alone can furnish. And here we see it forcibly illustrated how thoroughly, after all, is comparative philology an *historical* science. Though it can, within a limited range, perform certain wonderful feats of inference, quite comparable with such as are achieved by the physical sciences, yet, after all, the tether by which it may stray from its historic base is not a long one. The science of language must still be studied mainly by the help of documentary evidence. For this reason I am quite inclined to sympathize with the feeling which has led the translator, both in the title and in the text, to substitute the old-fashioned word "philology" for the more modern "glottologia" of the original.

This chronological difficulty would seem to render hopeless the accurate restitution of the Old Aryan language *as a whole*. We can none the less, however, restore or reconstruct separate Old Aryan *words* with a fair approach to accuracy; and an extensive vocabulary has already been thus obtained, as witness the three goodly octavos of the third edition of Fick. The wonderful industry and minuteness with which the inquiry has been pursued are well illustrated in M. Pezzi's chapters on sounds, roots, stems, and words; but it is hardly worth while to encumber this brief notice with citations of points of detail which the reader interested in such topics can so readily find in the book itself. As one reads the chapter on sounds, one practical consideration will, I think, at once suggest itself. It is high time that some common method should be devised of designating Old Aryan sounds by Roman letters with diacritical marks. At present no two philologists seem to be able to agree on this practical point. The k_1 of Havet is the k^v of Ascoli and plain k of Fick; the k_2 of Havet is the k^i of Ascoli and k_e of Fick; and so on, in a most perplexing jumble, which will grow still worse as these studies proceed, unless some common method can be agreed upon.

The most interesting points in the book for the general reader are, no doubt, the discussions of the geographical site of the old home of the Aryans—which the latest researches seem still to leave on Asiatic ground—and of the manner in which the mother-tongue became divided in giving rise to its Indo-European descendants. On

this last question, opinion has shifted variously since Schleicher's primary division into Northern and Southern Aryan, or Litho-Slavo-Teutonic and Kelto-Italo-Græco-Irano-Indic. Fick has maintained, with great ability, that the primary division should be into European on the one hand, and Irano-Indic on the other. Much nearer the truth than either of these, I should think, is Schmidt, who argues that no such divisions and subdivisions can be maintained, but that the mother-tongue, diffused over a vast territory, became differentiated into a swarm of dialects among which local centers of integration became gradually established here and there, thus giving rise to the various Indo-European languages as we know them. This agrees well with what we know to have happened in the development of the modern Romanic languages from the vulgar Latin.

The reader interested in this class of studies will not fail to rejoice in the appearance of a new and thoroughly revised edition of the great work* in which the lamented Pictet has shown so elaborately how from the reconstructed old Aryan vocabulary we can obtain valid conclusions as to the prehistoric civilization of the Old Aryan people. This work, which began to be published in 1859, is certainly one of the most remarkable books which the nineteenth century has produced. In no other do we get such rich and multifarious illustration of the wonderful services which comparative philology has rendered to our knowledge of the history of mankind. With painstaking elaborateness Pictet shows what minerals and plants, what animals, wild or domesticated, were known to the primitive Aryans, what conceptions they had of the weather and the seasons, how they built and furnished their houses, what tools and weapons they used, what they ate and drank and wherewithal they were clothed, what their notions of property were, and how they made their living, how their family was constructed, and what they thought about the world and the gods. In so vast and comprehensive an inquiry there was room for many mistakes; and the progress of philological studies described by M. Pezzi was beginning to leave Pictet's work somewhat in the rear of the best scholarship of the time, when the author set about making this new edition. While preserving the same general plan as the original work, the new edition has been so thoroughly revised in view of the labors

* *Les Origines Indo-Européennes, ou les Aryas Primitifs. Essai de Paléontologie Linguistique.* Par Adolphe Pictet. 2e édition revue et augmentée. Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1878. 3 vols. 8vo.

of contemporary philologists, and especially of Curtius and Fick, as to possess quite a fresh and independent value.

The splendid results obtained by Pictet gain additional interest when confronted with the no less striking conclusions reached by the study of comparative jurisprudence. For the foundations of this noble study we may perhaps look back as far as Grimm's work on the legal antiquities of Germany. But it will be long before the English-speaking world will forget the new era which was opened for many fresh young minds by the publication in 1861 of Sir Henry Maine's most fascinating treatise on "Ancient Law," a work which I well remember devouring at a single sitting with that same kind of breathless interest with which one rushes through novels of adventure like "Ivanhoe" or "The Cloister and the Hearth." A new light seemed to be thrown over the whole course of European history. The influence of this brilliant book on the minds of the present generation has been deservedly great; and the work which it began has been pursued, with varied success, by the author himself in his "Village Communities" and "History of Early Institutions," by Mr. McLennan, in his suggestive though somewhat over-ingenious essay on "Primitive Marriage," by M. Fustel de Coulanges, in his rich and striking treatise on the "Ancient City," and—last, but not least—by our own countryman, Mr. Lewis Morgan, whose noble essay on "Ancient Society," published two years since, heralds a new era in American scholarship. A few more works like that of Mr. Morgan will suffice to place our country in the foremost rank for scholarship, as it is already in the foremost rank politically and commercially. Curiously enough the response to Mr. Morgan—the next great work in this rich and fruitful field of study—comes from an English community still younger than our own, on the opposite side of the globe. Professor Hearn, of the University of Melbourne, Australia, is already well known to scholars through his able works on "Plutology" and the "Government of England." His new work, on "The Aryan Household,"* applies to the entire Aryan race the method of investigation so thoroughly illustrated by Coulanges with reference to the Græco-Italian communities only. Like Coulanges, he begins with the consideration of ancestor-worship and the common house-ceremonial, and proceeds thence to discuss the household and clan, the systems of archaic kinship, the principle of

* The Aryan Household: its Structure and its Development. An Introduction to Comparative Jurisprudence. By W. E. Hearn. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1879. 8vo, pp. 494.

exogamy and the theory of agnation, the distinctions of ranks and the customary laws affecting the position and rights of members of the clan. He traces, with more minuteness than any previous writer, the various stages by which the fusion of contiguous clans gave rise to the state ; and his discussion of the principle of vicinity as a source of rights and obligations seems to me especially fresh and instructive. The questions raised by this great work are too many and too important to admit of discussion in a brief notice like the present. The most we can do is to call the reader's attention to what is, no doubt, the most weighty and valuable book of the present year.

Coming down from these great original works, it is pleasant to have so excellent a popular compendium to notice as Keary's "*Dawn of History*."* These Old Aryan researches have at last reached that stage where it has become worth while to try to impart some of their results to the general public. Mr. Keary goes over the whole ground—stone, bronze, and iron implements, forms of speech, village communities, ancestor worship, myths of the dawn, picture-writing, etc.—and makes quite an agreeable exposition, which any one who has yet to make a beginning in these studies may read in half a dozen evenings with pleasure and profit.

A work so deservedly well known as Duncker's "*History of Antiquity*" needs no further endorsement than the mere announcement of its title.† It ought to have been translated before ; but, since it was not, we may be thankful that the translation which at last has come is based on a new and thoroughly revised edition, embracing the latest results of Biblical criticism and hieroglyphic and cuneiform interpretation. The work, as far as now translated, comes down to the era of Tiglath-pileser I. of Assyria, in the twelfth century before Christ. It will require two or three volumes more to complete the work.

JOHN FISKE.

* *The Dawn of History: an Introduction to Prehistoric Study.* Edited by C. F. Keary. New York: Scribner, 1879. 12mo, pp. 240.

† *The History of Antiquity.* From the German of Max Duncker, by Evelyn Abbott. London: R. Bentley & Son, 1877-'79. Vols. I., II. 8vo.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCLXXIV.

SEPTEMBER, 1879.

I.

THE GENIUS OF NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE.

It is not sufficient for us to have a good thing and to enjoy it without knowing something of its nature, and inquiring how it has been produced, how far it is perfect, how far deficient, how it might have been improved, how it may have been marred. Would any one be contented to know that his watch told him the hour more or less correctly without understanding how it did so, and why correctly or why incorrectly? You shall have a horse that shall do all your work for you admirably out of doors, but bite and kick you if you go to him in the stable; or shall drag your buggy for you most obediently, but will never condescend to plow. How natural it is to look into the causes of the animal's proclivities! But when our intelligence is affected by something that comes to us from without, so as to make us aware that our inner self is being formed and reformed by what we receive,—as is the case with all that we read,—then the desire to search and ascertain of what kind is the instrument that is acting upon us becomes reasonably and naturally strong. It is not enough to have the book. We must know, if possible, how it was that the book became what it is, and why. How came it to pass that a man with no peculiar advantages of early education grew to be so many-sided as Shakespeare, and with every side so equal? How did he become so wise,—for you may

glean from him such a book of proverbs that Solomon shall hardly furnish you with a better,—so pathetic, that not even Sophocles has equaled him? Could he have heard of the old *Œdipus* when he wrote his "*Lear*," and have understood it all?—so full of humor that not even Molière has excelled him; so happy in his pleasantries as to have rivaled Horace? And yet he was a poor player, who, as far as we can judge, never realized the extent of his own capacity. When one mind was so round, well-poised, and wholesome, why should another, also greatly gifted, be lop-sided, with all its very excellences tending toward malformation and disease,—as you shall see in a postman's legs or a blacksmith's arm, when all the strength collects itself in one part? How morbid were the natures of Byron and of Godwin and of Rousseau! How ill-natured was the genius of Swift; how impure and flashy that of Sterne; how preëminently, I might almost say predominantly, pure is that of Longfellow; how austere and unbending that of Milton! Then, again, there were others to whom the "*totus teres atque rotundus*" applies,—minds that were beautifully round, though the circles described were larger or smaller. Such were the minds of Homer and of Scott.

There never surely was a powerful, active, continually effective mind less round, more lop-sided, than that of NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. If there were aught of dispraise in this, it would not be said by me,—by an Englishman of an American whom I knew, by an Englishman of letters of a brother on the other side of the water, much less by me, an English novelist, of an American novelist. The blacksmith, who is abnormally strong in his arm, gives the world the advantage of his strength. The poor bird, whose wretched life is sacrificed to the unnatural growth of that portion of him which the gourmands love, does produce the desired dainties in all their perfection. We could have hardly had "*Childe Harold*" except from a soured nature. The seraphic excellence of "*Hiawatha*" and "*Evangeline*" could have proceeded only from a mind which the world's roughness had neither toughened nor tainted. So from Hawthorne we could not have obtained that weird, mysterious, thrilling charm with which he has awed and delighted us had he not allowed his mind to revel in one direction, so as to lose its fair proportions.

I have been specially driven to think of this by the strong divergence between Hawthorne and myself. It has always been my object to draw my little pictures as like to life as possible, so that my readers should feel that they were dealing with people whom

they might probably have known, but so to do it that the every-day good to be found among them should allure, and the every-day evil repel; and this I have attempted, believing that such ordinary good and ordinary evil would be more powerful in repelling or alluring than great and glowing incidents which, though they might interest, would not come home to the minds of readers. Hawthorne, on the other hand, has dealt with persons and incidents which were often but barely within the bounds of possibility,—which were sometimes altogether without those bounds,—and has determined that his readers should be carried out of their own little mundane ways, and brought into a world of imagination in which their intelligence might be raised, if only for a time, to something higher than the common needs of common life.

I will venture here to quote an extract from a letter written by Hawthorne to an American gentleman, a friend of his,—and of mine, though, if I remember rightly, I did not get it from him,—which he will recognize should he see this paper. As it is altogether about myself, perhaps I should do better to keep it to myself, but I will give it because it explains so accurately his own condition of mind in regard to novels; “It is odd enough that my own individual taste is for quite another class of novels than those which I myself am able to write. If I were to meet with such books as mine by another writer, I don’t believe I should be able to get through them. Have you ever read the novels of Anthony Trollope? They precisely suit my taste; solid and substantial, written on strength of beef and through the inspiration of ale, and just as real as if some giant had hewn a great lump out of the earth, and put it under a glass case, with all its inhabitants going about their daily business, and not suspecting that they were made a show of.” This is what he could read himself, but could not possibly have produced,—any more than I could have produced that “Marble Faun” which has been quite as much to my taste as was to his the fragment of common life which he has supposed me to put under a glass case in order that the frequenters at my little show might inspect at their ease all that was being done on that morsel of the earth’s surface. How was it that his mind wandered away always into those fancies, not jocund as are usually those of the tellers of fairy tales, not high-flown as are the pictures generally drawn by the poets, with no fearful adventures though so sad, often by no means beautiful, without an attempt even at the picturesque, melancholy beyond compare, as though the writer had drawn all his experiences from unto-

ward accidents? That some remnant of Puritan asceticism should be found in the writings of a novelist from Concord, in Massachusetts, would seem natural to an English reader,—though I doubt whether there be much of the flavor of the Mayflower left at present to pervade the literary parterres of Boston. But, had that been the Hawthorne flavor, readers both in England and in the States would have accepted it without surprise.

It is, however, altogether different, though ascetic enough. The predominating quality of Puritan life was hard, good sense,—a good sense which could value the realities of life while it rejected the frivolities,—a good sense to which buttered cakes, water-tight boots, and a pretty wife, or a kind husband could endear themselves. Hawthorne is severe, but his severity is never of a nature to form laws for life. His is a mixture of romance and austerity, quite as far removed from the realities of Puritanism as it is from the sentimentalism of poetry. He creates a melancholy which amounts almost to remorse in the minds of his readers. There falls upon them a conviction of some unutterable woe which is not altogether dispelled till other books and other incidents have had their effects. The woe is of course fictitious, and therefore endurable,—and therefore alluring. And woe itself has its charm. It is a fact that the really miserable will pity the comfortable insignificance of those who are not unhappy, and that they are apt even to boast of their own sufferings. There is a sublimity in mental and even in corporal torment which will sometimes make the position of Lucifer almost enviable. "All is not lost" with him! Prometheus chained, with the bird at his liver, had wherewithal to console himself in the magnificence of his thoughts. And so in the world of melancholy romance, of agony more realistic than melancholy, to which Hawthorne brings his readers, there is compensation to the reader in the feeling that, in having submitted himself to such sublime affliction, he has proved himself capable of sublimity. The bird that feeds upon your vitals would not have gorged himself with common flesh. You are beyond measure depressed by the weird tale that is told to you, but you become conscious of a certain grandness of nature in being susceptible of such suffering. When you hear what Hawthorne has done to others, you long to search his volumes. When he has operated upon you, you would not for worlds have foregone it. You have been ennobled by that familiarity with sorrow. You have been, as it were, sent through the fire and purged of so much of your dross. For a time, at least, you

have been free from the mundane touch of that beef and ale with which novelists of a meaner school will certainly bring you in contact. No one will feel himself ennobled at once by having read one of my novels. But Hawthorne, when you have studied him, will be very precious to you. He will have plunged you into melancholy, he will have overshadowed you with black forebodings, he will almost have crushed you with imaginary sorrows; but he will have enabled you to feel yourself an inch taller during the process. Something of the sublimity of the transcendent, something of the mystery of the unfathomable, something of the brightness of the celestial, will have attached itself to you, and you will all but think that you too might live to be sublime, and revel in mingled light and mystery.

The creations of American literature generally are no doubt more given to the speculative,—less given to the realistic,—than are those of English literature. On our side of the water we deal more with beef and ale, and less with dreams. Even with the broad humor of Bret Harte, even with the broader humor of Artemus Ward and Mark Twain, there is generally present an undercurrent of melancholy, in which pathos and satire are intermingled. There was a touch of it even with the simple-going Cooper and the kindly Washington Irving. Melancholy and pathos, without the humor, are the springs on which all Longfellow's lines are set moving. But in no American writer is to be found the same predominance of weird imagination as in Hawthorne. There was something of it in M. G. Lewis—our Monk Lewis as he came to be called, from the name of a tale which he wrote; but with him, as with many others, we feel that they have been weird because they have desired to be so. They have struggled to achieve the tone with which their works are pervaded. With Hawthorne we are made to think that he could not have been anything else if he would. It is as though he could certainly have been nothing else in his own inner life. We know that such was not actually the case. Though a man singularly reticent,—what we generally call shy,—he could, when things went well with him, be argumentative, social, and cheery. I have seen him very happy over canvas-back ducks, and have heard him discuss, almost with violence, the superiority of American vegetables. Indeed, he once withered me with a scorn which was anything but mystic or melancholy because I expressed a patriotic preference for English peas. And yet his imagination was such that the creations of his brain could not have been other than such as I have described.

Oliver Wendell Holmes has written a well-known story, weird and witch-like also, and has displayed much genius in the picture which he has given us of Elsie Venner. But the reader is at once aware that Holmes compelled himself to the construction of "Elsie Venner," and feels equally sure that Hawthorne wrote "The Marble Faun" because he could not help himself.

I will take a few of his novels,—those which I believe to be the best known,—and will endeavor to illustrate my idea of his genius by describing the manner in which his stories have been told.

"The Scarlet Letter" is, on the English side of the water, perhaps the best known. It is so terrible in its pictures of diseased human nature as to produce most questionable delight. The reader's interest never flags for a moment. There is nothing of episode or digression. The author is always telling his one story with a concentration of energy which, as we can understand, must have made it impossible for him to deviate. The reader will certainly go on with it to the end very quickly, entranced, excited, shuddering, and at times almost wretched. His consolation will be that he too has been able to see into these black deeps of the human heart. The story is one of jealousy,—of love and jealousy,—in which love is allowed but little scope, but full play is given to the hatred which can spring from injured love. A woman has been taken in adultery,—among the Puritans of Boston some two centuries since,—and is brought upon the stage that she may be punished by a public stigma. She was beautiful and young, and had been married to an old husband who had wandered away from her for a time. Then she has sinned, and the partner of her sin, though not of her punishment, is the young minister of the church to which she is attached. It is her doom to wear the Scarlet Letter, the letter A, always worked on her dress,—always there on her bosom, to be seen by all men. The first hour of her punishment has to be endured, in the middle of the town, on the public scaffold, under the gaze of all men. As she stands there, her husband comes by chance into the town and sees her, and she sees him, and they know each other. But no one else in Boston knows that they are man and wife. Then they meet, and she refuses to tell him who has been her fellow sinner. She makes no excuse for herself. She will bear her doom and acknowledge its justice, but to no one will she tell the name of him who is the father of her baby. For her disgrace has borne its fruit, and she has a child. The injured husband is at once aware that he need deal no further with the woman

who has been false to him. Her punishment is sure. But it is necessary for his revenge that the man too shall be punished,—and to punish him he must know him. He goes to work to find him out, and he finds him out. Then he does punish him with a vengeance and brings him to death,—does it by the very stress of mental misery. After a while the woman turns and rebels against the atrocity of fate,—not on her own account, but for the sake of that man the sight of whose sufferings she can not bear. They meet once again, the two sinful lovers, and a hope of escape comes upon them,—and another gleam of love. But fate in the shape of the old man is too strong for them. He finds them out, and, not stopping to hinder their flight, merely declares his purpose of accompanying them! Then the lover succumbs and dies, and the woman is left to her solitude. That is the story.

The personages in it with whom the reader will interest himself are four,—the husband, the minister who has been the sinful lover, the woman, and the child. The reader is expected to sympathize only with the woman,—and will sympathize only with her. The husband, an old man who has knowingly married a young woman who did not love him, is a personification of that feeling of injury which is supposed to fall upon a man when his honor has been stained by the falseness of a wife. He has left her and has wandered away, not even telling her of his whereabouts. He comes back to her without a sign. The author tells us that he had looked to find his happiness in her solicitude and care for him. The reader, however, gives him credit for no love. But the woman was his wife, and he comes back and finds that she had gone astray. Her he despises, and is content to leave to the ascetic cruelty of the town magistrates; but to find the man out and bring the man to his grave by slow torture is enough of employment for what is left to him of life and energy.

With the man, the minister, the lover, the reader finds that he can have nothing in common, though he is compelled to pity his sufferings. The woman has held her peace when she was discovered and reviled and exposed. She will never whisper his name, never call on him for any comfort or support in her misery; but he, though the very shame is eating into his soul, lives through the seven years of the story, a witness of her misery and solitude, while he himself is surrounded by the very glory of sanctity. Of the two, indeed, he is the greater sufferer. While shame only deals with her, conscience is at work with him. But there can be no

sympathy, because he looks on and holds his peace. Her child says to him,—her child, not knowing that he is her father, not knowing what she says, but in answer to him when he would fain take her little hand in his during the darkness of night,—“Wilt thou stand here with mother and me to-morrow noontide”? He can not bring himself to do that, though he struggles hard to do it, and therefore we despise him. He can not do it till the hand of death is upon him, and then the time is too late for reparation in the reader’s judgment. Could we have sympathized with a pair of lovers, the human element would have prevailed too strongly for the author’s purpose.

He seems hardly to have wished that we should sympathize even with her ; or, at any rate, he has not bid us in so many words to do so, as is common with authors. Of course, he has wished it. He has intended that the reader’s heart should run over with ruth for the undeserved fate of that wretched woman. And it does. She is pure as undriven snow. We know that at some time far back she loved and sinned, but it was done when we did not know her. We are not told so, but come to understand, by the wonderful power of the writer in conveying that which he never tells, that there has been no taint of foulness in her love, though there has been deep sin. He never even tells us why that letter A has been used, though the abominable word is burning in our ears from first to last. We merely see her with her child, bearing her lot with patience, seeking for no comfort, doing what good she can in her humble solitude by the work of her hands, pointed at from all by the finger of scorn, but the purest, the cleanest, the fairest also among women. She never dreams of supposing that she ought not to be regarded as vile, while the reader’s heart glows with a longing to take her soft hand and lead her into some pleasant place where the world shall be pleasant and honest and kind to her. I can fancy a reader so loving the image of Hester Prynne as to find himself on the verge of treachery to the real Hester of flesh and blood who may have a claim upon him. Sympathy can not go beyond that ; and yet the author deals with her in a spirit of assumed hardness, almost as though he assented to the judgment and the manner in which it was carried out. In this, however, there is a streak of that satire with which Hawthorne always speaks of the peculiar institutions of his own country. The worthy magistrates of Massachusetts are under his lash throughout the story, and so is the virtue of her citizens and the chastity of her matrons, which

can take delight in the open shame of a woman whose sin has been discovered. Indeed, there is never a page written by Hawthorne not tinged by satire.

The fourth character is that of the child, Pearl. Here the author has, I think, given way to a temptation, and in doing so has not increased the power of his story. The temptation was, that Pearl should add a picturesque element by being an elf and also a charming child. Elf she is, but, being so, is incongruous with all else in the story, in which, unhuman as it is, there is nothing of the ghost-like, nothing of the unnatural. The old man becomes a fiend, so to say, during the process of the tale; but he is a man-fiend. And Hester becomes sublimated almost to divine purity; but she is still simply a woman. The minister is tortured beyond the power of human endurance; but neither do his sufferings nor his failure of strength adequate to support them come to him from any miraculous agency. But Pearl is miraculous,—speaking, acting, and thinking like an elf,—and is therefore, I think, a drawback rather than an aid. The desolation of the woman, too, would have been more perfect without the child. It seems as though the author's heart had not been hard enough to make her live alone;—as sometimes when you punish a child you can not drive from your face that gleam of love which shoots across your frown and mars its salutary effect.

Hatred, fear, and shame are the passions which revel through the book. To show how a man may so hate as to be content to sacrifice everything to his hatred; how another may fear so that, even though it be for the rescue of his soul, he can not bring himself to face the reproaches of the world; how a woman may bear her load of infamy openly before the eyes of all men,—this has been Hawthorne's object. And surely no author was ever more successful. The relentless purpose of the man, in which is exhibited no passion, in which there is hardly a touch of anger, is as fixed as the hand of Fate. No one in the town knew that the woman was his wife. She had never loved him. He had left her alone in the world. But she was his wife; and, as the injury had been done to him, the punishment should follow from his hands! When he finds out who the sinner was, he does not proclaim him and hold him up to disgrace; he does not crush the almost adored minister of the gospel by declaring the sinner's trespass. He simply lives with his enemy in the same house, attacking not the man's body,—to which, indeed, he acts as a wise physician,—but his conscience, till we see the wretch writhing beneath the treatment.

Hester sees it too, and her strength, which suffices for the bearing of her own misery, fails her almost to fainting as she understands the condition of the man she has loved. Then there is a scene, the one graceful and pretty scene in the book, in which the two meet,—the two who were lovers,—and dare for a moment to think that they can escape. They come together in a wood, and she flings away, but for a moment, the badge of her shame, and lets down the long hair which has been hidden under her cap, and shines out before the reader for once,—just for that once,—as a lovely woman. She counsels him to fly, to go back across the waters to the old home whence he had come, and seek for rest away from the cruelty of his tyrant. When he pleads that he has no strength left to him for such action, then she declares that she will go with him and protect him and minister to him and watch over him with her strength. Yes; this woman proposes that she will then elope with the partner of her former sin. But no idea comes across the reader's mind of sinful love. The poor wretch can not live without service, and she will serve him. Were it herself that was concerned, she would remain there in her solitude, with the brand of her shame still open upon her bosom. But he can not go alone, and she too will therefore go.

As I have said before, the old man discovers the plot, and crushes their hopes simply by declaring that he will also be their companion. Whether there should have been this gleam of sunshine in the story the critic will doubt. The parent who would be altogether like Solomon should not soften the sternness of his frown by any glimmer of parental softness. The extreme pain of the chronicle is mitigated for a moment. The reader almost fears that he is again about to enjoy the satisfaction of a happy ending. When the blackness and the rumbling thunder-claps and the beating hail-stones of a mountain storm have burst with all their fearful glories on the wanderer among the Alps, though he trembles and is awe-struck and crouches with the cold, he is disappointed rather than gratified when a little space of blue sky shows itself for a moment through the clouds. But soon a blacker mantle covers the gap, louder and nearer comes the crash, heavier fall the big drops till they seem to strike him to the bone. The storm is awful, majestic, beautiful;—but is it not too pitiless? So it is with the storm which bursts over that minister's head when the little space of blue has vanished from the sky.

But through all this intensity of suffering, through this black-

ness of narrative, there is ever running a vein of drollery. As Hawthorne himself says, "a lively sense of the humorous again stole in among the solemn phantoms of her thought." He is always laughing at something with his weird, mocking spirit. The very children when they see Hester in the streets are supposed to speak of her in this wise: "Behold, verily, there is the woman of the scarlet letter. Come, therefore, and let us fling mud at her." Of some religious book he says, "It must have been a work of vast ability in the somniferous school of literature." "We must not always talk in the market-place of what happens to us in the forest," says even the sad mother to her child. Through it all there is a touch of burlesque,—not as to the suffering of the sufferers, but as to the great question whether it signifies much in what way we suffer, whether by crushing sorrows or little stings. Who would not sooner be Prometheus than a yesterday's tipsy man with this morning's sick-headache? In this way Hawthorne seems to ridicule the very woes which he expends himself in depicting.

As a novel "The House of the Seven Gables" is very inferior to "The Scarlet Letter." The cause of this inferiority would, I think, be plain to any one who had himself been concerned in the writing of novels. When Hawthorne proposed to himself to write "The Scarlet Letter," the plot of his story was clear to his mind. He wrote the book because he had the story strongly, lucidly manifest to his own imagination. In composing the other he was driven to search for a plot, and to make a story. "The Scarlet Letter" was written because he had it to write, and the other because he had to write it. The novelist will often find himself in the latter position. He has characters to draw, lessons to teach, philosophy perhaps which he wishes to expose, satire to express, humor to scatter abroad. These he can employ gracefully and easily if he have a story to tell. If he have none, he must concoct something of a story laboriously, when his lesson, his characters, his philosophy, his satire, and his humor will be less graceful and less easy. All the good things I have named are there in "The House of the Seven Gables"; but they are brought in with less artistic skill, because the author has labored over his plot, and never had it clear to his own mind.

There is a mystery attached to the house. That is a matter of course. A rich man obtained the ground on which it was built by fraud from a poor man, and the poor man's curse falls on the rich man's descendants, and the rich man with his rich descendants are

abnormally bad, though very respectable. They not only cheat but murder. The original poor man was hung for witchcraft,—only because he had endeavored to hold his own against the original rich man. The rich men in consequence die when they come to advanced age, without any apparent cause of death, sitting probably upright in their chairs, to the great astonishment of the world at large, and with awful signs of blood about their mouths and shirt-fronts. And each man as he dies is in the act of perpetrating some terrible enormity against some poor member of his own family. The respectable rich man with whom we become personally acquainted in the story,—for as to some of the important characters we hear of them only by the records which are given of past times,—begins by getting a cousin convicted of a murder of which he knew that his kinsman was not guilty, and is preparing to have the same kinsman fraudulently and unnecessarily put into a lunatic asylum, when he succumbs to the fate of his family and dies in his chair, all covered with blood. The unraveling of these mysteries is vague, and, as I think, inartistic. The reader is not carried on by any intense interest in the story itself, and comes at last not much to care whether he does or does not understand the unraveling. He finds that his interest in the book lies elsewhere,—that he must seek it in the characters, lessons, philosophy, satire, and humor, and not in the plot. With “The Scarlet Letter” the plot comes first, and the others follow as accessories.

Two or three of the characters here drawn are very good. The wicked and respectable gentleman who *drees* the doom of his family, and dies in his chair all covered with blood, is one Judge Pyncheon. The persistent, unbending, cruel villainy of this man,—whose heart is as hard as a millstone, who knows not the meaning of conscience, to whom money and respectability are everything,—was dear to Hawthorne’s heart. He likes to revel in an excess of impossible wickedness, and has done so with the Judge. Though we do not care much for the mysteries of the Judge’s family, we like the Judge himself, and we like to feel that the author is pouring out his scorn on the padded respectables of his New England world. No man had a stronger belief than Hawthorne in the superiority of his own country; no man could be more sarcastic as to the deficiencies of another,—as I had reason to discover in that affair of the peas; but, nevertheless, he is always throwing out some satire as to the assumed virtues of his own immediate countrymen. It comes from him in little touches as to every incident he

handles. In truth, he can not write without satire ; and, as in these novels he writes of his own country, his shafts fall necessarily on that.

But the personage we like best in the book is certainly Miss Hepzibah Pyncheon. She is a cousin of the Judge, and has become, by some family arrangement, the life-possessor of the house with seven gables. She is sister also of the man who had been wrongly convicted of murder, and who, when released after a thirty-years' term of imprisonment, comes also to live at the house. Miss Hepzibah, under a peculiarly ill-grained exterior, possesses an affectionate heart and high principles. Driven by poverty, she keeps a shop,—a cent-shop, a term which is no doubt familiar enough in New England, and by which it would be presumed that all her articles were to be bought for a cent each, did it not appear by the story that she dealt also in goods of greater value. She is a lady by birth, and can not keep her cent-shop without some feeling of degradation ; but that is preferable to the receiving of charity from that odious cousin the Judge. Her timidity, her affection, her true appreciation of herself, her ugliness, her hopelessness, and general incapacity for everything,—cent-shop-keeping included,—are wonderfully drawn. There are characters in novels who walk about on their feet, who stand upright and move, so that readers can look behind them, as one seems to be able to do in looking at a well-painted figure on the canvas. There are others, again, so wooden that no reader expects to find in them any appearance of movement. They are blocks roughly hewed into some more or less imperfect forms of humanity, which are put into their places and which there lie. Miss Hepzibah is one of the former. The reader sees all round her, and is sure that she is alive,—though she is so incapable.

Then there is her brother Clifford, who was supposed to have committed the murder, and who, in the course of the chronicle, comes home to live with his sister. There are morsels in his story, bits of telling in the description of him, which are charming, but he is not so good as his sister, being less intelligible. Hawthorne himself had not realized the half-fatuous, dreamy, ill-used brother, as he had the sister. In painting a figure it is essential that the artist should himself know the figure he means to paint.

There is yet another Pyncheon,—Phœbe Pyncheon, who comes from a distance, Heaven knows why, to live with her far-away cousin. She is intended as a ray of sunlight,—as was Pearl in "*The Scarlet Letter*,"—and is more successful. As the old maid Pyncheon

is capable of nothing, so is the young maid Pyncheon capable of everything. She is, however, hardly wanted in the story, unless it be that the ray of sunlight was necessary. And there is a young "daguerreotypist,"—as the photographer of the day used to be called,—who falls in love with the ray of sunlight, and marries her at the end ; and who is indeed the lineal descendant of the original ill-used poor man who was hung as a witch. There is just one love-scene in the novel, most ghastly in its details ; for the young man offers his love, and the girl accepts it, while they are aware that the wicked, respectable old Judge is sitting, all smeared with blood, and dead, in the next room to them. The love-scene, and the hurrying up of the marriage, and all the dollars which they inherit from the wicked Judge, and the "handsome dark-green barouche" prepared for their departure, which is altogether unfitted to the ideas which the reader has formed respecting them, are quite unlike Hawthorne, and would seem almost to have been added by some every-day, beef-and-ale, realistic novelist, into whose hands the unfinished story had unfortunately fallen.

But no one should read "The House of the Seven Gables" for the sake of the story, or neglect to read it because of such faults as I have described. It is for the humor, the satire, and what I may perhaps call the philosophy which permeates it, that its pages should be turned. Its pages may be turned on any day, and under any circumstances. To "The Scarlet Letter" you have got to adhere till you have done with it ; but you may take this volume by bits, here and there, now and again, just as you like it. There is a description of a few poultry, melancholy, unproductive birds, running over four or five pages, and written as no one but Hawthorne could have written it. There are a dozen pages or more in which the author pretends to ask why the busy Judge does not move from his chair,—the Judge the while having dree'd his doom and died as he sat. There is a ghastly spirit of drollery about this which would put the reader into full communion with Hawthorne if he had not read a page before, and did not intend to read a page after. To those who can make literary food of such passages as these, "The House of the Seven Gables" may be recommended. To others it will be caviare.

"Mosses from an Old Manse" will be caviare to many. By this I intend no slight to the intelligence of the many readers who may not find themselves charmed by such narratives. In the true enjoyment of Hawthorne's work there is required a peculiar mood of

mind. The reader should take a delight in looking round corners, and in seeing how places and things may be approached by other than the direct and obvious route. No writer impresses himself more strongly on the reader who will submit to him ; but the reader must consent to put himself altogether under his author's guidance, and to travel by queer passages, the direction of which he will not perceive till, perhaps, he has got quite to the end of them. In "The Scarlet Letter," though there are many side paths, there is a direct road, so open that the obstinately straightforward traveler will find his way, though he will not, perhaps, see all that there is to be seen. In "The House of the Seven Gables" a kind of thoroughfare does at last make itself visible, though covered over with many tangles. In the volume of which I am now speaking there is no pathway at all. The reader must go where the writer may choose to take him, and must consent to change not only his ground, but the nature of his ground, every minute. This, as the name implies, is a collection of short stories,—and of course no thread or general plot is expected in such a compilation. But here the short narratives are altogether various in their style, no one of them giving any clew as to what may be expected to follow. They are, rather than tales, the jottings down of the author's own fancies, on matters which have subjected themselves to his brain, one after the other, in that promiscuous disorder in which his manner of thinking permitted him to indulge. He conceives a lovely woman, who has on her cheek a "birth-mark," so trifling as to be no flaw to her beauty. But her husband sees it, and, seeing it, can not rid himself of the remembrance of it. He is a man of science, concerned with the secrets of chemistry, and goes to work to concoct some ichor by which the mark may be eradicated. Just as success is being accomplished, the lady dies under the experiment. "You have aimed loftily," she says to her husband, at her last gasp ; "you have done nobly. Do not repent." Whether the husband does repent we are not told ; but the idea left is that, seeking something more than mortal perfection, he had thrown away the happiness which, as a mortal, he might have enjoyed. This is transcendental enough ; but it is followed, a few pages on, by the record of Mrs. Bullfrog, who had got herself married to Mr. Bullfrog, as the natural possessor of all feminine loveliness, and then turns out to be a hideous virago, with false hair and false teeth, but who is at last accepted graciously by Bullfrog, because her money is real. The satire is intelligible, and is Hawthornean, but why Hawthorne should have brought

himself to surround himself with objects so disagreeable the reader does not understand.

"The Select Party" is pleasant enough. It is held in a castle in the air, made magnificent with all architectural details, and there the Man of Fancy, who is its owner, entertains the Oldest Inhabitant, Nobody, M. Ondit, the Clerk of the Weather, Mother Carey, the Master Genius of his Age,—a young American, of course,—and sundry others, who among them have a good deal to say which is worth hearing. The student of Hawthorne will understand what quips and quirks will come from this mottled company.

Then there is an Italian, one Rappacini, and his daughter, weird, ghostlike, and I must own very unintelligible. The young lady, however, has learned under the teaching of her father, who is part doctor, part gardener, and part conjurer, to exist on the essence of a flower which is fatal to everybody else. She becomes very detrimental to her lover, who has no such gifts, and the story ends as a tragedy. There is a very pretty prose pastoral called "Buds and Bird-Voices," which is simply the indulgence of a poetic voice in the expression of its love of nature. "The Hall of Fantasy" is a mansion in which some unfortunates make their whole abode and business, and "contract habits which unfit them for all the real employments of life. Others,—but these are few,—possess the faculty, in their occasional visits, of discovering a purer truth than the world can impart." The reader can imagine to himself those who, under Hawthorne's guidance, would succeed and those who would fail by wandering into this hall. "The Procession of Life" is perhaps the strongest piece in the book,—the one most suggestive and most satisfactory. Hawthorne imagines that, by the blowing of some trumpet such as has never yet been heard, the inhabitants of the world shall be brought together under other circumstances than those which at present combine them. The poor now associate with the poor, the rich with the rich, the learned with the learned, the idle with the idle, the orthodox with the orthodox, and so on. By this new amalgamation the sick shall associate with the sick, the strong-bodied with the strong, the weak-bodied with the weak, the gifted with the gifted, the sorrowful with the sorrowful, the wicked with the wicked, and the good with the good. Here is a specimen of Hawthorne's manner in bringing the wicked together: "The hideous appeal has swept round the globe. Come all ye guilty ones, and rank yourselves in accordance with the brotherhood of crime. This, indeed, is an awful summons. I almost tremble to

look at the strange partnerships that begin to be formed, reluctantly, but by the invincible necessity of like to like, in this part of the procession. A forger from the State prison seizes the arm of a distinguished financier. . . . Here comes a murderer with his clanking chain, and pairs himself,—horrible to tell!—with as pure and upright a man, in all observable respects, as ever partook of the consecrated bread and wine. . . . Why do that pair of flaunting girls, with the pert, affected laugh, and the sly leer at the bystander, intrude themselves into the same rank with yonder decorous matron and that somewhat prudish maiden?" The scope for irony and satire which Hawthorne could get from such a marshaling as this was unbounded.

There is a droll story, with a half-hidden meaning, called "Drowne's Wooden Image," in which Copley the painter is brought upon the scene, so that I am led to suppose that there was a Drowne who carved head-pieces for ships in Boston, and who, by some masterpiece in his trade and by the help of Hawthorne, has achieved a sort of immortality. Here the man, by dint of special energy on this special job,—he is supposed to be making a figure-head for a ship,—hews out of the wood a female Frankenstein, all alone, but lovely as was the other one hideous. The old idea, too, is conveyed that, as within every block of marble, so within every log of wood, there is a perfection of symmetry and beauty, to be reached by any one who may have the gift of properly stripping off the outlying matter.

"P.'s Correspondence" is the last I will mention. P. is a madman, who, in writing to his friend in Boston from his madhouse chamber, imagines himself to have met in London Byron, Burns, Scott, and a score of other literary worthies, still alive as he supposes, but who by the stress of years have been changed in all their peculiarities, as men are changed when they live long. Byron becomes very religious, and professes excessive high-church tendencies,—as certain excellent and over-liberal friends of mine have in their old age become more timid and more conservative than they who were to the manner born. Hawthorne adds to this the joke that all his own American literary contemporaries,—men whom he knew to be alive, and with whom he probably was intimate,—are, alas! dead and gone. The madman weeps over Bryant, Whittier, and Longfellow, while he has been associating with Keats, Canning, and John Kemble.

Such is the nature of the Mosses from the old Manse each morsel

of moss damp, tawny, and soft, as it ought to be, but each with enough of virus to give a sting to the tender hand that touches it.

I have space to mention but one other of our author's works; "The Marble Faun," as it is called in America, and published in England under the name of "Transformation; or, The Romance of Monte Beni." The double name, which has given rise to some confusion, was, I think, adopted with the view of avoiding the injustice to which American and English authors are subjected by the want of international copyright. Whether the object was attained, or was in any degree attainable by such means, I do not know.

In speaking of "The Marble Faun," as I will call the story, I hardly know whether, as a just critic, to speak first of its faults or of its virtues. As one always likes to keep the sweetest bits for the end of the banquet, I will give priority of place to my caviling. The great fault of the book lies in the absence of arranged plot. The author, in giving the form of a novel to the beautiful pictures and images which his fancy has enabled him to draw, and in describing Rome and Italian scenes as few others have described them, has in fact been too idle to carry out his own purpose of constructing a tale. We will grant that a novelist may be natural or supernatural. Let us grant, for the occasion, that the latter manner, if well handled, is the better and the more efficacious. And we must grant also that he who soars into the supernatural need not bind himself by any of the ordinary trammels of life. His men may fly, his birds may speak. His women may make angelic music without instruments. His cherubs may sit at the piano. This wide latitude, while its adequate management is much too difficult for ordinary hands, gives facility for the working of a plot. But there must be some plot, some arrangement of circumstances, with an intelligible conclusion, or the reader will not be satisfied. If, then, a ghost, who, —or shall I say which?—is made on all occasions to act as a *Deus ex machina*, and to create and to solve every interest, we should know something of the ghost's antecedents, something of the causes which have induced him, or it, to meddle in the matter under discussion. The ghost of Hamlet's father had a manifest object, and the ghost of Banquo a recognized cause. In "The Marble Faun" there is no ghost, but the heroine of the story is driven to connive at murder, and the hero to commit murder, by the disagreeable intrusion of a personage whose *raison d'être* is left altogether in the dark. "The gentle reader," says our author as he ends his narrative, "would not thank us for one of those minute elucidations which are so

tedious and after all so unsatisfactory in clearing up the romantic mysteries of a story." There our author is, I think, in error. His readers will hardly be so gentle as not to require from him some explanation of the causes which have produced the romantic details to which they have given their attention, and will be inclined to say that it should have been the author's business to give an explanation neither tedious nor unsatisfactory. The critic is disposed to think that Hawthorne, as he continued his narrative, postponed his plot till it was too late, and then escaped from his difficulty by the ingenious excuse above given. As a writer of novels, I am bound to say that the excuse can not be altogether accepted.

But the fault, when once admitted, may be well pardoned on account of the beauty of the narrative. There are four persons,—or five, including the mysterious intruder who is only, I think, seen and never heard, but who is thrown down the Tarpeian rock and murdered. Three of them are artists,—a lady named Miriam, who is haunted by the mysterious one and is an assenting party to his murder; another lady named Hilda, an American from New England, who lives alone in a tower surrounded by doves; and a sculptor, one Kenyon, also from the States, who is in love with Hilda. The fourth person is the Faun, as to whom the reader is left in doubt whether he be man or Satyr,—human, or half god half animal. As to this doubt the critic makes no complaint. The author was within his right in creating a creature partaking of these different attributes, and it has to be acknowledged on his behalf that the mystery which he has thrown over this offspring of his brain has been handled by him, a writer of prose, not only with profound skill but with true poetic feeling. This faun, who is Count of Monte Beni,—be he most god, or man, or beast; let him have come from the hills and the woods and the brooks like a Satyr of old, or as any other count from his noble ancestors and ancestral towers,—attaches himself to Miriam, as a dog does to a man, not with an expressed human love in which there is a longing for kisses and a hope for marriage, but with a devotion half doglike as I have said, but in its other half godlike and heavenly pure. He scampers round her in his joy, and is made happy simply by her presence, her influence, and her breath. He is happy, except when the intruder intrudes, and then his jealousy is that as of a dog against an intruding hound. There comes a moment in which the intrusion of the intruder is unbearable. Then he looks into Miriam's eyes, and, obtaining the assent for which he seeks, he hurls the intruder

down the Tarpeian rock into eternity. After that the light-hearted creature, overwhelmed by the weight of his sin, becomes miserable, despondent, and unable to bear the presence of her who had so lately been all the world to him. In the end light-hearted joy returns to him ; but the reason for this second change is not so apparent.

The lives of Kenyon and Hilda are more commonplace, but, though they are commonplace between man and woman, the manner in which they are told is very beautiful. She is intended to represent perfect innocence, and he manly honesty. The two characters are well conceived and admirably expressed.

In "The Marble Faun," as in all Hawthorne's tales written after "The Scarlet Letter," the reader must look rather for a series of pictures than for a novel. It would, perhaps, almost be well that a fastidious reader should cease to read when he comes within that border, toward the end, in which it might be natural to expect that the strings of a story should be gathered together and tied into an intelligible knot. This would be peculiarly desirable in regard to "The Marble Faun," in which the delight of that fastidious reader, as derived from pictures of character and scenery, will be so extreme that it should not be marred by a sense of failure in other respects.

In speaking of this work in conjunction with Hawthorne's former tales, I should be wrong not to mention the wonderful change which he effected in his own manner of writing when he had traveled out from Massachusetts into Italy. As every word in his earlier volumes savors of New England, so in "The Marble Faun" is the flavor entirely that of Rome and of Italian scenery. His receptive imagination took an impress from what was around him, and then gave it forth again with that wonderful power of expression which belonged to him. Many modern writers have sought to give an interest to their writings by what is called local coloring ; but it will too often happen that the reader is made to see the laying on of the colors. In Hawthorne's Roman chronicle the tone of the telling is just as natural,—seems to belong as peculiarly to the author,—as it does with "The Scarlet Letter" or "The House of the Seven Gables."

ANTHONY TROLLOPE.

II.

THE STANDARD OF VALUE.

IF one should claim that the precious metals formed the only standard of value which Providence ever intended civilized men to use, he would find an ample base for his argument in the simple comparison of the thought, research, and experiment which have been devoted to the invention of some other standard with the results obtained. A century and a half have now elapsed since John Law first induced the French Government to put the theory of "fiat money" into practice; and during that time statesmen, financiers, economists, and theorists of every grade have tried to find some improved system of measuring values. Standards real and standards ideal have been constructed without end, but none have ever left the paper on which they were written without carrying disastrous failure with them. Leaving out a few bankrupt or semi-bankrupt nations whose poverty will not allow them to command the precious metals, the commercial and financial world of to-day is, with respect to its standard of value, precisely where Abraham was when he bought a field for four hundred shekels of silver, "current money of the merchant." So small a matter as a change of twenty per cent. in the ratio of the value of silver to that of gold now embarrasses the better half of the commercial and political world. Bimetallism is pronounced a failure by one party, and monometallism shown to be ruinous by another; and the only party which declares itself to have an easy solution of the difficulty is believed by every one else to be the victim of an hallucination approaching insanity. After three years of debate and discussion, after the most exhaustive investigation by commissions and individuals, every nation which has felt the trouble is bewildered as to how it can be met, and waits in utter helplessness for something to turn up.

The great cause of the stationary condition of society with re-

spect to the standard of value is undoubtedly the absence of a clear appreciation of the nature of the subject on the part of the public. Our whole education from infancy upward leads us to look upon the dollar, the pound, the franc, or other unit of value to which we have been accustomed, as something equally absolute and invariable with the ground on which we tread. There is nothing in our ordinary daily experience to suggest the idea that one dollar can differ from another in value, or that the dollar of to-day, whether made of paper, gold, or silver, can fail to be identical with that of a century ago. To see the fallacy of this view—to apprehend clearly that the word “dollar” is only a name, and is not in itself a standard of value at all—requires a breadth of experience or a depth of study which does not generally fall to the lot of the community at large. When one insures his life or sells a piece of property on long time, he calculates the exact amount that may be ultimately due with a precision which shows his entire forgetfulness of the fact that the real value of what he is to receive may vary, no one knows how much, by fluctuations in the value of the dollar or other unit in which he is to be paid. Whole nations have submitted to variations in this unit of value which would have been politically impossible but for a lack of education in this respect. It is only when the effect of a change is seriously and widely felt, as it is now felt in our own country, that public attention is strongly directed toward the difficulty.

Our experience since 1862 has given our people an education on this subject which has fallen to the lot of few of their predecessors of equal intelligence. Few have seen their standard unit in the course of two or three years depreciate to less than one half its original value, and then recover itself again through a period of fifteen years without any such break in the continuity of debt and credit as has generally characterized a return from paper money to specie payments. Instead of discarding our paper money, and readjusting the debts incurred under it, we have brought it up to the standard of a coinage which has itself rather increased than diminished in value. The whole community now sees clearly that our greenbacks, though a nominal, were not a real standard of value, and the silver panic has led them also to see with equal clearness that, if one of the precious metals is an invariable standard, the other can not be. The conclusion that neither of them is necessarily such a standard as we want is too obvious to be enforced. After this severe but practical lesson we are in a better condition than any

people ever were before to reach some intelligent conclusion respecting an improvement of the standard.

It is one of the misfortunes of the situation that attempts to show the defects of the precious metals as absolute standards of value have been confined almost entirely to that class of theorists who are least able to form an intelligent opinion on the subject. Sensible men see very clearly that, whatever the imperfections of the coin standard, we shall under it be secure against the disaster and ruin which would be the certain result of the policy of those who oppose it. It is, therefore, very natural that they should ignore the defects of what under the circumstances might appear the only safe course, sticking close to the frying-pan rather than be thrown into the fire. But the uncertainty which hangs over the future of the precious metals, and especially of gold, is such that we may well doubt whether this line of argument is a safe one on which to base our permanent future policy. We shall, therefore, regard the question of a standard as an entirely open one, and consider what are the real requirements of the standard of the future.

Every one now sees, with a clearness which is painful to some and pleasant to others, that the dollar of to-day is worth twice as much as was that of fifteen years ago, a fact which is familiarly expressed by saying that the purchasing power of the dollar has increased. But every one does not see with equal clearness how this increase in the purchasing power is to be determined in a manner sufficiently definite and certain to form the basis of a monetary system.

What we commonly call purchasing power may also be called in economical language absolute value, and our first task will be to show that it admits of a more or less precise determination when we consider only our own time. We readily concede that there is no way of comparing the value of a house, a shekel of gold, or a day's labor in the time of Abraham with the corresponding objects of the present. But we are justified in assuming that an average man's life and activity of the present generation are equivalents of the life and activities of the average man of the generation preceding and following. Whatever criticism this proposition may be subjected to, we apprehend that no one will deny that this equality of value between the whole communities of successive generations, after making allowance for change of population, is more nearly real than any supposed equality between the value of an ounce of gold or a pound of silver at two epochs. This has been so well

understood by economists that attempts are frequently made to utilize tables of prices for the determination of the fluctuations in the purchasing power of the precious metals. The well-known "multiple standard of value" is a project based on this process, which has never received the attention which it deserves. Nor have the principles on which such a standard should be fixed always been stated with sufficient precision to leave no room for doubt and dispute in their application. The principal source of doubt is found in the fact that different commodities will give different results, so that an average result must be taken. In taking this average there is room for much doubt and dispute, unless an exact method is laid down. This will be our apology for a somewhat elementary exposition of the proper method of procedure.

We must begin by taking some one thing, no matter what, as a provisional standard, and then finding the apparent fluctuations in the values of all other things as measured by it. The most convenient provisional standard is the current money of the country, because we have in the market reports and the rate of wages the actual measures we want, giving the values of all ordinary commodities in this current money.

Our first problem is to find the average price of all the important products of human labor as measured in the current money for which sales are made. This is a problem which involves no serious difficulty when once the principles on which it is to be investigated are clearly apprehended. In the few attempts which have been made to reach a solution it has been usual to take the average value of a certain number of staple products, perhaps ten or twenty, without respect to their relative importance. This indiscriminate average does not, however, give us the best result; we want what a mathematician would call a "mean by weights," the "weight" of each product being proportional to the amount actually produced or brought to market. This course answers the double purpose of avoiding a difficulty and leading to a more accurate conclusion. The difficulty which is avoided is that of dealing with those articles of which there are many grades differing greatly in price. Take flour, for instance. There may be half a dozen grades, between the prices of which a discrimination must be made. Which of the prices must we take as that of the staple article? One might regard each grade as a separate article in taking the average, and he would thus have nominally a greater number of articles than his neighbor who, considering all grades of flour as forming together a

single article, should take the average price of all sold. But, when the system of taking the mean with respect to quantities produced is acted on, the same result will be reached on either plan.

The idea on which this system is founded is this: Suppose we bring together a collection of samples of all the important products of the country or of the world, the quantity of each sample being a certain percentage of the total quantity produced, and every grade being properly represented. We may suppose the collection so chosen as to represent the product of a year's labor of an average producer. If there were ten million producers, the collection would be simply the ten-millionth part of the total product. The average price of the whole collection is required. If there should be a hundred different products, the indiscriminate method would be to add up the hundred separate prices and divide the sum by 100 to obtain the mean price. The mean by weights would be found by making an invoice of the collection showing its total value in current money and dividing this total by the number of units in the collection. It makes no difference, however, what number we divide by, so long as we never change it, or whether we divide at all, since all we want are the variations in the total value from year to year and from generation to generation. If the collection represents the year's labor of the average producer, the theory would be that its real value always remains the same, and that all changes in its apparent value, as measured in current money, arise from changes in the actual value of the money unit. The purchasing power or absolute value of this unit would be inversely proportional to the price of the collection, and, by finding this price from the market reports for a series of years, we should obtain the purchasing power of the dollar unit for the same period by simply taking the reciprocal of the price.

All that is wanting for a complete solution of the problem is to fix the quantity of each product and of each kind of labor which must be put into the collection in order that everything may be represented in its true proportion. To do this requires an intimate acquaintance with the arts and manufactures of the country, both with respect to quantities and qualities, such as very few men possess. With the aid of this knowledge, however, the problem will admit of a satisfactory solution, and we conceive that a more instructive lesson in the theory of values could not be presented to the nation than that which would be contained in the publication of the value of the current dollar determined in this way at stated periods.

The question would be purely one of fact, and ought to be treated as such. If properly considered, there would be no possibility of mixing any theories or partisan views with it. The cost of a permanent commission to make the required investigation would be so insignificant alongside of the value of the knowledge to be obtained as not to be worthy of consideration in estimating the desirableness of the measure.

The main point we have hitherto made is, that there is no reason why a standard dollar containing a fixed weight of the precious metals should remain of invariable value, but that, on the contrary, we have every reason to suppose that its value does fluctuate. It is true that these fluctuations are for the most part so slow that money of this kind is the best which has ever been actually tried by civilized men. But this does not afford a sufficient reason for adhering to the standard if it can be shown that these slow fluctuations will probably be so wide as to cause serious disturbances in the commercial activities of the country. Now, it is a well-known historic fact that there have been several instances of very wide fluctuations in the purchasing power of the precious metals, and the question which stares us in the face is whether such fluctuations may not recur in the not distant future. The question divides itself into these two : 1. Are the fluctuations probable ? 2. What is the extent of the real evil which they will inflict upon the community ?

The first question may be answered by saying that we have every reason to anticipate the slow advance of a gold famine, which will result in a gradual but ceaseless appreciation of that metal unless new sources of gold supply are discovered. That any such sources exist can not be confidently maintained : if they do exist, it may be asserted with a high degree of probability that they will be speedily discovered and worked, and that the inevitable advance of the famine will thereby only be delayed. The rapid progress of every kind which the present generation has witnessed is too apt to lead to the inference that there is no limit to human discovery in any direction. But this is not to be assumed as true of everything, and the supply of purely natural products like gold is something respecting which it is especially unsafe to draw such an inference.

The famine will not, however, arise simply from the diminished supply of gold, but from the increasing demand which we must expect as a result of the continual increase of wealth. A great increase in the value of the metal will, from the nature of its uses,

produce but a small diminution in the demand for it for purposes of household and personal decoration. Its absorption in these applications may, therefore, be expected to go on without much reference to the probably increasing scarcity. In view of these probabilities, it seems almost hopeless to expect that a gold dollar will ever again circulate with a silver dollar of only sixteen times its weight, unless the coinage of the latter is restricted.

The question of the economical effects of changes in the standard of value is one which has been too much neglected. The general fashion has been to say what, so far as it goes, is undoubtedly true, that the only effect of such a change is to make a corresponding change in the prices of all commodities. Since the money which every one pays for the articles he purchases is divided among the producers and sellers of such articles, it follows that, every time prices rise, producers and sellers, considered as a body, receive a greater nominal money compensation for their labor. Although this increase may at first be very unequal, it must ultimately be divided among all classes through the action of supply and demand. Then everything goes on as before. Every man has a larger or smaller income than before, and pays out for his wants, in the same proportion, a sum larger or smaller, so that his wants are satisfied just as before.

A well-known exception to these facts of distribution is found in the relation of debtor and creditor with respect at least to such debts as are outstanding at the time of the change of values. It has, of course, been recognized that the burden of all such debts is necessarily increased or diminished proportionately with the value of the money in which they are to be paid. This result is so obvious and unmistakable that no one could overlook it. Really, however, it is less important than appears at first sight, since it affects not the sum total of wealth, but only its distribution, or, to speak more accurately, its ownership.

These obvious but really slight effects of changes in the standard are the only ones with which the writings of the mass of economists have made us familiar. A few have, however, gone further, and sought, though generally in a very brief and unsatisfactory way, to point out other effects of such changes. A quotation from Hume, which has been so often repeated as to be familiar to every student of the subject, shows how an influx of the precious metals quickens trade and industry. It is generally considered that the opposite cause, a rise in the value of such metals, and therefore in

the current money unit of the country, is prejudicial to trade and industry. But the subject has generally been dismissed with such brevity of detail as to leave an unsatisfactory impression on the mind of the reader.

The only attempt at a really exhaustive investigation of the subject which the writer has met is found in two chapters of the recent work of Francis A. Walker.* The result reached by this writer coincides in a general way with the opinions of his predecessors, and may be summed up by saying that an appreciation in the value of the dollar tends to the disadvantage of that important class whose business it is to manage the capital of the country, and who employ the money of others in business enterprises. In view of the fact that these enterprises generally inure more to the benefit of the country than to that of the projectors, and frequently lead to good results when the latter are pecuniarily ruined, he considers that a very slow depreciation of this currency, if produced by an increase in the supply of the precious metals, and not by governmental action, is beneficial rather than the opposite.

So far as the investigations of Walker and other economists extend, their reasoning appears to be perfectly sound. We consider, however, that their results are to a certain extent ill founded from the circumstance of their leaving out of sight one of the most important factors of the problem, namely, the effect of changes of the standard in producing a universal deception among the community in respect to the increase or diminution of its wealth. This factor is so important as to need very close consideration.

All men in this and other countries are accustomed from youth to measure the increase or diminution of their wealth by dollars or other denominations supposed to be units of value. To a definite number of these units, say a thousand, a certain idea of importance is attached which can only be very slowly altered by changes in their purchasing power. The reason of this is obvious. These changes entirely elude all ordinary investigation, and are made known only by a collation of facts which can not be effected without long and painstaking research. Even when the facts are understood, the idea that the change is in the value of the commodities measured, and not in that of the dollar itself, is so natural that a long and severe course of mental discipline is necessary to get rid of it. Indeed, we question whether the most profound economist can be entirely successful in this respect.

* "Money in its Relations to Trade and Industry."

Wealth being measured by dollars, the first effect of an actual depreciation of the standard is to increase the nominal valuation of the wealth of the country. The result of this is to produce a general elation in the minds of the community with respect to its pecuniary prosperity. The elation is, however, experienced in different degrees by different classes according to their position as debtor or creditor. To take one or two familiar illustrations, suppose a factory worth \$10,000 to be mortgaged for \$5,000. The owner of the factory and the mortgagee are each worth \$5,000. Now suppose the purchasing power of the dollar to fall to one half its former value. The factory being, then, worth \$20,000, the owner will be worth \$15,000, so that his wealth is, in his own estimation, increased threefold, while that of the mortgagee remains unchanged. The assistant employed on a fixed salary is in the position of the creditor until his salary is increased in the same ratio with the diminution in the value of the current unit. He renders to his employer services which are really worth twice as many dollars as before, yet he only receives the same number. His employer makes large profits, while he himself is unconscious of loss, and looks forward with pleasure to an assured increase of salary. Laborers also find no difficulty in securing, from time to time, a small increase in their wages, and the elation thus produced compensates for the depression which they ought to feel from the more rapid rise of the necessaries of life. They feel richer than before, notwithstanding that their wages really purchase less of the necessaries of life. They are, for a long time, quite satisfied if their employer will "split the difference," and add fifty per cent. to their wages when prices have doubled.

The men of enterprise who are doing a large business on borrowed capital are of course those who receive the greatest benefits. By a depreciation of the dollar to one half, they are unconsciously relieved from one half of their debts, and of course enjoy a prosperity entirely out of proportion to their real merits. It is perfectly true, as Professor Walker shows, that a great stimulus is thus given to enterprise. But he does not lay sufficient stress on the fact that enterprises are thus encouraged and made to pay in appearance when they do not pay in reality. The trouble, it will be remembered, is not merely that men are led into enterprises, but that the latter are made to appear successful when in reality they may be total failures. Under ordinary circumstances, the man who is doing a business that does not pay is brought to a speedy standstill, while

under a depreciating currency he is led on and on to no one knows where. For example, suppose the purchasing power of the dollar to diminish regularly about ten per cent. per annum. Then every enterprise which came out with an apparent profit of ten per cent. at the end of the year would really be yielding nothing at all, and the projectors would be simply wasting the money of their patrons.

We have here the explanation of a well-known historical fact, that eras of depreciating currency have always been eras of extravagant expenditure, to be followed by periods of long depression, from which the community recovers but slowly. Those who are familiar with the enterprises which preceded the great panic of 1837 will see that the conclusions which we have presented as natural results of the depreciating dollar are little more than a summary of the facts of our history during the years 1830 to 1837.

The effects of the appreciating dollar, such as we have had during the last ten years, are, of course, in every respect the opposite of those we have just depicted. Nominal values having "shrunk" to one half, the average man is greatly depressed at finding one half of his nominal wealth gone, though in reality he may be as rich as ever. This depression is such as would almost entirely disappear were each individual member of the community informed from day to day of the rise in the values of his dollars, and led to calculate his prosperity accordingly. We admit that the effect has been to discourage business enterprises by making them fail to pay the projectors when they really paid the community. But the purely commercial effects are not by any means the most important ones. A purely imaginary evil is changed into a real one by large classes of the community assuming it to be real, and vainly endeavoring to combat it. Should we compare the wages of labor during the last ten years with the prices of the necessities of life, we should probably find that every fall in the former was accompanied or preceded by a yet larger fall in the latter, so that in reality the power of the laborer to command the necessities of life has at no time greatly diminished. But the laborer is unmindful of this fact, and never fails to fight against the continual diminution of his nominal pay. As he was contented to share with his employer the apparent evil of a rise in the cost of his daily bread, so now he is extremely dissatisfied if he can not reap some of the advantage of a fall of prices. The necessary result is to aggravate the evil by diminished production, which again makes the necessities of life he requires yet more scarce and dear. The regular progress of society requires

the continuous and orderly coöperation of every class of producers, and, whenever one class refuses to work for such compensation as society can afford, the action of the whole machinery is disarranged, and every one suffers.

That great changes in the value of the currency, such as we have assumed for the purpose of illustration, are, on the whole, an evil, no one has ever denied. But it has been very generally maintained that the slow depreciation produced by purely natural causes is beneficial rather than prejudicial. For the reasons already assigned, we can not share this view, which amounts to saying that a slight depreciation in regard to values may be a positive benefit. Whatever benefits a small depreciation may give rise to by stimulating enterprise are, we conceive, more than compensated by its evils in leading to enterprises which do not pay, and inducing habits of extravagance by encouraging unwarranted expenditures. Our ground is, that the effects of various rates of depreciation or appreciation differ, not in kind, but only in degree, and that, in consequence, substituting a slow for a rapid depreciation greatly lessens the evil, but does not change it into a good. We conceive that it is on the whole rather better that every man should feel a little poorer than he really is than that he should feel a little richer. He thus has an inducement to save which, though it may be hard for the time being, will lay the best foundation for future prosperity. At the same time, we freely concede that an invariable standard which always gives him a correct impression, is better than either a depreciating or an appreciating one.

That a standard of value with the use of which no such thing as general fluctuations in price should be possible is one of the greatest social *desiderata* of our day, no one will deny. If commercial panics would not thereby be rendered impossible, they would certainly be shorn of more than half their terrors. But almost all practical statesmen look upon this object as so entirely unattainable, that any one proposing a method of attaining it is apt to be set down among the advocates of absolute money as a visionary enthusiast. The first and natural impression is that general fluctuations of price are as necessary as the fluctuations of supply and demand among individual commodities, which no one ever expected to prevent. Yet we can not but believe that, when the case is once clearly understood, a remedy will not seem so far beyond human ingenuity as it now does. The economist who looks upon

the question from a practical point of view will not attempt to diminish the fluctuations in the relative supply and demand of individual commodities, and will seek to prevent only those wide fluctuations in general value which really arise from the one cause of variations in the supply and demand for a circulating medium and for credit. The problem is not therefore to modify in any way the relations of commodities in general, but only to devise some means by which the supply of the single pair of twin commodities, money and credit, shall be kept uniform. In other words, all we want is a dollar of uniform value, as measured by the average of commodities.

The only means yet proposed for attaining this end is that of the establishment of a multiple standard of value. Under this system the payment of debts due at the end of long periods would be affected not by delivering an assigned weight of gold or silver coin, as under the present system, but such a quantity as would suffice to purchase a collection of miscellaneous commodities like that described in the first part of the present paper. That this system of payments would be a better one than that now adopted needs no argument; but there is a difficulty in the way of its adoption which does not appear to have been duly considered. It fails to provide for the necessary continuity of debt and credit, from day to day in time, and from class to class in society. The books of every bank show a mass of credit on the one side and of debit on the other so great that an absolutely uniform system must be kept up in discharging the one and diminishing the other. Coin dollars being the only practical medium for effecting these payments, they must remain of uniform nominal value. The result of the adoption of the multiple standard for long payments would therefore be to cause confusion in bank arrangements owing to the uncertain number of coin dollars which it might be necessary to pay or to receive. Take, for instance, the case of life-insurance companies, the business of which most requires such a standard of value as we have described. All its receipts are deposited in banks and its investments made accordingly. Special arrangements would therefore have to be made in order that by them its bank accounts, or loans on mortgages, should be adjusted to the multiple standard. It would therefore be necessary to have bank accounts in this standard, and, to avoid indefinite confusion, to extend it to the whole current business of the country. This would, however, be entirely impracticable, without some radical modification of the plan.

We conceive, however, that a modification of the plan which

shall avoid all these difficulties is perfectly practical. A multiple standard must to this extent be the basis of any practical plan : that the legal-tender dollar shall be defined as a quantity of something, no matter what, sufficient to purchase in the public markets, at average wholesale prices, a definite collection of commodities. The only trouble is, that neither the purchasing metals nor any other one commodity possesses the quality of invariableness of value to such a degree that a given weight of them will effect this purchase. A gold dollar weighing twenty-five grains will sometimes purchase more and sometimes less than the required amount. Clearly such a dollar can never afford the standard we require. But it is equally clear that if we could from time to time increase or diminish the amount of metal in the dollar, so that it would always exactly fill the required condition, we should have all that we want. We conceive that a little careful consideration will show that a result equivalent to this can be attained much more easily than would appear at first sight. The first and most obvious method of attaining the object is to issue a paper currency which shall be redeemable, not in gold dollars of fixed weight, but in such quantities of gold and silver bullion as shall suffice to make the required purchases. We have already shown that the determination of this quantity does not offer the slightest difficulty, when once a system is carefully devised. It will always be possible to have a commission, above all sinister influence, ready to report at any time precisely what weight of gold or silver bullion the Government or a bank ought to pay for its notes.

This scheme will appear less novel if we notice that it is a golden mean between two extremes, hitherto adopted not only by ourselves but by all civilized nations. One of these extremes is the redemption of the currency in coin of definite weight, the other its entire non-redemption. Is it difficult to see that redemption in a weight of coin to be fixed by the value of the latter may be equally practicable with either of these systems, and more satisfactory than either? It is impossible within the limits of a single article to work out all the details of the proposed plan. We shall, therefore, pass to a modification of it, which may involve greater difficulty, but will yield the advantage of a system of coined money.

There is no difficulty whatever in the Government changing the amount of gold in the dollar which it issues from week to week, or from month to month, so that the purchasing power of the bullion it contains shall be that of the tabular standard. The only difficulty

is that the coins already out can not be immediately altered to correspond to the change. But can not such an alteration be slowly effected? We have to consider two cases: 1. When the coins or issues are found to be above the standard, so that the amount of gold is to be diminished; 2. When they are below the standard, so that it has to be increased.

In the first case it will be found that the dollars already in the hands of the banks and the public are really worth more than the standard allows. If free coinage were continued under the new and light standard, the holders of such coins would immediately carry them to the mint to be recoined, so that the change would be rapidly effected. The better policy would, however, probably be that of our present coinage of silver dollars, the Government purchasing bullion in the market and coining the new dollars from it as long as any profit could be made by the operation. The new and light coins would then at first be as valuable as the older heavier ones, for the same reason that our silver dollar, containing only 85 cents' worth of metal, is as valuable as a gold dollar of 100 cents. But, as the amount of coin increases, the older dollar would begin to bear a premium; and, finally, when the lighter coins were sufficient in quantity, the values of the two classes would be in the ratio of their quantities of metal, and a profit could no longer be made by the operation. If this course should be deemed too slow, there would be no insuperable objection to the Government's establishing a free coinage of the new dollar, or issuing certificates on the basis of the new coinage for bullion or heavier coin deposited. The latter course would bring us substantially to the first of the above plans: that of paper money payable in a varying quantity of bullion.

For reasons already mentioned it is hardly to be expected that there will ever arise an occasion for raising the standard of gold coinage. The whole tendency of our civilization and of the increase of trade and wealth is to increase the value of gold, and we can hardly suppose that this increase will ever be changed to a rapid diminution unless new sources of supply, beyond all probability, should be discovered. Still, should the necessity arise for increasing the standard, no insuperable difficulty would arise. It would, of course, not be politic to take away or diminish the legal-tender qualities of the dollars already in circulation. Should they prove to be too light, the rule would be that no more gold should be coined except such as was up to the new standard. At first no coin of the new standard would be demanded, but, with the increase

of population and commerce, the lighter coins would gradually command a scarcity value, and would before long come up to the required value of the new coinage. They would then be worth more as a legal tender than as bullion, and it is not impossible that the profits to be made by counterfeiting would prove a serious evil.

Should this prove to be the case, there would be no difficulty in the Government's adopting a course the reverse of that recommended in case the coinage proved to be above the multiple standard, by assuming the loss upon the new coins exactly as it made the profit out of the old ones. This could be done by exchanging the new coinage for the old ones, and, if the latter did not voluntarily come in fast enough, assigning a certain time within which they must all be presented for exchange, or their legal-tender quality be lost.

We have presented all the difficulties of the case, in their worst form. They will, we conceive, prove less insuperable the more one considers the extreme facility with which the community adapt themselves to varying forms of money. To one who had never known anything but metallic money, the adoption of a paper currency would have appeared quite incredible. The proposed variable coinage is, we conceive, a far smaller variation from the regular habits of our people than a paper currency would be if introduced among a people who had never seen one. To see the importance of some system which shall recognize the variable value of the purchasing metals, we have only to reflect upon the disastrous results of these variations upon the industrial and commercial interests of every nation of the world. There is reason to believe that gold has risen at least ten per cent. in value within two or three years. This increase affects nearly every debt and every commercial transaction from the greatest to the smallest the world over. Is it possible that the nations can go forward much longer without recognizing such changes?

SIMON NEWCOMB.

III.

THE WORK AND MISSION OF MY LIFE.

PART II.

AMONG the larger German theatres that of Dresden at this time held the first rank, by the artistic value both of its capabilities and its performances. In opera, it is true that the traditions of Weber's leadership had been as good as forgotten by his successors ; but they survived as inspiring memories among the artists on the stage itself. Among the singers was Schroeder-Devrient, a woman of true dramatic genius, and Tichatschek, the marvelous tenor-hero, from whose examples the younger gifted members of the troupe could learn with excellent profit. It was with keen pleasure that I enjoyed this new atmosphere during the rehearsal of my "Rienzi"—an atmosphere which, after my Paris experiences, seemed so free and so elevated—so full of hope for my own plans. The surprisingly great success of my work with the German public brought me the position of Kapellmeister at the theatre, and the goal of my wishes seemed attained.

It is true that, in the prevailing condition of art, I had already had enough experience to show me how much was false to true artistic principles, and dependent on interests that were wholly *in-artistic* ; but even at this time I had learned so little of the chief reason for this state of things as to imagine it was only a matter of details, which a single individual, armed with the true, strong ideal spirit, could do away with or reform. I had made up my mind to enter on this task. The direction which the prevailing dramatic art had taken in its recent manifestations must be abandoned, and the public led into a nobler, more serious, purer, and, above all, *more German* school. Led by this instinctive longing to inspire others with that desire which was so strong in my own mind, for something at once more ideal and more suited to the spirit

of the race, I finished the text of my "Tannhäuser," and brought forward my opera of "The Flying Dutchman."

Even thus early I was forced to realize that I stood utterly alone in my new path, and that the tendencies which had led the public to admire my "Rienzi" led to very different goals from that toward which my efforts were directed. People had hoped to find in me a new Meyerbeer, and found themselves thrust back by my "Flying Dutchman" into the old-fashioned realm of romantic opera. The world of legend, whose treasures were so newly unlocked for me, seemed to them only the same dull theme that had pleased a bygone phase of taste. But I was not to be driven back from the way I had once taken, even by such a disappointment of my hopes. When I accepted my Dresden position I had felt myself inspired and transported by an inexpressible longing for the happy enjoyment of full artistic activity which it seemed to promise me. Now I saw that this enjoyment was only to be gained, among the elements which surrounded me, by complete submission to the fashion which prevailed in the public favor. In the conflict between my hopes and their fulfillment, my longing grew still stronger for some higher, purer atmosphere, in which my thoroughly ideal tendency might at length have free scope. It was from this feverishly exalted mood that the composition of the music of "Tannhäuser" sprung.

In the mean time I had exerted myself with all my strength, and with all the influence my position could give, to effect a worthy revival of the masterpieces of our great past. The symphonies of Beethoven, the operas of Gluck, Mozart, and Weber, had degenerated into utter distortion in the hands of unintelligent directors. But this distortion had long become the habit of the time, and had the weight of authority upon its side. I, who had already presented myself as an advocate for new methods in my own works, had now to put myself in opposition to the prevailing taste by advocating changes in the traditional rendering of the works of our great masters. It is true that, in my efforts for the restoration of a pure style in this rendering, I received abundant encouragement both from the musicians who took part in it and from the general public, which was really attracted by it. But a school of criticism which dominated taste and judgment in the public press seized upon my performances, and began the conflict which, for a score of years since then, has been kept up against my work and efforts, with all the bitterness and recklessness which still distinguish it. Through the influence of this criticism, often guided by the pettiest and most

doubtful motives, the public has been almost entirely prevented from exercising anything like a spontaneous, independent judgment; the good results which the individual secured could not, amid such trammels, have their effect upon the mass. The more I found that individuals were deeply affected by my own works, or by my rendering of older music, and ranked themselves among the number of my true friends, the more I was compelled to acknowledge that there was no general audience to which I could turn for sympathy with my aims. The German people had not yet rediscovered its own nature, although "German freedom" and "German unity" were becoming more and more the current phrases of its political enthusiasm.

It was in the ironical mood resulting from all this—that sense of irony that possesses the artist who sees himself and his ideals placed before a public that misunderstands him and a criticism utterly hostile—that the sketch of my "Meistersinger" first took shape, during a vacation which I spent at a Bohemian summer resort. But, almost at the same time, the yearning that still burned in my heart for that general appreciation, the absence of which I felt so deeply, led me to write the text of "Lohengrin." But the first production of "Tannhäuser," taking place in Dresden soon after this, with the utterly confused impression it produced, answered my longing by showing me decisively the impossibility of fulfilling it in the sphere in which I was then placed. Here, where the richest accessories of the grand opera were once more employed in the production of a great drama, the difference between what I had a right to expect and what was actually at my command became all the more distinctly visible. Those effects which people were accustomed to see brilliantly given in the "great historical opera" would not serve for a thoroughly earnest, ideal, legendary theme, romantic even to the verge of the marvelous, with which the public had no real sympathy—though it did not refuse its applause at the presentation of my work, and showed a remarkable interest in its peculiar newness and strangeness. Or, I should rather say, that even while the audience might have taken a general human interest in the acceptance of the drama as a drama, such an acceptance was from the beginning made impossible by the idea that it was *not* a drama they had made up their minds to see, but only an "opera," in which the chief point was only the gratification of the sense of hearing—in which it was especially the enjoyment of the all-dominating art of the aria-singer that they looked for. I saw that, in order really to

please this modern operatic public, I must be other than what I was, and could not be what I would ; and I felt no less distinctly that my very position made it a necessity that here, as before, for the mere sake of earning my living, I should have to keep my true nature and opinions behind a detestable mask of hypocrisy and social conventionalism. A bitter scorn of such necessities came over me ; and the more clearly I beheld the light of the ideal, the more distinctly I saw the course that I must take, the more keenly I realized that in the existing condition of the modern stage the trouble was not with details, but with the whole structure. I perceived that the character of theatrical art sprang from the character of the public ; that the character of the public sprang from the whole social life of the modern world ; and that I was utterly foreign to this world, both as an artist and as a German.

In the midst of this bitterness against the existing condition of things, I found myself amid the general revolutionary spirit which was growing stronger and stronger all around me, and which now enlisted my zealous sympathy. In my belief, it was only by a complete change in all those political and social relations, of which the degradation of art was a fitting manifestation, that an artistic revival, and especially a revival of the drama, was to be brought about. In civilization, as it then existed, the stage only played the part of a pleasant source of enlivenment for social *ennui* ; yet even thus it seemed to me that, if it were once under elevated and artistic guidance, it might have an elevating influence on a public which, by its means, might be gradually led away from all that was evil, commonplace, frivolous, and false. To prove that this was possible by a complete reformation, now became my task, as the possibility of a genuine change in the constitution of society suddenly seemed revealed to me.* As an artist, I felt myself impelled to represent, in this new aspect of affairs, the so easily forgotten or neglected rights of art. That my plan of reform, already thought out down to the smallest practical detail, would only be received in scornful silence by the existing government administration of art-matters was, of course, evident to me. I turned, therefore, to the new movement that was so full of promise for my scheme.

But, after a brief consideration of its methods, a feeling of doubt began to trouble me, as to whether the purely human element

* The reference here is to the revolutionary movement of 1848-'49, with its schemes of social reform, then just impending.

that was at the foundation of the revolution would not be lost sight of amid the prevailing disputes of parties as to the value of different forms of government—the difference between which was, after all, only a matter of preference. It seemed to me that from this basis of general human interests a new civilization might spring which would make men truly free, and which might reach its noblest height in that pure and humanizing art which would be its natural outgrowth. The only element in history which had always attracted and inspired me had been this effort of the race to mutiny against the tyranny of a traditional and legalized formalism; and I could see no triumph of this impulse of the natural man in the mere victory of one party over another. When I saw that this idea of mine, as to what should be the essential motive of a revolution, was utterly misunderstood by the politicians, whose efforts were limited to the temporary interests of the moment only, I once more turned my back on the realities of things, and sought my ideal world again. I endeavored more earnestly than ever, in my art, to reach the only standard which I acknowledged—that of the free, strong, and noble man as Nature made him.

It is only in the pure *Mythos* that this true human element presents itself to the men of every age alike—in the simplest, clearest, most typical forms, and in an atmosphere of thoroughly natural feelings and sympathies, divested of every abstraction and conventionality. And the natural man, so figured, always the same and independent of the lapse of time, can only express himself in the language of *music*, whose utterance of absolute emotion may be limited and receive its application to some one individual object, by being joined to the poetry of a drama as simple and as entirely human as itself. A natural mythic drama of this kind, as it grew up in my mind from the study of our noblest national legend, the “Nibelungen,” now began to occupy my thoughts—though it could only come into real existence in an atmosphere very different from that of any operatic stage that then existed. I imagined such a drama as an art-work which should embody the ideal spirit of the nation; which should present the purely natural human being in his state of absolute freedom; and for which the present revolutionary movement had certainly given me no suggestion whatever. At this moment when, in the midst of my effort to reach the highest realization of my art, I was turning away from the life around me, came the outbreak in Dresden itself, in the year 1849. It appealed to me more than ever in my capacity of *artist*—for with its politi-

cal side, as such, I had, really and in my inmost nature, nothing in common. The one thing for which I must ever thank this current of events, in which I suddenly found myself involved as in a wretched dream, was what I longed for both as a man and as an artist—liberty. The spirit in which I welcomed this period as the time which was to break my bonds for ever, led me out of the world of politics (though in the guise of a political refugee), and sent me into exile.

While in Germany the unsuccessful revolution yielded to a new reaction, I found at last, in the perfect freedom of my exile's home in Switzerland, full and undisturbed opportunity for self-communion and for the uninterrupted contemplation of my ideals. Completely shut off from the atmosphere of the modern stage, I felt myself impelled to write—to set forth clearly and explain, if only for my own sake, that enigmatical law of my being which, in its efforts to formulate itself, had brought me into such a strange relation to the art and life of my time. In my first published work, "*Kunst und Revolution*" (*Art and Revolution*), I pointed out the connection I had recognized, between the state of art and the social and political condition of the modern world. The life of the Greeks served me as the most enduring and brilliant example of such a connection. It was with the union of all the different methods of artistic expression in the noble, finished art-work of its tragic drama, that this people had celebrated, in reverent concord, the divine rites of its strong and noble Hellenic nature. I followed the decline of art that accompanied the decline of Greek influence: I showed how, degenerating under Roman civilization and rejected by the spirit of Christianity, it could no longer, after its revival at the time of the Renaissance, be said to be the free and natural expression of the national life of any one great people—how it was forced to sacrifice its noblest value and its true popular spirit, first to the service of the caprices and the wealth of princes and aristocrats, and then to the influence of trade and the hypocrisies of modern society. It is true that, with the downfall of the old inhuman institution of slavery and the spread of the Christian idea of the equality of men, true art found a nobler and broader domain spread before it, in which it might for the first time have attained its highest success as an embodiment of the ideas of the free man in his true and untrammelled relations to his kind. But such a civilization, founded upon liberty, has never come fully into being. The modern man is neither a free nor a consistent being. A thousand

different interests divide his shifting life and fill him with perpetual unrest; and it is only in their common slavery to the power of social shams and social necessities that men are really equal. Only some great revolution of humanity at large could make the true liberty of the individual possible; and only a revolutionary movement in such a sense, with such a motive, could be of any saving worth to a true art.

But such an art, which should be the highest ideal expression of a universal and really human civilization, was only conceivable to me, again, in the form of that greatest artistic creation which portrays human life by the aid of all the lesser arts united—a work like the Greek tragedy. The division of it into independent and separately developing branches had been a process that had gone hand in hand with the breaking up of the whole fabric of the ancient state; and these separate branches, though their special capabilities be elaborated to the point of virtuosity, have never, by themselves, been able to attain the importance of that lost great national art. They became more and more a hot-house form of noble luxury for amateurs and *cognoscenti*; or at the most it was only from this beginning that they could reach the public as a form of enjoyment. And the public never recognized in them the embodiment of its own national or even its general human nature, but rather a method of making known its finer special and artistic “culture.”

Yet, on the other hand, there seemed to me, in the freest and most vigorous branches of this system of special arts—in poetry and music—a strong tendency toward the reunion of their different methods of expression into a great united art-work, which should represent man at his best, and independent of times and fashions. I saw this in Beethoven’s symphonies, in which a seeking for some distinct embodiment of their infinite expression in spoken language showed itself in the adoption of the singing of Schiller’s “Hymn to Joy” (at the close of the “Ninth Symphony”). Opposed to this ideal development, on the other hand, I saw the *false* union of the two arts set forth in the opera. Here there was only a sort of artificial partnership (by contract, as it were), in order to produce, by the association of the properties of the two, an especially effective form of pleasure—something quite different from the united art-work I had in mind; yet the mass of the public understood by the word “opera” nothing more than this. I myself had started from this artificial, traditional operatic form; but I had grown more and more

to make the *dramatic* aim the chief one, the perfect expression of which it was the part of all artistic forces to further ; and I had sought more and more to give to this object its completest possible embodiment in music. And thus, through my own experience as a creative composer and poet, I had come to the unavoidable recognition of that ideal form of art in which alone the general human element, the greatest subject of all artistic effort, could most perfectly set forth its universal artistic meaning. It was true that in this I found myself in sharp opposition to the ordinary ideas held by the inartistic spirit of my time ; but I felt myself involuntarily in inmost sympathy with the noblest beliefs and efforts of those artists of the past who had thus far been, in their noble isolation, the only true representatives of art in the higher sense. This recognition of my purpose I now set forth in two further publications—in “*Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft*” (the Art-Work of the Future) and “*Oper und Drama*” (Opera and Drama) ; and sought to reduce it, in my own consciousness, to completeness even in details.

My literary attempt to set myself right with the world, and to explain these ideals of mine, could only be looked upon in my own country as the outpourings of an eccentric opera-composer—performances to be as promptly as possible consigned to oblivion, and coming from a man whom the fever of the revolution had hurried into the wildest fancies, and whose exile, besides, had already put a complete end to his possibilities as an artist. And I was in a fair way to become utterly isolated in my new home, and to be driven back to absolute despair as to my own life, by that craving that is always active in the human mind for some possibility of communicating its feelings to a sympathetic intelligence, when suddenly the most brilliant hopes were rekindled in me by a miracle—by the discovery, at the same time that I had found a new home for my art, of a new—and only—artist-friend. In Weimar, the little poet-town of Thuringia, something had happened which was to have the most important and lasting effect upon my art-life. A great artist who understood me and my work fully and thoroughly—FRANZ LISZT—had for the first time produced my “*Lohengrin*,” which I had already learned to lament over as a work the hope of whose appearance must be finally abandoned. His genius had supplied all that was lacking in means and fit surroundings, and had made the performance of my work a thoroughly spirited and just one. This bold venture was the beginning of the formation of an association of friends and co-workers which at first clustered around the hon-

ored person of that great master. Taught and encouraged by him, a band of adherents sprang up to support my aims in art, neglected and despised though they were by the world at large. Though my writings might not be read in Germany, and my works never produced there, here was a true art-life for me ; here was the foundation laid for a future ; here was something beginning to develop which might give me a hopeful presage of my long-dreamed-of idea of a nation art-inspired. And from this circle there now came to me my friend's appeal to finish for him, and for this people gathered about him, my new work formed from the vast material of the Nibelungen legend—my tragedy of "Siegfried."

It was with new zest that I now carried out my plan of embodying in complete poetic form, in three dramas and a prelude, the whole wide-embracing scheme of the Nibelungen-myth. And thus the trilogy of the "Ring des Nibelungen" (the Ring of the Nibelungs) came into being, with its four parts—"Rheingold," the "Walküre," "Siegfried," and the "Götterdämmerung." And in the actual carrying out of my undertaking I became once more the true, untrammelled artist, unfettered by any hesitation or questioning. Since I had freed my mind of all doubt and confusion by my theoretical writings, I was now once more able to go on in the way I had begun, with an artist's confidence, to embody my ideas in the form I had myself thought out. As I went on with the work itself, the way in which it must some time be presented also took shape in my mind. And when I thought of the one single possibility of an appreciative auditor offered by my friend, and imagined this expanded into a *general* appreciation, my boldly conceived plan of representation no longer seemed to me a mere picture of fancy—even though at that time exactly the opposite of that general appreciation prevailed all around me, with the single exception of that little company of adherents. I went on to the musical composition with the consciousness that I was creating a work the actual performance of which could only take place entirely outside of the ordinary circle of stage capabilities. But for this very reason it seemed to me that it would be a true and normal example of what alone I understood by a truly *universal* dramatic art in its noblest form. This example should be free from all the inartistic influences and dependencies of the wretched conventional stage, which was only able day after day to offer its gaudy attractions to a public made up of the most diverse elements and utterly without artistic sense—and to present them in a transient shape that was

devoid of any artistic value. This example should stand by itself, completely independent; and its representations, in the form of great art festivals, should be undertaken without regard to any material reward, for the benefit of a multitude assembled only for the distinct purpose of artistic enjoyment. In this shape there appeared to my imagination an entirely new dramatic institution, designed for the perfect development and worthy presentation of *pure art*—by which the whole conception of art in general might be raised once more to the full dignity which belonged to it, through the fact that there alone its masterpieces, degraded in the every-day public service into mere styleless and tasteless performances, would be given in the form that truly befitted them, under the exercise of an undisturbed, earnest, intelligent, and careful supervision. If I found myself compelled to acknowledge that the free, universal culture that I had once dreamed of was unattainable, it seemed to me all the nobler thing to do, to strengthen or even to awaken, by such an example of a true art-work, a conception of the true meaning of art among all those who could comprehend it. Then, by the gradual winning over of the public who would be attracted by it, the richly gifted national mind might be aided to elevate its standards, to free itself from its fetters—that national intellect which now, amid its many trammels and the coarseness of the realistic influences that surrounded it, threatened only to sink into deeper and deeper degeneracy. With the announcement of the plan of such an art festival, which at that time could only seem as extraordinary and fantastic as my dreams of a revolution, I took my leave of my friends as a writer, and began the composition of the “*Rheingold*,” finished the “*Walküre*,” and went on to the completion of the music of the “*Siegfried*,” undisturbed by the opinion which the multitude must have of an artist who believed that he had discovered, in his ideal world, the one possible way in which he could at last worthily unite it with the world of reality.

And indeed during this very period there seemed to me to be actually growing up, in an oddly roundabout way, such a connection between the ideal and the real. While I was still at work on my “*Nibelungen*” composition, I heard that my earlier operas, in spite of all the hostile attempts that had been made to put them down, were making progress and spreading among the German theatres, and winning more and more the hearty friendship of the public. On the one hand, this served to fill me with new hopes that a generally sympathetic spirit might be growing up to aid in the carry-

ing out of my great plan. But, on the other hand, it could not but disquiet me to see this effect produced by performances of my works over which I had not exercised the least supervision. They had been brought out by Kapellmeisters altogether unpracticed in my style and methods, and had been rehearsed and performed in the ordinary transient course of their theatres' *répertoire*, with all manner of tasteless abridgment. What I had striven for—the development of a pure style of artistic presentation—was thus utterly neglected. It was evident that the confusion and misunderstanding would be all the greater when I should come before a public which had become accustomed to my compositions in such distorted shape, with such great demands as I proposed to make upon them for the true and fitting presentation of my new work. All this decided me to venture once more to bring my productions before a German audience, now that it at last looked upon me in a more friendly spirit. And another feeling added its force to these motives. It was eight years since I had enjoyed the inspiring excitement of hearing one of my own works produced. Indeed, shut out from Germany as I was, I had never yet heard my “Lohengrin.” It was very natural, therefore, that I should long for the possibility of renewing, before too great an interval, the strengthening and inspiring enjoyment of listening to a really artistic and truthful performance of some sort. It was this motive that induced me, after long and uninterrupted labor on my “Nibelungen” composition, which seemed so little likely to gain an early hearing, to put together the scheme of my “Tristan und Isolde,” which had long been in my mind. I could venture to hope that the peculiar style of this work, as soon as I should be in a position to exercise a direct supervision over its production, would give the public some idea of the nature of the greater effort which I had in prospect. But even now I could not succeed in securing permission to return to Germany for this purpose. I was still banished, with my art for a companion, and, if I would not be separated from this also, I felt that I must once more appeal to a public outside of my own country.

Thus, in the year 1860, I found myself once more in Paris. For the second time I believed that it was only there that I could find the atmosphere which was so necessary to the success of my art—that element which it so needed. I did not succeed in bringing out my works with the German troupe I had selected for them, and in giving a thoroughly excellent performance ; but at the Emperor's special order the doors of the Grand Opera—once the goal of my desires—

were at last opened to my "Tannhäuser." The fate of this undertaking taught me, however, that the school which I was striving to introduce could only succeed where the modern theory had not gained so firm a footing as it had here in the very essence of French art. Here were traditions and conventions so fixed and firm that the attempt to give success to my entirely German work, which made no concessions to them, was a failure, in spite of the aid of talented French friends among the artists, and in spite, too, of the special sympathy of those in power, which for the first time in my life I now found upon my side—even to the imperial authority itself.

And now a limited and provisional permission was given me by the authorities at home to show myself again in Germany, and as a German. It was a matter of course that, with such a permission, it must be long before I could even approach the fulfillment of my wishes—that I had before me years of wandering in my own country, without being able to bring even so much as my new work "Tristan" to a performance upon any German stage; and after my experience in Paris I felt more than ever the special curse of the German artist—that of having no power behind him—of finding that his effort for the elevation of his art is taken only for personal ambition. On the publication of the text of my "Nibelungen" I made application to the authorities, who could alone make possible the realization of my dream. My application remained unanswered; and, abandoning all hope of succeeding in my art or my ideals, I sought only for some quiet place where I could set to work on a new composition—the "Meistersinger."

Suddenly, as though by a miracle, the very power I was longing for came to my help, and offered me the boon of the highest and the most ideal aid I could desire. In the year 1864 the young King of Bavaria gave me a new home in his capital at Munich. My anxious application had been answered better than I could have dreamed.

In North Germany, Prussia had gained from the "War of Liberation" one treasure which it looked upon as priceless—the formation of a German army—and this treasure it had preserved and developed. But, while all its care was devoted to this one precious possession, it saw only the material needs of its great state. Here in the south, on the other hand, the Bavarian Government seemed to have made it its special task to preserve and increase the *ideal* treasures of the nation. King Ludwig I. had devoted

his attention especially to the encouragement of the arts of painting and sculpture. His successor, King Max, had sought in true princely fashion to promote a general high standard of culture among his officials, and to further in every way the progress of learning. And now that his brilliant young son took for his special province the encouragement of those most neglected yet most important branches of art—the drama and music—this effort to elevate æsthetic culture became more marked than ever; this attempt to aid one of the most characteristic and noblest powers of the German mind to develop freely and healthily. I pointed out these encouraging signs in a work of considerable length, which I published at this time—“*Deutsche Kunst und Deutsche Politik*” (German Art and German Politics).

Great plans had been made and were to be realized in Munich. It had been determined that the festival I had thought of, as an example of a noble and pure performance of a representative art-work, should actually take place, and that my own “*Nibelungen*,” designed especially for such an occasion, should be brought out. An architect, especially skilled in such matters, was applied to to construct an auditorium, in which the disturbing effect of *seeing* the orchestra at work should be as much as possible diminished, while the beauty and clearness of the music produced by it should be rather increased than lessened; and, further, to design a building in which a drama could be produced amid such accessories as should give it a true æsthetic value hitherto lacking in stage effects and decoration. More than this, I was to choose the best artists from the German operatic companies; and these were to assemble, at appointed times, to rehearse the work with the special object of this model performance in view, and to study it untrammelled by outside influences. The prospective repetition of such festivals would form the basis of a dramatic and musical institution whose influence must have a most favorable effect upon German art in general, hitherto entirely without such a standard as this would furnish.

In order that such an institution might have a really secure foundation, however, I had first to consider what was especially indispensable to its success—the ability of the artists whom I should bring together, to perform a task which had never yet been set before them in earnest. The proper training of the voices of such singers as possessed the necessary dramatic powers was, of course, the most important thing; for no branch of musical education is so

much neglected in Germany as dramatic singing—its development according to true art principles being made practically impossible by the confusion of styles inevitable to an ordinary operatic *répertoire*. In instrumental music, too, for which Germans have such a peculiar talent, a thorough reform was needed; for, though we undoubtedly possess the greatest classic works that exist in this branch of the art, we have as yet no truly classic *methods* in their production.

My first task, then, was to draw up a detailed plan for the foundation of a complete musical school, in which alone the proposed art institution could find its proper starting-point, and from which it could be continually renewed. It was only by such thorough preparation that music, our peculiarly German branch of art, and the drama which is naturally developed from it, could hope to find their highest realization in producing the works of the great masters, and those of such of their successors as preserved the German style in its purity—only by such means that they could secure a development which should truly represent them, and should be above all contingencies and beyond all limitations.

When I came forward with this project, it seemed as though all the influences represented in our press and our society united in the bitterest opposition to my work and to the plan I had joined with it for the permanent and worthy encouragement of German art. Amid the enmity thus let loose against me, none of all my schemes could be realized, save a single performance of my “Tristan”—a performance whose beauty I can never forget—when it had in the cast the great singer Schnorr, whose personal efforts in the work of developing German vocal music were felt to be indispensable. His sudden death was an omen of the early wreck of all our hopes and plans. Coming from those circles in which the genius of German art was so misunderstood that it seemed to have only the effect of a horrible phantom upon them, the stream of malicious and envious intrigue rose higher and higher against our nobly-conceived and nobly-intended project. I was forced to acknowledge that it was impossible, under such circumstances, to work with what we had, and at the same time to create new material. After an admirable production, at the Munich court-theatre, of the “Meistersinger von Nürnberg,” which I had finished in the mean time (1867), I retired from all attempts at public work, and once more returned to my lonely home in Switzerland, to finish my “Nibelungen” trilogy, which had now been laid aside for nearly ten years. Its completion

enabled me to dedicate it to the ever-faithful protector and patron of my art. The fact that by his care my material wants were now for the first time securely provided for, made it possible for me to leave it quietly to the fates whether they would ever bring the favorable moment for the realization of my scheme; when suddenly and unexpectedly this moment came—brought by the great events of Germany's successful war against the French, and by the national unity brought about by the great struggle in the year 1871.

What German was not roused into enthusiasm by the marvelous experiences of that year of war—into enthusiastic joy at the glorious revelation which they brought us of German courage, wisdom, dignity, and greatness! The almost despairing genius of the race saw at length a living bond grow up between the unconquered and nobly united strength of the people and the strength of its princes and leaders—a strength which showed itself nowhere more plainly than in the admirable military use it made of this abundant force which the people offered. Full of hope for the fruitful result of this new national life in the even more important work of peace, and so also in the work of a true national art, the German artist hastened back to his own country, which now seemed to him to represent for the first time the true ideal of a Fatherland. In the very midst of the newly-united empire, the kindly citizens of the beautiful and historically famous town of Baireuth offered me a perfect place for the carrying out of the great project of my life. Here, on the open hillside above the quiet old German town, and far from all the tumult of the world that could disturb the peaceful toil of art, my undertaking would be safe from the influences of inartistic surroundings, and could go on independently and safely to its completion. The corner-stone of the festival theatre (*Festspielhaus*) was laid there, on the hill in Baireuth, in the year 1872, amid hopeful and joyful anticipations, and surrounded by a large circle of my friends and adherents; and the day was celebrated by the rendering of Beethoven's "Ninth Symphony"—itself the ideal corner-stone of that national art which was here to give to the victorious German people the first actual example of a great festal presentation of its results—of a perfected dramatic-musical performance.

If it had happened in France, at the time of its greatest national glory, that, in a similar case, an artist already worthily known by his works had sought to found an institution of great national importance, for the preservation and encouragement of the noblest art of the great masters of his race, and had appealed for aid to the

assistance of his people—in such a case it can hardly be doubted that the *state* also would have done its best to help him. In France there would have been at least such a degree of intelligent understanding of his aims as would have made it clear that here was something designed to give a peculiarly characteristic exhibition of the nation's powers ; and that the successful completion of such an undertaking would be a distinguished national honor. Nothing like that which I had planned, and at length, with the help of enthusiastic friends, had confidently begun, had ever been ventured upon before ; and it would have been amply worthy of the support of our young imperial Government, which could not have inaugurated its brilliant reign more gloriously than by such support freely given to a purely ideal object, and for a purely ideal motive. This might have been the more confidently looked for, inasmuch as the German people itself is poor, and never has large means at command for satisfying its ideal wants (in spite of the fact that the ideal side of the German character has always found among the people its greatest representatives and apostles) ; while the Government, on the other hand, was at this moment rich even to superfluity by the terms of its treaty with its conquered neighbor.

But the powers that ruled in Germany, neglectful as ever of the interest of true art, saw in my efforts now, as they had always seen before, nothing but the expression of the most extreme personal ambition ; and in the institution which I had planned nothing but the extravagant demands of an extraordinary and unusual presentation of my own works, for my own selfish aggrandizement. The attainment of my end was therefore left entirely to me and to my friends. It was only through the self-sacrificing efforts of these latter, who founded, in the different towns in which they lived, societies in aid of my purpose and known by my name, that, in the long four years that passed before its completion, enough money was raised to finish the theatre-building as it had been originally designed. And even then the great festival performance destined to take place there could never have been carried out had not my adherents, powerless as they were in this respect, received the assistance of that other noble friend, who now came personally and generously to the aid of an enterprise that had so often been upon the verge of failure. Never has such a work been carried out amid greater difficulties and anxieties, or amid more petty hindrances, than beset this “ideal theatre” at Baireuth, and the voluntary assembling in it of all that could be most carefully chosen from the best resources of the stage,

for the first production of a great German dramatic festival—a performance that, in spite of all its trammels, was essentially in accord with true art principles—the thrice-repeated presentation of the four parts of my “Ring des Nibelungen,” in the summer of the year 1876.

The performance of the trilogy evidently produced upon its audience, which was made up of the most widely different elements, a more than ordinary effect. The exceptional circumstances under which it took place, giving it the air of a solemn festival; the two years’ careful preparation of the chosen body of performers, for a unity of style in their performance which would have been impossible in the ordinary course of their occupation; the unusual and, in its general effect, imposing design of the theatre, in which the individual novel features all proved excellent parts of the whole; and especially the mystic and ideally pure tones of the invisible orchestra, and the perfectly unobstructed view of the stage from all sides of the broad amphitheatre—all these things united to produce a deep impression of something quite outside the ordinary course—an effect which showed itself distinctly in the call at once made for a repetition of the performance. It was noteworthy that this call was everywhere addressed to me personally, and referred only to the enjoyment given by my “Nibelungen.” It was clear that my real more than *personal* object was even now not understood; and even now, not a single branch of government authority—even in view of this successful result—could be induced to make an effort to turn what had thus been shown to be entirely possible, to the lasting good of national art. That which individual German love of art had achieved in one isolated instance, found in the new empire no kindred soil where, despite all the political changes that had come about, there seemed to be the least thought of attempting to foster the revival of that German genius which had lain dormant for half a century. The public at large, too, seemed well content, as the “Nibelungen” passed from stage to stage of the German city theatres, played without the least conception of its true requirements. Here, generally disfigured by abridgment, and presented among surroundings for which it had never been designed, it soon won such hearty applause that it seemed incomprehensible why any one should think of repeating it, especially in Baireuth!

And now, precisely when it seemed to me most necessary to go on earnestly with the institution I had planned for giving regularly repeated model performances, I found myself saddled with a diffi-

cult task, which, like everything else, I was left alone to carry out—I had personally to make up the considerable deficit which had remained after the production of the trilogy had been achieved with such difficulty. Once more concerts must be given, concessions must be made, and agreements entered into, which spoiled for me the ideal pleasure I had had in my work, at the very moment when I was generally envied for the brilliant result of my energy, and when people, taking no account of the aims I had carefully explained to them so long before, were saying with surprise that *now*, at least, they should suppose I might be content with what I had achieved.

In the midst of all the evils which I have here only suggested, I had not for a moment lost sight of my ideal object. I would never have undertaken mere repetitions of extraordinary dramatic and musical festivals, such as the public called for, unless guarantees had been given me that such repetitions should form a part of that organized institution which I had in mind—which would make not only isolated performances possible, but would establish a regular system of training for the production of all the masterpieces of our art. Once more, therefore, I brought forward the plan of a kind of training-school, in which young musicians desirous of improvement should be invited to enroll themselves for practice under my leadership—at first in what was now so completely wanting, the true and artistic rendering of the symphonic works of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. After the accomplishment of this pleasant task, they were, if possible, to go on, with the assistance of singers of merit, to take up the older dramatic works of our composers—now so wretchedly hurried over in our oddly-mixed operatic *répertoires*—and to rehearse them with the utmost care. By this natural and normal progress I hoped once more to attain, with rightly-developed strength, the point necessary for a truly great festival performance, for which I offered to finish my “Parsifal,” a work which I had begun just after the production of the “Nibelungen,” in accordance with a scheme I had for some time had in mind.

As the result of an appeal which I issued in the autumn of 1877, this much was finally accomplished: the different societies already formed were united into a general association, having its central point at Baireuth, whose members were to have, in consideration of a small yearly contribution (fifteen marks), the exclusive right to attend the rehearsals as well as the performances; while the greater voluntary contributions of friends of larger means were to establish a permanent fund as the lasting basis of the under-

taking. After my previous experience, all further attempt to secure aid from government sources was abandoned. To gain the assistance of the German public at large for the purposes of the association, I found it necessary to make the new festival-piece, my "Parsifal," a somewhat nearer object of expectation—to place it, in fact, in immediate prospect. And this new promise had so favorable an effect, that in the year since it was made our *Patronatsverein* has increased to the number of sixteen hundred members, in more than two hundred cities in Germany and elsewhere. In order to make it possible to carry out my ideas as I have just explained them, even this membership must be trebled; or else a considerable capital must be placed at our disposal from some source or other—a fund the interest of which would be sufficient to pay the expenses of yearly practice-meetings and of perhaps triennial performances, and which must be supplied without regard to any means received from the participation of the public.

Could this be had, the institution toward which all the efforts of my life have been given might be completely and permanently secured. But, though the sum needed is not relatively a large one, it must needs seem so to the powers who could grant it to us, for they have not learned the importance of the ideal element in the culture of their people. Perhaps the moment will come when some man of more than ordinary character, placed in a position of authority, will say to himself that after all it is an irresponsible way of using money, to spend enough of it every year to support dry seminaries which shut their doors, with the stolid obstinacy that is the cause of their own unfruitfulness, against all the influences of a living art—or to maintain court theatres which, unworthy of their name, are given over to commonplace rivalry with the lowest class of theatrical speculators; while those who do all this refuse to appropriate anything whatever toward a single attempt to secure a permanent institution, which has had its origin in a true artistic purpose, which seeks to preserve forever a most characteristic manifestation of the German mind—to preserve the great, incomparable art of our great masters, that it may awaken a true appreciation of the nature and worth of that art in the nation that gave those masters being! At all events, the experience of a long life has taught me to my sorrow that the earnest support of such a purely ideal cause cannot be expected from the people at large, as it exists to-day in our united Germany. German art will never be placed in a position of security by the voluntary act of the German

nation, but will be led thither by the accident of some single, individual aid.

But I turn aside from these discouraging experiences, to find a pleasanter ending for my paper. A former esteemed representative of the United States at the German Court once assured me that, when the people of his country should find time to devote themselves seriously to æsthetic culture, my art would prove the first of all to appeal to the heart of the young nation. I was reminded of these words when, just before the centennial celebration of the foundation of the Republic, the request reached me from America that I would compose a festival march for the great jubilee. It was with special pleasure that I undertook the task—giving to the work the motto (from Goethe's "Faust") that seemed best to point to my ideal for the American Union :

"He only has true liberty—true life—
To whom they are the prize of daily strife."

And my composition seems to have been received with a thorough understanding of my aim ; for in a notice of its performance, which was sent to me, it was pointed out that precisely that quality of *ideal energy*, which I had endeavored to express in my music, was the form of highest development which the American character should set before it as its goal.

Among the guests at the performance of my trilogy, too, were many from beyond the ocean, who came hoping to hear something which, it is true, they could not find presented to them at home, but which the atmosphere of a traditional system of false culture had not made it impossible for them to enjoy.

It is said that your famous General Grant once prophesied that all the world would some day speak one language. It would only seem possible, at first thought, to conceive of such a language as a kind of universal jargon made up of all manner of heterogeneous ingredients, and equivalent to the destruction of all strong idiomatic expression, and so of all that art which lives only in speech. But those who stood by, at the laying of the corner-stone of my theatre, and heard the singing of "Seid umschlungen, Millionen," in the closing chorus of Beethoven's symphony, could make a similar yet widely different prophecy. They could see that Grant's words might be fulfilled in another fashion than that which the distinguished American had in mind. Such a fulfillment, in fact, we see already : *German music* already unites the nations of the

world—even to those beyond the sea—by an ideal bond. Our great masters, by those noble works which have won the admiration of all lands, have made it certain that this alone can ever be the true, natural, living world-language. And let us, who look back to them with heartfelt reverence, see to it that we reach that ideal toward which I have striven unceasingly throughout my life. Let us see to it that the original, pure, vigorous style of this great German music—and of that visible form, the universal drama, in which its spirit is best revealed—shall be preserved to it ; so that the influence of the German mind, upon a world which will always need that influence, shall not be perverted and false and therefore worthless, but true, noble, and vigorous, and therefore in the highest degree salutary, beneficent, and broadening in its effects.

Such is the wish and hope of the German artist who has here sought to give, to such sympathetic readers as he may find beyond the sea, the story of his ideal and the story of his life ; and who now bids them farewell, in the hope that they and he may some time meet again, as earnest co-workers in the domain of ideal, spiritual progress.

RICHARD WAGNER.

IV.

THE DIARY OF A PUBLIC MAN.

UNPUBLISHED PASSAGES OF THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE
AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

PART II.

THE IGNOMINIOUS NIGHT-RIDE FROM HARRISBURG.

Washington, February 24th.—Since I sat and listened to the silvery but truly satanic speech of Senator Benjamin, on his taking leave of the Senate three weeks ago, nothing has affected me so painfully as this most unfortunate night-trip of Mr. Lincoln's from Harrisburg here. It is in every imaginable way a most distressing and ill-advised thing, and I can scarcely trust myself to think of it, even here alone in my room. Mr. Seward feels about it as I do, though he affects, with his usual and rather exasperating assumption of levity, to laugh it off. But it has shaken my confidence, and it will shake the confidence of a good many more people in the reality of his influence over this strange new man from the West. It gives a weight and importance of the most dangerous sort, too, to the stories which the opponents of a peaceful and satisfactory adjustment have been so sedulously putting about in regard to the disposition of the border States, and particularly of Maryland; and it can not fail to excite a most mischievous feeling of contempt for the personal character of Mr. Lincoln himself throughout the country, especially at the South, where it is most important that people should at this moment have been made to understand that the new Administration comes into power in the ordinary legitimate way, and will be presided over by a man of law and order, who has confidence in himself, in the people of the country, and in the innate loyalty of Americans to the law. I do not believe one word of the

cock-and-bull story of the Italian assassins, which Mr. Seward told me to-day had been communicated to Mr. Lincoln as coming from General Scott; and it was clear to me that Mr. Seward himself did not believe one word of it. Even with the brief glimpse I got in New York of Mr. Lincoln, I am slow to believe in his being so weak and vulgar a man as this performance indicates, and I am satisfied that some extraordinary pressure must have been exerted upon him to make him do a thing which, at any time, would have been deplorable and scandalous, and which appears to me, happening at this moment, to be nothing less than calamitous. I can think of nothing else. It really throws the whole machinery of our system off its center. Are we really drifting into the wake of Spanish America? This can not be; and yet, when we have reached a point at which an elected President of the United States consents to be smuggled through by night to the capital of the country, lest he should be murdered in one of the chief cities of the Union, who can blame the rest of the world for believing that we are a failure, or quarrel with desperadoes, like Wigfall, for taking it for granted? It is sickening.

THE BLAIRS AS MR. LINCOLN'S EVIL GENIUS.

Washington, February 25th.—A visit this morning from Senator Douglas, and who is as much concerned as I am at the turn affairs are taking. He feels exactly as I do over this wretched smuggling business; and both startles and shocks me by what he tells me of Mr. Seward's share in it, asserting positively, as of his own knowledge, that, at the urgent request of General Scott, Mr. Seward sent his son to Mr. Lincoln at Philadelphia, to impress upon him and his friends the imminent peril they would be in at Baltimore. I expressed my utter surprise, and asked him if he had spoken with Mr. Seward on the subject since Saturday. He had not. "But you must remember," he said, "that in all this business General Scott does with Seward as he pleases; and General Scott is an old woman in the hands of those born conspirators and makers of mischief—the Blairs." He went on from this to give me his reasons for believing that the Blairs were moving heaven and earth to get control of Mr. Lincoln's Administration; and that they have made more progress that way than is at all suspected, even by Mr. Seward. I do not like any of the Blairs, and indeed I know nobody who does. But of them all I like Montgomery least; and I can imagine nothing less to be desired than his entrance into the Cabinet, which

Senator Douglas regards as inevitable. He goes further than I can in his views as to the policy which he thinks the Blairs are bent on cajoling or compelling Mr. Lincoln to adopt. They are coöperating now for the moment, he thinks, with the extreme anti-Seward men both here and in New York. "What they really want," said Senator Douglas, "is a civil war. They are determined, first, on seeing slavery abolished by force, and then on expelling the whole negro race from the continent. That was old Blair's doctrine, sir, long ago; and that is Montgomery's doctrine, sir," he said, with even more than his usual emphasis; "and, if they can get and keep their grip on Lincoln, this country will never see peace or prosperity again, in your time, or in mine, or in our children's children's time. They will be the evil genius, sir, of the republic. They, and nobody else, you may depend upon it, will be found at the bottom of this abominable smuggling scheme." I asked Senator Douglas how it could have been possible for anybody to persuade Mr. Lincoln into such a suicidal act, unless he is a lamentably weak and pliable character. "No, he is not that, sir," was his reply; "but he is eminently a man of the atmosphere which surrounds him. He has not yet got out of Springfield, sir. He has Springfield people with him. He has his wife with him. He does not know that he is President-elect of the United States, sir. He does not see that the shadow he casts is any bigger now than it was last year. It will not take him long to find it out when he has got established in the White House. But he has not found it out yet. Besides, he knows that he is a minority President, and that breaks him down." Mr. Douglas then went on to give me some painful details as to Mr. Lincoln's domestic life and habitual associations in Illinois, which were very discouraging. He wound up by saying that he had made up his mind to see Mr. Lincoln at once and tell him the truth.

MR. STANTON'S ESTIMATE OF LINCOLN.

I called at Willard's Hotel, and left my card for Mr. Lincoln, who had gone out. But, as I was crossing Fourteenth Street, I met the Attorney-General, who stopped me to ask if I had seen the President-elect since he "crept into Washington." It is impossible to be more bitter or malignant than he is; every word was a suppressed and a very ill-suppressed sneer, and it cost me something to keep my temper in talking with him even for a few moments. When he found that I had only met Mr. Lincoln once,

to my recollection, he launched out into a downright tirade about him, saying he "had met him at the bar, and found him a low, cunning clown." I could not resist telling him as we parted, that I hoped the President would take an *official* and not a *personal* view of his successor in any relations he might have with him. I think he felt the thrust, for he bowed more civilly than he is apt to do, when he left me. But Mr. Stanton's insolence shows how very mischievous the effect of this wretched blunder has already been; and, while it appalls me even to suppose that Mr. Seward can have had any hand in it, it is not much more satisfactory to believe that he really has so little influence with Mr. Lincoln as would be implied in his not having been consulted as to such a step at such a juncture.

DID FLOYD ORDER ANDERSON TO FORT SUMTER?

Washington, February 26th.—At dinner to-day I sat next to Mr. —, who told me positively, as of his own knowledge, that Anderson's movement to Fort Sumter was made directly in pursuance of a discretion communicated to him as from the President himself, and he added an extraordinary assertion that he knew it to have been recommended by Floyd, and as he believed for the purpose, which of course Floyd was very careful not to betray to Mr. Buchanan, of creating a situation which should make an armed explosion inevitable, and should so force Virginia and the border States into secession. The withdrawal of Secretary Cass, he said to me (and his personal relations at the White House certainly ought to make him an authority, especially when speaking confidentially as he knew he was to-day), roused the President to a sense of the dangerous position in which he is placed by reason of his well-known political and personal good will toward the South and leading Southern men. "He has never been the same man that he was, since that day," said —. He was positive about the instructions sent to Anderson; and reiterated his assertion two or three times with an emphasis which I thought well to moderate, though, as Mr. Flores, a lively little South American Minister, sat next him on the other hand, there is no great danger, I think, of his having been understood by anybody but myself.

THE CONFUSION OVER MR. LINCOLN'S CABINET.

Later on in the evening — came over and sat by me to urge me to go with him to-morrow to see Mr. Lincoln in regard to the Cabi-

net appointments. He was much agitated and concerned about them, having gotten into his head, for reasons which he gave me, that Mr. Lincoln, in his despair of harmonizing the Seward men with the Chase men, has concocted or had concocted for him a plan of putting Corwin into the State Department, sending Seward to England, and giving the Treasury to New York. I listened to him patiently, and I own I was startled by some of the facts he told me; but I have pointed out to him that, however close might be the ties between Mr. Corwin and Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Chase could not be counted out in this way unless with his own consent, which I did not believe could be got, and that I am beginning to think that Mr. Chase holds the new President a good deal more tightly in his hand than Mr. Seward does. I declined peremptorily to call upon Mr. Lincoln in the business; though I said I should certainly call upon him as a matter of respect, and that, if he gave me any reason or opportunity to speak of his Cabinet, I should tell him frankly what I thought. I found — quite as strongly impressed as Mr. Douglas by the machinations of the Blairs, and quite as fearful of their success. He showed me a letter he had received a fortnight ago from Mr. Draper, in New York, expressing great anxiety as to Mr. Seward's position in the Cabinet in case of the nomination of Mr. Chase, and intimating an intention of visiting Washington with several other gentlemen for the purpose of making Mr. Lincoln understand that he must absolutely drop the idea of putting Mr. Chase into the Treasury. I told him that Mr. Weed had to-day expressed the same ideas to me, and I asked him if he did not know that a counter-pressure was putting on Mr. Lincoln to exclude Mr. Seward. "Suppose," I said, "they should both be excluded?"

We were very late, and while the whist was going on I had a very interesting talk with — about Mr. Benjamin, in the course of which he told me a story so characteristic of all the persons so concerned in it that I must jot it down. We happened to speak of Soulé and the curious letter which he published the other day. "I dined with Benjamin," said —, "in January, a day or two after that letter appeared, and calling his attention to what seemed to me the nut of it, being the passage in which Soulé eloquently calls upon Louisiana, if she must leave the Union, not to follow the leadership of men who, with the Federal power at their back, had not been able to protect her rights within the Union, I said to him, '*C'est de vous et de Slidell qu'il a voulu parler*'?" Ben-

jamin laughed, as did St. Martin and Hocmelle of the French Legation, who were also of the company, and replied: "Of course" (he was speaking of us), "that is the ruin of poor Soulé, that he can not conceal his morbid hatred of both of us—that, and his congenital incapacity of telling the truth; he loves lying, loves it more than anything else; loves it *jusqu'à la folie!*" Then Benjamin went on to tell a story of an encounter between himself and Soulé, on the way to Mexico, whither Soulé was going to prevent, if possible, the carrying out of the Tehuantepec scheme. When he found Benjamin on board of the boat, which he had not expected, he volunteered the absurd statement to Benjamin that he was only going to Vera Cruz *en route pour Tampico!* Of course he did not go to Tampico, but to the capital; and, when he got to the capital, he opened his batteries on Tehuantepec, by informing the Mexican President that he had been specially deputed by President Buchanan to advise with him on the international relations of the two countries; though he might have ascertained, with tact and a very little trouble, that Mr. Forsyth had already cautioned the Mexican Government, by direction of President Buchanan, against having any dealings with Soulé at all! I did not say to —, though I was on the point of saying it, that I was not at all sure whether this curious story best illustrated the innate mendacity of Soulé, or the innate duplicity of a more exalted personage. — is very bitter now against Benjamin, though still under the glamour, as I must confess myself to be in a measure, of his charming personal ways, and his rare and lucid intelligence. At this very dinner to which he referred early in January, — tells me Benjamin spoke of the arrangements and projects of the Confederate organizers, with an apparent intimate knowledge of them all; saying that the Confederate Congress would assemble at Montgomery before February 15th, and choose a President, so that Lincoln should find himself confronted, when he took the oath in March, by a complete government, extending at least over eight States, and offering peace or war to his choice. — does not believe the story about Yancey from Montgomery to-day. He thinks Benjamin will be sent as Confederate Commissioner to Europe, to seek recognition; and certainly a more dangerous one could not be selected. He would hurt us abroad as much as Yancey would help us. On reaching home, I found a note from —, full of hopes for to-morrow, which I can see no reason for sharing, and another from Mr. Weed to the same effect, telling me that Mr. Douglas would see Mr. Lincoln to-night. I do not see that

the Peace Conferences have advanced us one step from the point where we were in January, when Mr. Ledyard came to see me, telling me that General Cass had been electrified into better spirits, ill as he then was, by the absolute certainty that Mr. Seward and Mr. Crittenden had so got their heads together as to insure a satisfactory settlement "the very next day." How many days have since gone by with no such result; and what is before us now but imbecility if not worse, in the government we have, and utter distraction in the councils of a government we are to have? Poor General Cass! I bade him good-by yesterday, and I suspect for ever. I should not be surprised if the journey brings him to the end, and I hope he has not been allowed to carry out his purpose of seeking an interview with Mr. Lincoln. He is not strong enough to bear the excitement, and it can do no good, I fear.

WITH MR. LINCOLN IN WASHINGTON.

Washington, February 28th.—Half an hour with Mr. Lincoln to-day, which confirms all my worst fears. I should say he is at his wits' ends, if he did not seem to me to be so thoroughly aware of the fact that some other people are in that condition. I told him frankly, on his own provocation to the subject, what I thought would be the advantages to his Administration, and to the country, of putting — into the Cabinet, and gave him to understand, as plainly as I thought becoming, that he must not look on me as acting in concert with any set of men to urge that nomination, or any other nomination, upon him. I think he saw that I was in earnest; and, at all events, he advised me to write to — in the terms in which I wished to write to him.

I was sorry to find him anxious about the safety of Washington, and he asked me some questions about Captain Stone, which surprised me a little, and annoyed me more. I told him what I knew of Stone personally, and what had been said to me about him, by the most competent men in the army, at the time when he first came here, by General Scott's wish, to reorganize the militia of the District. He seemed very glad to hear of this, and was very much taken with a story which I told him, and for the accuracy of which I could vouch, that when Captain Stone, upon an urgent recommendation of General Scott, was appointed to the command of the District militia, in January, Governor Floyd was excessively enraged, and tried to get his own nephew, "Charley Jones," who had been previously nominated for the post, and who

is a desperate fellow, to insult Stone, pick a quarrel with him, and shoot him. Mr. Lincoln's melancholy countenance lighted up with a twinkle in his eye. "That was not such a bad idea of Floyd's," he said, in a slow, meditative sort of way. "Of course, I'm glad Stone wasn't shot, and that there wasn't any breach of the peace; but—if the custom could be generally introduced, it might lubricate matters in the way of making political appointments!" After a little, he recurred to the dangerous condition of Washington. I then spoke very earnestly, for it was clear to me that he must be still under the pressure of the same evil counsels which had led him into that dreadful business of the night-ride from Harrisburg; and I urged him to put absolute confidence in the assurances of Captain Stone. I told him, what I believe to be perfectly true, that the worst stories about the intended incursions into Washington, and the like, all originate with men like George Saunders, of New York, and Arnold Harris, of Tennessee, once a particular follower of President Buchanan, but now a loud and noisy secessionist—men who came into my mind because I had passed them in the hall of the very hotel in which we were talking, and in which they have been telling wonderful stories of conspiracy and assassination, from the hotel porches, to anybody who will listen to them for weeks past. He listened to me very attentively, and, suddenly stretching out his hand, picked up and handed me a note to look at. I recognized Senator Sumner's handwriting as I took it, and was not, therefore, particularly surprised to find it alarmish and mysterious in tone, bidding Mr. Lincoln, for particular reasons, to be very careful how he went out alone at night. I saw that Mr. Lincoln watched me while I read the note, and I perhaps may have expressed in my countenance an opinion of the communication which I did not think it civil to put into words, merely reiterating, as I laid it back on the table, my own conviction that there was nothing to fear in Washington, and no occasion for measures likely to influence the public mind unfavorably in other parts of the country. As I arose to go, Mr. Lincoln pulled himself together up out of the rocking-chair, into which he had packed himself, and, scanning me good-naturedly for a moment, said, very abruptly, "You never put backs with Sumner, did you?" I suppose I looked as much surprised as I felt; but I laughed and said that I did not think I ever had done so. "Well, I supposed not," he said; and then, hesitating a moment, went on: "When he was in here I asked him to measure with me, and do you know he made a little speech about

it." I tried to look civilly curious, and Mr. Lincoln, with an indescribable glimmer all over his face, continued: "Yes," he said, "he told me he thought 'this was a time for uniting our fronts and not our backs before the enemies of the country,' or something like that. It was very fine. But I reckon the truth was"—and at this point I was compelled against my will to laugh aloud—"I reckon the truth was, he was—afraid to measure!" And with this he looked down with some complacency on his own really indescribable length of limb. "He is a good piece of a man, though—Sumner," he added, half quizzically, half apologetically, "and a good man. I have never had much to do with bishops down where we live; but, do you know, Sumner is just my idea of a bishop." At that moment a door opened, and a lady came in, in not a very ceremonious way, I thought, dressed as if either just about to go into the street, or having just come in. Mr. Lincoln presented me to her as his wife, and I exchanged a few words with her. Perhaps I looked at her through the mist of what Senator Douglas had intimated to me; but certainly she made a disagreeable impression on me. She is not ill-looking, and, though her manners are not those of a well-bred woman of the world, there would be nothing particularly repulsive about them, were it not for the hard, almost coarse tone of her voice, and for something very like cunning in the expression of her face. With the recollection of Mr. Douglas's account of her relations with her husband, the thought involuntarily occurred to me of the contrast between his own beautiful and most graceful wife and this certainly dowdy and to me most unprepossessing little woman. I think if the wives had been voted for, even by the women, Mr. Douglas would be President-elect to-day.

The passages were thronged as I came out. On the stairs I met Mr. Bell, who stepped aside with me for a moment to tell me how much he was impressed with the conservative tone of Mr. Lincoln's mind, and to go over the story I had yesterday heard of the interview of Tuesday night. I did not think it worth while to dampen his feelings by hinting what judgments I had formed of it all from Senator Douglas's account of it, nor to ask him what hope there could be from these propositions of the Peace Congress after what took place yesterday in the New York delegation. But the truth is, I am losing all heart and hope; there has been more Cabinet-making than peace-making in the Peace Congress; and I am beginning to be afraid that the Virginia secessionists are trifling designedly with Mr. Seward and all our friends.

THE RELATIONS OF MR. SEWARD WITH MR. LINCOLN.

Mr. Douglas came to see me late this evening. He has been some time with Mr. Lincoln it seems—last night again, not of course at the jam and “reception,” but in a private earnest talk about the Peace Congress and the efforts of the extreme men in Congress to make it abortive. He was more agitated and distressed than I have ever seen him; and it is impossible not to feel that he really and truly loves his country in a way not too common, I fear now, in Washington; but I really can not make out what he expected Mr. Lincoln to do. He told me he had urged Mr. Lincoln to recommend the instant calling of a national convention, upon which point Mr. Seward agrees with him, as his motion in the Senate shows to-day. But he admitted that he had no success in getting Mr. Lincoln to a point on the subject, and this led us to a question of what Mr. Lincoln really means to say in his inaugural. I found that Senator Douglas knew just as well as I knew that Mr. Lincoln has not confided this yet, even to Mr. Seward; but I could not get him to feel as I do how strangely compromising this is to all our hopes of a settlement through the influence of Mr. Seward. How is it possible that Mr. Lincoln can intend to put Mr. Seward at the head of his Administration, if he leaves him thus in the dark as to the purport of the first great act of his official life, now only four days off! I can not even reconcile Mr. Seward’s acquiescence in such a course with the respect I would like to feel for him as a man; and it seems to me absolutely discouraging as to the outlook for the country.

MR. LINCOLN HIS OWN PRIVY COUNCIL.

Senator Douglas could not or would not see this, even though he admitted that he knew the inaugural address to have been prepared by Mr. Lincoln himself, without consulting anybody, so far as it appears, at Springfield; and though he could give me no good reason for believing that Mr. Lincoln has so much as shown it to Mr. Seward or anybody else since he reached Washington. Everything seems to me to be at sixes and sevens among the very men who ought to be consulting and acting together with united efforts to force the conservative will of the country on all the desperate intriguers of both sections. Senator Douglas tells me to-night that an effort is making now to get, not Corwin, but Sumner, into the State Department, but that Mr. Adams has refused to have anything to do with it. It is only what was to have been expected of

a man of Mr. Adams's good sense ; it only illustrates the desperation of the rule or ruin faction in the Republican party ; and that, I can not help but feeling, is a very formidable force to deal with, especially when brought to bear upon such a man as Mr. Lincoln, with his executive inexperience, and in the presence of the unprecedented difficulties with which he is to deal.

Still I can not think he will let go his hold on Mr. Seward and the great body of strong, sound opinion which Mr. Seward now undoubtedly represents. My chief fear, and as to this Senator Douglas agrees with me, is from Mr. Seward's own friends and representatives here. These New-Yorkers are the most singular combinations of arrogance and timidity in politics I have ever heard or read of. I do not wonder that the Western men dislike them ; they are almost as much of a mystery to their nearest neighbors. Before going, Senator Douglas had a word to say about President Buchanan and the South Carolina Commissioners. He tells me that it has now been ascertained that the President nominated his Pennsylvania Collector at Charleston on the very day, almost at the very moment, when he was assuring Colonel Orr, through one of his retainers, that he was disposed to accede to the demands of South Carolina if they were courteously and with proper respect presented to him. They rewrote their letter accordingly, submitted it to the President's agents, who approved it and sent it to the White House. This, Senator Douglas says, was on January 3d, in the morning. The Commissioners spent the afternoon in various places, and dined out early. On coming in, they found their letter to the President awaiting them. It had been returned to them by a messenger from the White House, about three o'clock P. M. ; and on the back was an endorsement, not signed by any one, and in a clerkly handwriting, to the effect that the President declined to receive the communication ! They ordered their trunks packed at once, and left for home by way of Richmond on the four-o'clock morning train, feeling, not unreasonably, that they had been both duped and insulted.

LORD LYONS ON THE SITUATION.

Washington, Friday, March 1st.—I had a most interesting but gloomy conversation with Lord Lyons this morning, having to call on him in relation to —'s business with those vexatious people in Barbadoes and Antigua. We fell into conversation after getting through with this ; and, though he is the most discreet of men, he

pretty plainly intimated to me that he was more concerned as to the outlook than most of our own people here seemed to be. He has old American blood in his veins, which does not perhaps count for much ; but his family have had trouble enough with the emancipation business to make him grave, he says, when he contemplates the possible complications of the negro question to arise out of the conflict here, and he put the prospect as to that in quite a new light to me, I am ashamed to say, when he said that, to him, the question of peace or war did not appear to be in the least contingent upon anything that might or might not be said or enacted here in Washington. "How are you going to dispose of the actual occupation, unlawfully, or by force, of United States premises in these seceded States?" he said. "How can the new President acquiesce in that occupation? And, if he does not acquiesce in it, how will he put an end to it?" I really could make no answer to these questions, and they haunt me now as they have not before. How can any negotiations with Virginia affect the situation actually created for us in South Carolina, and Georgia, and Texas, and Florida? Can Mr. Lincoln pass over this difficulty in his inaugural? And yet how can he deal with it as things now stand without bringing the shadow of war over the land? Another thing that Lord Lyons said struck me, which was that, while England could not possibly have anything to gain by a real rupture of the Union, the case was clearly different with France, under her present policy and engagements on this side of the water.

I left the British Minister, feeling as if I had just landed at Washington, and come in contact with the seething peril of the day for the first time. I can not but think that his opinion of the situation is affected by his European training and ideas, and that he under-estimates the force here of that sober second thought of the people which has saved us so often, and I must hope will save us again now.

INCREASING BUSINESS TROUBLES AND COMPLICATIONS.

Washington, March 2d.—The distress at home grows hourly worse and worse. And this preposterous tariff which they have assumed to establish at Montgomery points to a still worse state of things. If there are many at Montgomery bent, like some of the worst men we have here, on really driving the two sections into war, they are taking the direct way to their horrible purpose. I can get no positive light as to the actual state of things in regard

to Fort Sumter; though — writes to me from New York that he is positive Mr. Holt has taken measures to secure reënforcements for the fort, and that it will not be evacuated certainly before Mr. Buchanan retires. The news that the Confederates have made Mr. Toombs their Secretary of State is very ominous. There is no wilder or more unsafe man alive; and his last speech in the Senate was as detestable in point of spirit as the maiden speech, on the other side, of that noisy and vulgar cockney Orator Puff, Senator Baker, who came here heralded as such a wonder of eloquence, and who went to pieces so completely in his first effort under the close and withering fire of Benjamin. I met the man again to-day as I passed into the National, and I really could hardly speak to him civilly. It is such men as he who play into the hands of the worst enemies of the country and of common sense at the South.

MR. LINCOLN MAKES HIS OWN CABINET.

There can be no doubt about it any longer. This man from Illinois is not in the hands of Mr. Seward. Heaven grant that he may not be in other hands—not to be thought of with patience! These New York men have done just what they have been saying they would do, and with just the result which I have from the first expected; though I own there are points in the upshot which puzzle me. I can not feel even sure now that Mr. Seward will be nominated at all on Tuesday: and certainly he neither is nor after this can be the real head of the Administration, even if his name is on the list of the Cabinet. Such folly on the part of those who assume to be the especial friends of the one man in whose ability and moderation the conservative people at the North have most confidence; and such folly at this moment might almost indeed make one despair of the republic!

— has just left me. He was one of the party who called on Mr. Lincoln to-day to bring matters to a head, and prevent the nomination of Chase at all hazards. A nice mess they have made of it! Mr. Lincoln received them civilly enough, and listened to all they had to say. Speaking one after another, they all urged the absolutely essential importance of the presence of Mr. Seward in the Cabinet, to secure for it either the support of the North or any hearing at the South; and they all set forth the downright danger to the cause of the Union of putting into the Cabinet a man like Mr. Chase, identified with and supported by men who did not desire to see the Union maintained on its existing and original basis at all,

and who would rather take their chances with a Northern republic, extending itself to Canada, than see the Union of our fathers kept up on the principles of our fathers. After they had all said their say in this vein, Mr. Lincoln, who had sat watching them one after another, and just dropping in a word here and there, waited a moment, and then asked what they wanted him to do, or to forbear. They all replied that they wished him to forbear from nominating Mr. Chase as a member of his Cabinet, because it would not be possible for Mr. Seward to sit in the same Administration with Mr. Chase. He wouldn't wish it, and his friends and his State would not tolerate it—couldn't tolerate it—it must not be.

Then Mr. Lincoln sat looking very much distressed for a few moments, after which he began speaking in a low voice, like a man quite oppressed and worn down, saying, it was very hard to reconcile conflicting claims and interests; that he only desired to form an Administration that would command the confidence of the country and the party; that he had the deepest respect for Mr. Seward, his services, his genius, and all that sort of thing; that Mr. Chase has great claims also, which no one could contest—perhaps not so great as Mr. Seward; but what the party and country wanted was the hearty coöperation of all good men and of all sections, and so on, and so on, for some time. They all thought he was weakening, and they were sure of it, when after a pause he opened a table-drawer and took out a paper, saying: "I had written out my choice here of Secretaries in the Cabinet after a great deal of pains and trouble; and now you tell me I must break the slate and begin all over!"

He went on then to admit, which still more encouraged them, that he had sometimes feared that it would be as they said it was—that he might be forced to reconsider his matured and he thought judicious conclusions. In view of that possibility, he said he had constructed an alternative list of his Cabinet. He did not like it half as well as the one of his own deliberate preference, in which he would frankly say he had hoped to see Mr. Seward sitting as Secretary of State, and Mr. Chase sitting as Secretary of the Treasury—not half as well; but he could not expect to have things exactly as he liked them; and much more to the same effect, which set the listeners quite agog with suppressed expectations of carrying their great point.

"This being the case, gentlemen," he said, finally, after giving the company time to drink in all he had said—"this being the case,

gentlemen, how would it do for us to agree upon a change like this?" Everybody, of course, was all attention. "How would it do to ask Mr. Chase to take the Treasury, and to offer the State Department to Mr. William F. Dayton, of New Jersey?"

— told me you could have knocked him or any man in the room down with a feather. Not one of them could speak. Mr. Lincoln went on in a moment, expatiating on his thoughtfulness about Mr. Seward. Mr. Dayton, he said, was an old Whig, like himself and like Mr. Seward. He was from New Jersey, which "is next door to New York." He had been the Vice-Presidential candidate with General Fremont, and was a most conservative, able, and sensible man. Mr. Seward could go as Minister to England, where his genius would find great scope in keeping Europe straight as to the troubles here, and so on, and so forth, for twenty minutes.

When he got through, one of the company spoke, and said he thought they had better thank him for his kindness in listening to them, and retire for consultation, which they did. But I fear from the tone and the language of — that there is more cursing than consultation going on just now. I must own that I heard him with something like consternation. Whether this prefigures an exclusion of Mr. Seward from the Cabinet, who can tell? Nor does that possibility alone make it alarming. It does not prefigure—it proves that the new Administration will be pitched on a dangerous and not on a safe key. It makes what was dark enough before, midnight black. What is to come of it all?

V.

CONFESSION OF AN AGNOSTIC.

UPWARD of a year has elapsed since my old master, *An Evolutionist*, advertised in this "Review" (July, 1878) for a "new religion." I understand that very few of the multitudes, young and old, who are dissatisfied with all existing religions, have answered that application, and these have proposed schemes which my friend regards as absurd and fit only to be laughed at. A Bostonian, a leading member of one of the literary clubs of the capital of New England, advocates rationalism, being an advanced Unitarianism, which has got rid of the Bible, forgetting that the system was tried from the middle of last century to the middle of this, and utterly failed to attract the heart of any man or woman or child toward it; that it was all along felt to be as cold as an icicle; and that its favorite rationalistic principles about God and immortality have melted away into an offensive yellow foam. A professor in an enlightened college proposes a religion without a creed, and has propounded a modification of Christianity in which the doctrine of the Trinity is allowed in a philosophic sense, *à la* Hegel, while bloody sacrifice, and the need of regeneration, and eternal perdition, are left out; but Christ's religion has rejected the compromise, and, now that everybody knows that revelation has been superseded, nobody cares about the residual dregs of a religion which can claim no Divine authority. Some Western men have proposed a worship without any beliefs, like that of M. Comte, and would set up shows with music and processions, and the adoration of heroes such as Buddha, and Jesus Christ, and Mohammed, and Oliver Cromwell, and Voltaire, and George Washington, and Emerson—as soon as he is removed to the land of shades. My friend sees that such a mystic faith will be scorned by the hardy farmers and miners of the West, though it might be agreeable enough to some of their wives who

feel that they must have a worship. My advertising patron is thus left, as I confidently anticipated, without a religion.

I belong to a younger and a more advanced generation ; and I am entitled to go beyond my master, even as he went beyond his Unitarian teachers. Beliefs or unbeliefs are now hurrying on with amazing celerity, and make as much progress in a year as they used to do in an age—at this present moment they are rushing on as the waters do at Niagara, and are about to take a determined leap. All men are acknowledging that there is no hope or fear of a new faith being developed ; as some might wish to remove their doubts, or, as I know, only to restrict our liberty of thought, or to trouble us with ghosts coming out of the graves in which we have decently buried them. Mormonism, I expect, will be the last new religion appearing in our world, and I have no objection to its disappearing with the rest.

Professor Tyndall and certain middle-aged philosophers are still telling us that religion is natural to man ; and Herbert Spencer has provided a grove for it in the "unknowable," and Huxley, we may believe, is there paying his devotions, "chiefly of the silent sort." They are correct historically in saying that in ages past man has been a religious animal. The few noted exceptions, such as Lucretius and Hume, prove the rule ; they may be compared to those anticipations of coming man which Agassiz took such delight in pointing out in certain anticipatory organs of the earlier geological ages. By our new theory of development we can account for all this. We can show, on evolution principles, how man should insist on having some object to fear or to trust, and that this tendency should take certain shapes ; that he should first be a fetich, then an idolater and a polytheist, and finally a theist, with all sorts of intermediate forms, such as Popery with its own God, and its Virgin and saints, and Protestantism, with its one God and Bibliolatry. All this grew out of man's position, out of his felt wants produced by his environment, and the stages of his intelligence and tastes. In the struggle with his surroundings, man felt that there was a power above him and independent of him, guiding Nature in a mysterious way, and restraining him by terrible penalties. We now know this to be Development, which is all but deified by my old master, *An Evolutionist*. We younger men, led by Darwin and Spencer who are being left behind by us, have seen clearly how all this has been produced, and we know and are sure that all religion must disappear. The veil has been withdrawn, and we dis-

cover how haggard and repulsive the prophet who so long kept us in terror. The secret has been let out, or rather we discover that there has been no secret. The temple has been opened, as that at Jerusalem once was, and it is found that there are there no tables of the law, no mercy-seat, no pot of manna, no rod that budded, and that there never were any such objects, except in the superstitious imaginations of the worshipers. In the struggle for existence, which is the characteristic of our world, "the fittest survive"; and we have the law of development, which is our temple standing, while the superstitious are dying out like the extinct races of animals, and these contests of religion with science are merely like the writhings and death-struggles which Hugh Miller used so graphically to describe among the animals of the Old Red Sandstone when they could no longer live in the new and better state of things. We are at present in a transition state like that between one geological era and another, and every belief is unsettled; and our young men are driven from the old to the new, and, for a space, from the new back to the old, by the recoiling waves. The turmoil of warring elements will soon cease, and there can be no doubt that this will end in a settled state of confirmed unbelief. We are now in the tossings and the foam where the cataract has fallen, but the surviving stream will soon flow on peacefully and resolutely. Our youth reared at our advanced colleges in England, Germany, and, of later years, in the United States, and reading our scientific works such as those of Darwin, Spencer, Huxley, and Tyndall, and our progressive periodicals such as the "Contemporary," the "Nineteenth Century," and "The Popular Science Monthly," know not what to believe. But the bolder of them will soon come to the conclusion that it is no matter what they believe, it being certain that there is no supernatural religion, and, therefore, in fact no religion to believe in; while the weaker will skulk back in a cowardly manner to the popular Christianity, and quietly shelter themselves from annoyance in a creed in which they have no faith. It may require another struggle and convulsion before all men have the courage openly to avow the unbelief in their hearts.

We are under great obligations to the men represented by "An Evolutionist" of the age now passing away into the past as the dawn does before the day. They have awaked us from a troubled dream into which we can never again fall. They occupy important positions in some of our higher colleges, European and American.

They talk to their young men and in their addresses to popular audiences of a faith which they still cherish and which they mean to hold by, but they do not deign to tell us what it is or what its foundation. With many of them it is a determination to cling to some broken spars of the shipwrecked vessel, to keep them from sinking in bottomless waters. Such persons disclaim with indignation the charge of atheism, and they go to church at times to save appearances, and would rather that their children, especially their daughters, would adhere to some form of religion. With some the profession of religion is mere vapping and pretense, is in fact hypocrisy to avoid public odium and the business injury it might do them. In the case of others it is a wild cry proceeding from an emptied heart, which has had its idol pulled down, and with nothing to take its place. But the struggle will be only for a brief space, owing to the rapidity of the evolution in the pregnant womb of time much more rapid than in the earlier revolutions of opinion. The travailing has begun, and the birth must soon follow. The old faith is nearly dead in Germany, is kept alive merely by infidel theologians, and will soon have to be buried out of sight. Sustained by Oxford and Cambridge, which only half believe, it is clinging to a feeble life in England, and will probably continue to do so for an age longer. The lease of an age longer may be allowed it in America, where it has had a convulsive activity given it by sensational preaching and by revivals which disgust all men of intelligence. New hereditary instincts are being already evolved in the wombs of mothers without their knowing it, embodying and transmitting the doubts and the unbelief of the father, and rendering all credence of an old creed or a new physiologically impossible, and these will go down from father to son and one generation to another—just as the old religious beliefs used to do.

My old master was ever telling me that he had to follow truth whithersoever it might lead him, even should this be into an utterly unknown region. In this respect I follow him. But, in doing so, I am driven by the momentum he gave me further on than he had light or courage to go. I can not return to the flesh-pots of Egypt, and resign myself to the old principles which the scientists and philosophers of his age have established. What I have to do is to pursue these to their logical consequences, and this though it should lead me to conclusions from which he would shrink, more especially as having to lecture to young men, whom he would not have abandon religion altogether. I confess I have had to pass through

some terrible struggles (Herbert Spencer has shown that this world has been one of struggle with its environment from the beginning) before I reached my present firm position. I have had to resist the remembrance of a father's counsels of prudence, and an impulsive mother's entreaties, and some hereditary instincts which, in spite of all my efforts to subdue them, crave at times for light and guidance and comfort from a supernatural power. But logic, following science, has driven me on to my present position, and left me no retreat, having thoroughly shut up the road behind me.

One after another of the old beliefs which I got by that powerful law of nature, heredity, and in which I was trained by my mother when the religious feeling was upon her, have been peeled off like the husks and scales of a bursting bud, or as the blossoms are blown away when the fruit is being formed. I am not to defend the positions which have been so successfully gained and thoroughly established by the great men, many of them still living, of the age immediately preceding my own. My father's father had felt the influence of Tom Paine and the French Revolution, and started doubts and uttered scoffs which sunk deep into the soul of his son; and from these that son, my father, could never deliver himself. But he saw the excesses that followed the convulsions of opinion, and he could not on the one hand uphold the system that led to them, while on the other every seed of faith had been rooted out from his bosom. So he shut himself up in silence and opened his mind to no one. My mother was full of religious emotion; but had no steady faith, or in fact consistent religious conduct. My teacher in the state school professed neither religion nor irreligion, did not seem to have had any earnest belief, and at times let out a scoff which showed what was passing within. My education was completed under "an evolutionist." He came originally from England, and had felt the undermining influence of the philosophy of James Mill (who had thoroughly imbibed the principles of Hume), which was confirmed by the abler exposition of the negative system of his son, Mr. John Stuart Mill. He was a professor in one of our most advanced and liberal colleges. His public lectures were simply undermining, showing that the arguments for the separate existence and immortality of the soul and for the existence of God are not conclusive. But in quiet conferences in his study he ridiculed the religion of unreasoning faith, of blood, and of eternal punishment, and talked enthusiastically of a new religion, rational and benevolent, about to appear, and, like the sun, dispel all darkness. The

inherited seeds of belief derived from an indifferent father, with some physiological units (Darwin can explain what these are) descending from the body of my scoffing grandfather, predisposed me to listen to him. I had doubts of the Bible from an early date, though I clung to it for a time as a man falling down a precipice will hold by a stalk of grass to stay his descent. As my father never made any profession of religion, I was horrified with the thought coming upon me at the time when he died that he would have to wriggle for ever in the lake of fire and brimstone, and the language of Burns rung in my ears—

“In hell they’ll roast thee like a herring.”

I was now told that the argument for the Divine existence was inconclusive. It proceeds on the principle that every effect has a cause, which may be true within our experience, and “a reasonable distance beyond,” as John Mill says; but, as we know nothing of the nature of a cause, it may not be true of world-making of which we have no experience. When on one occasion I saw death with grim visage looking in at the curtain of my bedstead, I did feel reluctant to give up all hope of living in another world; but then I had no God to guarantee the belief, and as physiology had taught me that the soul was a complication of nerves, and philosophy had taught that things were merely an aggregation of appearances or impressions, I saw that we have no proof whatever that the soul would live when the nerves are dissolved, and that the impressions would continue after the senses that produced them ceased to act. The Christian’s hope is a pleasant dream to those who believe in Jesus Christ, but it can bring little comfort to the great body of mankind, who, as not having passed through the process of regeneration, must perish everlastingly. So I resisted the temptation presented in my hour of weakness, and have ever since been more courageous, as having fought a battle and gained a victory.

It was a favorite principle with my instructor that the students could not have a high culture without the assistance of the theatre. So I got introduced to a most fascinating woman, the daughter of a line of actors and actresses. I might have been joined to her in a civil contract. But the theatre, which I am prepared to defend, when it is properly managed, which it surely may, though I admit it seldom is, was not the fittest place for the training of a young, impulsive girl with such predilections as she inherited from her parentage, and I was afraid to connect myself with her in life by

a legal bond, though I meant to act honorably toward her. So we lived together in a relation which the prudish regarded as criminal, and the men and women of the world spoke of as ambiguous. I lost, in consequence, some of my early friends. My mother refused to visit me and my partner in our home ; and when we met by accident she fell on my neck and poured forth floods of tears. But I kept firm to my principles, and gathered round me a body of young men and women whose domestic relations were not much different from my own, and who indulged with me in all manner of speculations on religious subjects.

My preceptor had introduced me to his favorite authors. I read carefully Grote's "*History of Greece*," and was led to take the positive view of the development of events in history. But I received the greatest profit and pleasure from the poetry of Goethe, whom I reckon the greatest of modern poets. Shakespeare may possess more varied genius, but then he takes and describes life as he finds it, and starts no speculative questions and suggests no change or improvements in society or in opinions. Goethe, on the other hand, holding no fixed creed, views all sides of a question, even as he sought to pore into the hearts of all the ladies he fell in love with, and so has become the poet of an inquiring, doubting, unsettled age. I took my science, as might be expected, from Darwin, Huxley, and Tyndall, and became firmly convinced that the doctrine of evolution established in our days is more important than the law of gravitation discovered by Newton. Mr. J. S. Mill was my first philosopher : but I saw that no one could build any grand theory on his negative principles, and I resorted to Herbert Spencer, who, by help of modern physical science, can construct the whole universe. My favorite novelist was George Eliot, who, though brought up in evangelical principles, has had her faith in historical religion undermined by Strauss, whom she translated, and her faith in natural religion by her husband's, Mr. Lewes, science and religion. The domestic relations which had been maintained by some of these eminent persons, such as Goethe, Mill, and George Eliot, drew me toward them more closely, and helped to justify my connection with the woman who had such control over me.

Once more I had a terrible struggle. I was again prostrated by a dangerous disease. My partner nursed me with excessive devotion. At my suggestion she had followed George Eliot, and like her had inspected all creeds, mediæval reformation, methodistic and Jewish, but merely as we inspect the machinery of a clock on

a mantelpiece, to see its springs. Her heart, however, was melted on the occasion of my illness, and, as she watched by my bedside, she expressed an earnest wish that I would yield to some kind of religion—she did not much care which—and implored me to have our connection sanctioned by marriage; and urged, as an argument, that Goethe, and Mill, and George Eliot, had all, in the end, betaken themselves to marriage. But I had the courage to deny her request. Most unfortunately, the new science and philosophy have not yet settled the most perplexing of all questions, what should be this relation of the sexes. But all advanced thinkers are agreed that Christian marriage, with its indissoluble connection, is most unjust and irrational, interfering with liberty, and making love a bondage, and I felt that it would be a weakness and a dereliction in me to sanction it by my example. We are in a more advanced age than those persons referred to who betook themselves to marriage, and it becomes us to walk worthy of the times and of our convictions. My partner was deeply wounded, threatened to separate from me, and actually left my house. She was led by her hereditary instincts to go on the stage for a time; but she had too much personality of character to enter into the personality of others, and her acting was a failure. Finding herself helpless, she had to return, and I was glad that she did so.

We are getting on as well as most married couples do; all the better because neither is tied to the other by any legal bond, which would certainly chafe the souls of both of us. The romance of life is now over with us, and we submit to our position. I have found her engaging in practices utterly inconsistent with my life-theory. She told me boldly, almost impertinently, that she must have a religion and a worship, and I noticed her stealing away to the Catholic Cathedral on the occasion of its high festival. I was at first amazed and indignant when I discovered that she had set up an altar in our nursery. It was of a composite structure. Proceeding from her heart, it unconsciously represented the stages through which religion has passed. There were flowers in profusion, corresponding to fetichism or nature-worship; there were idols, and among these the Virgin and Child, corresponding to the worship of human heroes; and there were statues of philosophers like Rousseau and Comte, pointing to the worship of mind. The whole had a theatrical look like stage scenery, and much of the time of the mother and girls was employed in ornamenting it. I resolved on repressing the practices, and threatened to burn the figures; but

this only led to a scene, and I found it best to let nature, that is, heredity, have its own way. It may take an age or two to remove the inherited diseases of the past.

My oldest son was a boy of bright parts, and I proceeded to train him, as James Mill did his son John. I have the most confident faith in the progress of the race. Natural selection has developed new species in the past. Why should it not do so in the future? The coming man should as far surpass the present man as the present man does his ancestor, the monkey or the fish. Indeed, I cherish the hope that, in thousands of ages, man will rise as far above his now condition as he has already risen above the ascidian. I had a secret expectation that my son might have some original quality, which would go down to posterity. But man's progress is still greatly hindered by his environment. My boy's brain was of an excitable character, like his mother's, and gave way under the strain to which it was subjected. I would rather not express the feelings that rose as I consigned him to the tomb. There was not only disappointment but resentment, but I could vent it only on objects which, like the cold mountains and distant stars, took no notice of me. My oldest would have followed my schemes, but my second son has no such enthusiasms. His mother at one time made him spend a considerable time at the domestic altar, but he has become wearied of it and indulges his mother's taste for theatrical performances. She has succeeded in getting our two daughters to enter into her spirit, and I think it better not to interfere. Since the death of my first-born, I feel I must give to the world directly what I would have given first to him. My philosophy tells me that we must overlook the individual in attending to the species.

Meanwhile our system is making progress all around. We have with us knowingly, or unknowingly, all the shining spirits of the age. The great historian Grote was altogether with us, and has shown us how events can go on by natural causes without a providence to ride upon them and guide them. Science is entirely in our own hands, and there is not a naturalist under thirty years of age who does not believe in evolution. There has really been no reply to Darwin except the denunciations of priests and sectaries. St. George Mivart is too great a naturalist (and so has made immense concessions to the theory) and too poor a philosopher to counteract Darwin. The more knowing of the clergy have been obliged to change their tactics, and, admitting development, are trying hard to reconcile it with their theology. The theories and the nomen-

clature of our school are circulating through all our literature and our scientific text-books ; and we read in every periodical of "evolution," of "development," of "the struggle for existence," of "the survival of the fittest," and "heredity." Our young men are imbibing the hypothesis as unconsciously as they draw in health with the air they breathe.

Philosophy has now come in to give stability to the system. We have two living philosophers of our own. We have Spencer, whose field, like that of Bacon, is all knowledge, and who can construct theories, *ad libitum*, to account for all phenomena and bring them within his ambitious grasp. Quite as influential as he, we have Huxley installed by Darwin as specially the philosopher of his school. By his courage and outspokenness he has gained the whole Saxon race who love frankness, and by his style he can command the attention of the common people. He has just published a summary, with a criticism of Hume's system, which furnishes an immovable foundation to our Agnostics, and will henceforth be the text-book of our philosophy.

Hume may be regarded as the founder of Agnostics. From what a host of unfounded beliefs did he deliver the thought of mankind ! Thomas Reid sought to bring these back, but had no argument to urge except that of common sense, which has no right to dictate in philosophy, and all the erudition of Sir W. Hamilton has not been able to buttress him up. Kant allowed to Hume all that we care to claim. Kant has, in fact, done more to establish our principles than any other philosopher. He started with our position that man can never know anything about things ; that all he knows or can know are phenomena in the sense of appearances. Grant us only this, and our system has got a foundation from which it can never be moved. We can now let Kant and his followers in Great Britain and America have as many high-sounding transcendental forms as they please (say the forms of space and time, the categories of quantity, quality, relation, and modality, and the ideas of God, freedom, and immortality), as long as they suppose them formed by the mind, in no way relating to things, and having no subjective existence. Huxley has evidently a partiality for Kant's phenomena ; but he wisely falls back on Hume and on *Impressions*, and has given us the whole of Agnosticism, which is evidently destined to be the final philosophy in a nutshell.

People believe that they know things ; that they know themselves, as perceiving, thinking, resolving ; and know material ob-

jects immediately around them. But in all this they are adding by their imaginations to what we actually perceive. All that we actually know are *Impressions*. I suppose that I have *a red rose before me*, but I have really no evidence of the existence of anything else than a red impression, and it is an illusion to conclude that I am a person perceiving it, or that there is a rose perceived. Our impressions are of three kinds: SENSATIONS, PLEASURES AND PAINS, RELATIONS. To this we have to add IDEAS which are simply copies of our impressions. This is the whole "content of the mind." The relations which the mind can discover are of impressions and not of things. They are three in number: coexistence, succession, and similarity. It has been proved by physiology that all these impressions with their relations and ideas are the product of brain-action.*

This is his simple but comprehensive science of mind. Mind is a congeries of impressions the result of brain-action, which brain-action—Huxley does not see this—is again simply an impression. The mind has not the power (which metaphysicians allot to it) of discovering the relation of identity, and there is no proof of its having any identity or persistency of any kind. Metaphysicians have made much about the mind perceiving the relation of causation. But cause and effect are mere invariable succession as far as our limited experience goes. People argue that there is a God, the cause of the order and fitness of the world, but the argument is palpably inconclusive, as we have no reason to believe that cause and effect rule beyond our experience, and we have no experience of world-making. The argument for the soul's immortality is gone now that the soul is found to be a bundle of impressions produced by a bundle of impressions which we call nerves. This leaves responsibility and a judgment-day among the superstitions of the past. Nor are we entitled, in order to relieve our perplexities, to appeal to a supernatural revelation; for it would be as difficult to prove that there has been such a miracle as to prove the existence of a centaur; and the supposed testimony is not able to carry such a weight. Huxley has said little about morality and the relation of the sexes; but all this will be cleared up in the great work on "Morals" which Herbert Spencer is busy in preparing, and which will soon be published amid loud cheers, with only a few hisses which will show how much some are afraid of it. Huxley has laid the foundation and Spencer will put the cope-stone on our building. It thus appears that, when people ask what Agnostics are, we can

* This is an epitome of "Hume," by Professor Huxley.

now hand them our creed and confession written out in clear articles.

As more satisfactory than these able expositions and defenses, we see Agnostics working its proper effects and forming character. There have been anticipations of this result in all ages in some men and even a few women—such as Miss Martineau—being able to live without religion. But these are becoming more numerous as creeds are dying out, just as races of animals did in the geological ages when they were no longer suited to their environment. I may refer to Babington Macaulay, brought up in the strictest sect of Pharisees, and yet never referring, after he had passed through the training of Cambridge University, to religion as either troubling or comforting him. We have a like example in a late great orator and statesman of Boston, who tells us that he had no desire for or aversion to death or immortality. But the most noted example by far of the effect of our training is seen in our illustrious living novelist, the greatest analyst of character that ever lived. Von Baer and embryologists have shown us that the young animal in the womb goes through in a few months the same stages as its ancestors have done in long geological ages. George Eliot has in her own person gone through in a few years the stages which developing thought has been passing through for generations. She has in her own person exemplified the grand generalization of M. Comte, and has advanced from the theological, up through the metaphysical, and has now attained the positive stage. Starting from evangelical faith she gave us “Janet’s Repentance” and “Dinah.” As years rolled on, we have a searching and an exposure of the hollow religion of the respectable middle classes in England. In “Daniel Deronda” she showed that all religions are alike, and put a sort of galvanic life into Judaism. Her husband in his last work has proved that psychology is a branch of physiology and to be advanced by the study of the nerves; and now, as evidently having felt his influence, she is constantly accounting for peculiarities of character by heredity. She seems now incapable of entering into her early faiths, and seems to have lost all her former ideals (this is evident in her resorting to the Jews), and in “Theophrastus Such,” out of the accumulated sweepings of her study, she is describing such characters as we may expect in the era of Agnostics from one who has imbibed the creed. It is an indication of the state to which not only novel-writing, but poetry and history, must come.

I have thus fully explained my position. I am not ashamed of

it. I am proud of it. I would not, for all the hopes that heaven holds out, sink back into the low level of the superstitious world I have left. I call no man master. I am independent and free. I am afraid of no power above me, and of no evil in the future. The past is past and can not touch me; and we mean to make and mold the world to come.

Those who hold our creed may have to part with some things that are pleasant. Now that we know better, they can please us no longer. The charm has been broken, and can never be restored. It is certain that, now that we know what nature is, that we know what mind is, and what matter is, we shall have to give up our admiration of these. Schelling labored to show that the beautiful arose from a correspondence between the subjective and objective worlds. Men like Wordsworth, and his worshiper Principal Shairp, have been raving about the loveliness of vale and lake, and the grandeur of rock and mountain. But all this illusion has been dispelled. Mr. Grant Allen is proving scientifically that all beauty arises from pleasant physiological sensations. A shrewd critic in the "*Contemporary Review*" for November, 1877, has put an end to all the vamping for the last age or two about the beauties of nature. "If language be intended not to veil but to convey thought, the phrase 'the poetic interpretation of Nature' implies that Nature means something, and has something to say. I must venture to affirm, in contravention of this implication, that Nature is a dumb oracle, who of herself says nothing, but will most obligingly emit any voice the poet chooses to put inside of her." This is the necessary issue of all recent science, and of the philosophical view of the mind.

If Agnostics have taken away some pleasant feelings it has, at the same time, rid us of more unpleasant ones. It delivers us from the regrets, the remorse which have hitherto so tortured humanity. What propriety can there be in mourning over acts which have been evolved by laws which work irresistibly, and allow the will an apparent and no real freedom, as was so elegantly shown by Tyndall in his Birmingham address? Let life be enjoyed as long as it is enjoyable, and then parted with when it becomes intolerable. What a relief to the miseries of our world if men were taught that they can take away life when it pleases them, with no risk of being afterward tormented eternally! As society advances, I believe there will be an authorized means of ending, in a painless manner, the life of those who so wish it; and this without requiring them

to imbrue their hands in their own blood, and exposing them to public scorn.

Mr. Mill has thrown out the idea that there may be a religion without a belief in a God. I do not call it a religion, but it may be a faith to take the place of the old faiths. There may be grand aims, gathering round them all the energies of our nature. If Agnostics shear off some of the superficial æsthetic sentiments, it may generate and evolve some deeper mental forces, like those exhibited by Paul and by Mohammed, only devoted to more liberal ends. I feel this power moving, like the strong wind, within me. We see it working with tremendous impetus in the nihilists of Russia, in delicate women quite as much as strong men, fearlessly facing Siberian banishment and the gibbet. I have myself felt the impulse that has moved the Communists of Paris. In nearly every country there are tyrants to be moved out of the way by all means, because they are crushing liberty. In every country there are idols to be cast down. How eagerly do I enter into the spirit of the Persians when they hewed down the huge bulls of Egypt, and of John Knox when he dashed to the ground the images of the Virgin, and of Christ himself; and I feel that I am called on to go and do likewise! As we thus courageously fight with our opposing environment, the walls will fall down, and after the battle will come peace, when all foes have been destroyed, as the idolatrous Canaanites were.

AN AGNOSTIC.

VI.

INTRIGUES AT THE PARIS CANAL CONGRESS.

[It was rumored in Paris during the late Canal Congress that the concession for the Darien Canal, which was held by a little company of which General Türr is president, was divided into 100 shares of 500 francs each; and it seemed to be understood that a company of 400,000,000 francs' capital would be formed to purchase the concession from the Türr company, and would pay the stockholders of this association 25,000,000 francs for their privileges. Thus each share of 500 francs would become worth 250,000 francs.

With the fall of Sedan and the fortunes of the Second Empire, a large number of the most prominent Bonapartists lost their means of subsistence, and found themselves in a condition bordering on beggary. There were few men of private resources among them. Some had been placemen or stock speculators, while others had been the recipients of constant and liberal gifts from the Emperor's privy purse. These gentlemen soon began to look to M. de Lesseps, a connection of the Empress Eugénie, for help and guidance. He alone of this helpless and hungry crowd could command the credit and confidence of capitalists. To pierce the Isthmus of Central America had been the cherished wish of Louis Napoleon, and this project was not long in recurring to his dejected followers. Thus the scheme was revived and matured under the sponsorship and direction of M. de Lesseps, the executive duties of the undertaking devolving upon Lieutenant Bonaparte Wyse, whose sister is married to General Türr.

A careful examination of the names of the French delegates to the Canal Congress shows how entirely it was packed with subservient friends of the fallen dynasty; nor is it well to overlook the fact that the shares of the Türr company were largely held by them. These people once went to Mexico to seek their fortunes in a Franco-Mexican Empire. It seems passing strange that the conspicuous defeat of those plans, which embraced the destruction of the American Union, should have failed to teach them some degree

of caution before affecting to despise the views of the American envoys from Washington, or attempting to tamper with American interests in America.—EDITOR.]

A TEMPORARY company, called the "Commission Internationale d'Exploration," was organized in France in 1876, for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability of an interoceanic canal across the Isthmus of Darien. A certain amount of money was raised by subscription to defray the necessary expenses, on condition that the sums thus subscribed should be returned at the rate of several hundred dollars for every dollar invested. Lieutenant Wyse, of the French Navy, was placed at the head of an expedition and sent to the Isthmus to carry out the explorations, and after two years of labor returned to Paris without having accomplished the purpose for which the expedition under his command had been organized. He had been unable to survey even a line through from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and, in fact, the information obtained by several tentative lines and reconnaissances could not compare favorably with that obtained by the United States surveying expeditions over the same territory. His labors, however, had not been confined to that of a surveyor and explorer. He had visited Bogotá, and obtained a grant for the construction of an interoceanic canal through any portion of the territory of the United States of Colombia. It was a very shrewd conception in him to ask for a concession on such broad terms as to location of the proposed canal, since that was a matter on which Lieutenant Wyse and his friends were yet in the dark.

The Tuyra-Tupisa-Tiati-Acanti route he had recommended in previous reports was so utterly impracticable that it had met with but little favor even among his most sanguine friends. That grant, however, proved to have been the most valuable result of his mission to the Isthmus, and such seemed to be his anticipations, as expressed in the first paragraph of his report to the International Society, August 12, 1878. A canal route was devised in the office of the temporary company in Paris, based on information obtained from the maps of the Panama Railroad and other more or less defective maps of that portion of the Isthmus, prepared from lines of levels run through points more or less distant from the line of the proposed canal, or on mere speculation as to topography, watershed, and other natural conditions. The Interoceanic Canal Congress was then called by M. de Lesseps and the "Geographical Society

of Paris," and Lieutenant Wyse was sent to the United States to invite the appointment of delegates to that body, and to obtain if possible the maps and plans of the Panama Canal, as located by the United States Surveying Expedition of 1875. The latter he failed to accomplish, as he had failed in a similar attempt the year before. The maps and plans had not been published, and the Navy Department did not feel disposed to give him a copy. It is believed that this was a bitter disappointment for Lieutenant Wyse, who had already in contemplation the Panama Canal *à niveau*, and such reliable information would have been of incalculable value to him. It will be apparent to any one well informed of the history of the Paris Inter-oceanic Canal Congress, and the method of selecting and appointing delegates, that the motives of the promoters and managers of that Convention were only to obtain some support, in the form of an endorsement, by a majority of votes in favor of their plans for a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. This authority, backed by the powerful leadership of M. de Lesseps and his corps of engineers of the Suez Canal, they confidently expected would be sufficient to give to Lieutenant Wyse's grant from the Government of Colombia a value it did not possess. In fact, it was frequently stated by the friends of the Panama scheme, among whom may be mentioned engineers at present holding prominent positions in the Suez Canal, that all they desired was the endorsement by the Congress of the Panama scheme. That the location of the line, as well as the methods by which the gravest engineering difficulties involved in the project recommended for adoption, would be overcome, were matters for future consideration, since M. de Lesseps could raise any amount of money that could be desired, and with this powerful element and engineering skill the canal would be constructed.

The Congress was composed of one hundred and thirty-five delegates, invited by M. de Lesseps and the Geographical Society. Of that number, sixty-eight were appointed from France and sixty-seven from foreign countries, and of this latter number many failed to appear before the Congress. Many of the French delegates were appointed from the Geographical Society, and especially from that branch of the Society called the "Commercial Geographical Society," which seemed to be particularly interested in the success of the Panama scheme, as shown by their unanimously affirmative vote on all questions affecting the Panama scheme.

The presidents, vice-presidents, and secretaries of the commit-

tees were more or less devoted to support the line proposed by Lieutenant Wyse, and, when the final vote was taken, not one of them failed to vote in the affirmative.

The organization of the Congress had all been arranged beforehand. Admiral La Roncière le Noury, President of the Geographical Society, took the presidential chair at the opening session, and transferred it afterward to M. de Lesseps, who then named the officers of the Congress. He also stated that the Congress would be divided into five committees, and read the names of the delegates who would compose the same. On the meeting of the Technical Committee, Admiral Roncière le Noury named its president, vice-presidents and secretaries. In fact, the delegates seemed to have been appointed for the mere purpose of giving their assent to the transactions of that body.

Lieutenants Wyse and Réclus were not members of the Congress, but took a very important part in its deliberations and organization, and on one occasion, when a sub-committee was to be appointed to consider and report on the question of locks, Lieutenant Wyse stood side by side with the President of the Technical Committee, urging the appointment of such delegates as might be in favor of a canal without locks. The result was, that the majority of that sub-committee was uncompromisingly in favor of the proposed Panama Canal. Those delegates who attended the Congress only for the purpose of examining the different projects that might be presented for examination, and deciding in favor of the one possessing the greatest advantages as to facilities of construction, permanency, cost, and facilities for navigation, confined themselves to the presentation and discussion of the facts which were understood by them to be the object of the meeting. They were, however, in the minority, and their opinions had little weight with the opposition, composed of interested parties and their friends. It may be proper to state here that the only reliable and well-digested plans presented for the consideration of the Congress were those prepared by the several "surveying expeditions" sent out by the United States. All others were based on untrustworthy data, or on mere speculation as to natural conditions. In fact, so far as the final result is concerned, the vote might have been taken before any discussion took place, as it was evident from first to last that the Wyse party, backed by the Geographical Society and M. de Lesseps, had previously arranged all the details with such skill that success was virtually secured from the start. When the impractic-

cability of the Panama scheme, as originally presented, was made evident before the Technical Committee, its supporters became much depressed and demoralized, but they soon rallied, and introduced, in less than two days, several modifications to their plans, intended to overcome the objectionable features. These were more or less impracticable as to cost of labor, and permanence of the works proposed ; but one of them was at last accepted with further alterations, by the sub-committee on "Locks," which Lieutenant Wyse had so much contributed in naming. Another sub-committee, composed of eight of the most eminent engineers in the Congress, was appointed to examine and report on the relative merits and probable cost of the different routes submitted to the Technical Committee. They made a thorough investigation of all the facts connected with the several projects, and presented an accurate report. The probable cost of the Panama Canal was estimated at two hundred and nine million dollars, exclusive of the necessary indemnification of the Panama Railroad, amounting to several millions more. The Committee stated that the proposed canal, *à niveau*, had so many doubtful elements of construction that they had been unable to arrive at any conclusions as to its ultimate cost, or the permanency of the works proposed. They reported, at the same time, very favorably on the Nicaragua route, stating that it had been studied with extreme care and skill, and that it possessed all the favorable conditions that could be desired for the execution of the work. Its estimated cost, based on the same prices as those adopted for the Panama route, was fixed by the Committee at one hundred and forty-two million dollars, an amount that could be reduced fifteen million dollars by the introduction of certain modifications in the plans. This report was met by the friends of Lieutenant Wyse with the affirmation that M. de Lesseps *would positively refuse* to accept the presidency of any other canal company except that of Panama—a statement which had the desired effect of bringing back to their party some who had deserted to the side of the best engineers, who seemed to be in favor of the Nicaragua Canal.

An excited discussion followed these reports ; the friends of the Panama scheme attacking the Nicaraguan route in every possible way, and advocating their plans, no matter at what cost. A resolution was passed to the effect that those who had introduced projects for a canal should not be permitted to take part in the debate, thus virtually excluding from the deliberations the dele-

gates from the United States Government, who advocated the Nicaragua route on its own merits. It was at last agreed, amid great confusion and marked anxiety on the part of many of the delegates, that "the Committee, standing on a technical point of view, was of the opinion that a canal, such as would satisfy the requirements of commerce, is possible across the Isthmus of Panama, and recommends, specially, a canal at the level of the sea." The vote stood: sixteen yeas, three nays, eleven abstentions from voting, and seven absentees.

A similar resolution was passed on the following day by the Congress. Of the seventy-two votes in the affirmative, only nineteen were engineers, and, of this last number, eight are at present, or have been, connected with the Suez Canal. Five are not practical engineers, and only one, the delegate from the State of Panama, had ever been connected with any surveys of the Isthmus. And it is believed that, with that exception, not one of the nineteen has ever visited the locality. The delegates from the French Society of Civil Engineers, five in number, either voted nay, or absented themselves from the last two meetings of the Technical Committee and the Congress.

A. G. MENOCAL.

VII.

THREE IMPORTANT PUBLICATIONS.

- I. Finlay's History of Greece.
- II. Pattison's Renaissance of Art in France.
- III. Cox's Aryan Mythology.

I.

It is noteworthy that the most fruitful work performed by English hands during the present century in the field of classical research must be credited to non-university men. It is well known that Grote owed his preparation for the study of the Hellenic world exclusively to private tuition, followed, of course, by a prolonged and patient course of self-education. George Finlay* undertook to do for the greater Hellas, whose influence was rather expanded than curtailed by the loss of political liberty, and whose vitality is the most surprising phenomenon in the history of nations, what Grote had done for the intense but circumscribed energies of the autonomous Hellenes. When we consider the breadth of his canvas and the multitudinous branches into which his theme divides itself, we should expect the want of a regular scholastic training to be even more keenly felt and conspicuously disclosed. Indeed, the most rigorous academic discipline, and the ripest eclectic acquisitions, would seem indispensable to one who should aim to set forth the record of a dispersed race and a widely-spoken idiom, from the final conquest by Rome, B. C. 146, to contemporary times. As regards, however, all those methods and appliances which form, so to speak, the stock in trade of scholastic institutions, Finlay was even more distinctively than was Grote a self-made scholar. His knowledge of classic Greek, and of the transformations which the national language and character underwent in diverse localities, and under the multiform conditions evolved in the lapse of twenty

* A History of Greece. By George Finlay. Revised by H. F. Tozer. Seven vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

centuries, seems to have been wholly the result of individual exertion. Now, what is the verdict of competent judges upon the work accomplished under these circumstances? By the general consent of scholars, Finlay deserves to rank by the side of Curtius and Grote, among the authentic and skilled interpreters of Greek thought, Greek institutions, and Greek influence, to the popular ear of this age, and of posterity. Professor Hopf has said of his achievement, that Finlay's writings are distinguished, not only by a vigorous style, but by the insight of a statesman and the spirit of a philosopher. And President Felton affirmed, in a letter to the author, "Your works form a part of the literature of the world, and your name will always be one of the highest authorities on the subjects upon which you have written."

It is trite enough to say that Greek art, Greek philosophy, Greek ethics, and, if we look to the logical and mathematical instruments of exact inquiry, we might add Greek science, constitute the abiding structure out of whose materials our present civilization has been fashioned. But how seldom his school or college studies have assisted the general reader to trace the agencies and processes through which this unrivaled stability and far-reaching fecundity have been assured! Why is it that the capitalized accumulations of Greek thought and energy have remained intact, while the intellectual gains of other remarkable communities were scattered or submerged by political revolution, their procreative power extinguished, and their stores quite shut off from the assimilation of mankind? Why, in a word, should the stones of Athens be so eloquent, while the mounds of Chaldea are empty, and the pyramids of the Nile-land silent? An answer to that question postulates such a measure of acquaintance with the political organizations of the Macedonian, Roman, and Byzantine Empires—and especially such an intimate knowledge of the municipal institutions and local franchises tolerated in the Eastern world, through which the Greek type was preserved—as, it is safe to say, can be found by English readers only in Finlay's pages. It is true that Gibbon has executed, with his usual industry and accuracy, that part of his great work which covers the Byzantine period. But the same events are necessarily scanned by the historian of the Roman Empire, and of the Greek people, under very different aspects. In the one case, the eye was fixed on the splendid outward shell, on that imperial fabric whose mutilation and collapse invited a broad survey of all the commonwealths of Europe in their inception and growth. In the other case, attention

is diverted from the disintegration of the central power, to the evidences of ethnic vitality in the local liberties, civic immunities, the partially autonomous commercial, intellectual, and religious strivings of a particular race. It is impossible for the student of the Hellenic and Hellenized communities under foreign domination to accept Gibbon's depreciatory view of Byzantine annals. For that reason we should expect him to seek more, to omit less, and to accentuate more justly ; in a word, to set forth the pertinent and pregnant data in ampler volume and more correct proportion.

The forces which were to root the civic institutions, and diffuse the intellectual *nisus* of the Greeks throughout the eastern half of the Mediterranean world, had been in operation a century and a half, and had acquired uncontrollable momentum at the epoch of the Roman annexation. The processes by which the Asiatic masses came to be leavened with the Hellenic spirit were unquestionably conceived and organized by Alexander, to whose administrative genius Finlay, almost alone of historians, renders complete justice. Our author deems the son of Philip the noblest model of a conqueror, and points out that, while poets and sciolists have termed him a madman, the unlettered from Alexandria to Candahar to this day recognize his merits. The moral energy of the Greek national character had not escaped the observation of the pupil of Aristotle, and he resolved to make this quality available for the preservation of his empire by introducing elsewhere those free municipal institutions and that administrative responsibility which gave soundness and vigor to the Hellenic nature. His death left his scheme incomplete, but his successors found it impracticable to arrest the tendency imprinted on the workings of local government by the systematic arrangements which he had framed. Even the native kingdoms, which afterward arose in Bithynia and Parthia, found themselves constrained, by the pressure of custom, to protect the peculiar civic constitutions of the Greek colonies in their dominions, however repugnant these might be to the views of an Asiatic despot. The influence of Alexander's far-sighted policy proved competent to withstand still more formidable assaults, and tempered the Roman centralization by its tenacious hold upon society. Nor was it effaced in the countries of the Levant, until Mohammedan invasions imposed a new and irreconcilable order of things. We strike, indeed, the key-note of Finlay's work in this capital distinction, viz., that, whereas in the West the provincials were treated as inferior beings, and the framework of their national institutions was shat-

tered, no persistent and successful attempt was made to apply the same leveling and devitalizing system east of the Adriatic. There, even the rural populations were suffered to retain some control over their local affairs, while in cities and towns the functions of municipal administration and of police were, to a large extent, relieved from exterior interference.

The present edition of Finlay's history is substantially a new work, the alterations made by the author being so considerable that few pages in the seven volumes remain in their original condition. Not only has much care been given to the improvement of the diction, but a large amount of entirely new matter has been inserted. Especially is this the case with the last volume, which brings down the narrative from the war of independence and the foundation of the modern Greek kingdom to the year 1864. The materials collected in this part of the work, through prolonged personal observation, compose a unique magazine of contemporary history. They are simply indispensable to the student of Greek and Ottoman politics. With the aid of Finlay's concluding chapters, it is easy to unravel, not only the geographical distribution, but the ethnic entanglements of those communities whose dissensions propound the Eastern question. To the last page, moreover, the author enforces his main thesis, demonstrating in the face of much disillusion and disappointment that neither Frank princes nor Turkish sultans, any more than Roman Cæsars and Byzantine emperors have been able to interrupt the continued transmission of a precious political inheritance by each generation of the Greek race to its successors.

II.

English readers are indebted to Mr. Symonds for an exhaustive and effective portrayal of the great awakening of the artistic sentiment and faculty in the Italian Peninsula. It remained to study, with corresponding breadth of view and delicate insight, the splendid offshoot of that movement in the France of François Premier; and Mrs. Mark Pattison* has shown herself qualified to execute the exacting task. Whether we look to the measure of technical knowledge evinced in the exposition of the new impulse imparted to the several arts and industries, or to the comprehensive grasp upon the intellectual and moral forces, which, in the space of a

* The Renaissance of Art in France. By Mrs. Mark Pattison. Two vols. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co.

generation, transformed the spirit of society and refashioned the aims of life, we can not withhold our admiration from the acquirements and ability attested in this performance. The author had the sagacity to discern a field of research, not indeed untraversed, but at all events unoccupied, and she has pushed her inquiries so far and so successfully as to secure a species of private property in the theme. If she can not claim title by discovery, she has at least established an improver's lien.

This book has nothing in common with the conventional idea of a so-called popular essay on æsthetic topics, unless it be the grace of its diction and the simplicity of its method. It is not a piece of artful but empty word-mongery, devised to hit the taste of amateur and *dilettante*, but a repository of careful observation and patient thought, deserving the attention of the veritable artist. The substantial fruit, indeed, of Mrs. Pattison's labors is well calculated to surprise, when we measure the scope of her undertaking, viz., a deliberate survey of those multifarious activities whose fecund changes of direction and rich accessions of dynamic elements are collectively designated under the name of the Renaissance. A naked list of the arts and artistic industries which come within her ken, and whose brilliant progress under the stimulus of the new time it is her business to chronicle, will convey some idea of the special acquisitions called for, and of the particular subjects which the reader will find treated in these volumes. The development of architecture, for example, is traced from the gradual subsidence of Gothic energy, and eclipse of Gothic types, toward the close of the fifteenth century, up to the ripe effulgence of the Greek, or rather Greek-like, revival under Philibert de l'Orme and Lescot. So, too, under the master-names of Goujon and Pilon, we find discussed and discriminated the two main stages of advance in the history of French sculpture during the Renaissance era. With Fouquet and the Clouets are associated the corresponding steps in the progress of French painting under the same general stimulus. A chapter, also, is devoted to painting on glass, the field of art in which Jean Cousin is so eminently distinguished. Other chapters record the success of Frenchmen at the same epoch in engraving on metal and on wood, while the enamelers of Limoges, including the Penicauds and Léonard Limosin, are the objects of discriminative study. Finally, the subject of French pottery, which just now happens to command an interest rather fervent than critical, is examined with the taste and knowledge of an expert, the faïence of Henri II. and

the work of Bernard Palissy especially calling forth suggestive and interesting remarks.

As we have said, Mrs. Pattison is no less happy in a synthetic interpretation of the whole movement than in an analysis of its multiform phases. She reminds us that great changes of style are always harbingered by some preceding change in the conditions of human society. Where the amateur and the craftsman saw only a renovation of art, the thinker and the statesman beheld an outburst of life. The revolt against the repressive rule in the moral and intellectual world, which had been gathering strength for fifteen centuries, preceded the humanistic movement, and the effect of the latter was rather to bridle the excesses of the reaction—to maintain an æsthetic direction of the novel, irrepressible strivings. The Renaissance, in proclaiming honor to every manifestation of human faculty, gave each a claim to be considered worthy of culture. Change in views and habits of life meant change in structural forms, and this in turn meant change of style and ornament. On all sides palaces and gardens sprang up, while every art which could minister to house-luxury was abruptly stimulated. "Men and women," says the author, in a sentence which we cite from her introductory survey, "princes, prelates, nobles, all were building, fashioning anew their habitations, fitting them for every purpose of manifold life, of happy, splendid, vigorous existence; out of doors, the damask roses and violets of the poets blossomed beneath trellis-work of ivy, and clustered at the feet of marble statues; shady recesses stored the waters of refreshing fountains; and within was every precious decoration which could charm the eye." What was the agency which brought about the abortion of these vernal energies? Certainly the Renaissance collapsed long before the century had run its course. It is common to say that the wars of religion destroyed the security and leisure needful for its perfect development. But Mrs. Pattison points out that this explanation is inadequate, seeing that we find the most distinguished men in France, even in the world of arts and letters, not in the ranks of the League, which triumphed, but on the side of the Reform, which miscarried. She would rather attribute the collapse of the Renaissance and the victories of the Catholic party to some common cause.

III.

Now and then Max Müller has found time to interpret, with his happy faculty of illustration, some of the esoteric conclusions

reached by the students of comparative mythology. It is now indeed, some thirteen years since his first essay on this topic prompted not only professional scholars, but Englishmen of culture generally, to watch with eager interest the progress of inquiry in this new field of research. It is true, however, that in this, as in the cognate science of philology, the most patient, systematic, and fruitful work has been done by German investigators, and that Englishmen, for the most part, have been content to scrutinize and verify results, or to discharge the useful function of distribution. That they have done something to promote the popular recognition of the truths established by comparative mythology is attested by the great improvement in the etymological principles laid down by Liddell and Scott, in the latest edition of their Greek lexicon. Much, however, remains to do before the methods and fundamental premises of comparative mythology can be regarded as naturalized in our schools and universities, while the processes by which the conclusions of science are filtered into the public mind through literature have, in this case, scarcely begun. For that reason, we receive Sir George Cox's* comprehensive and luminous exposition of the subject with peculiar satisfaction. His undertaking is conceived on a scale large enough to include all the data which may be taken as established by the consent of competent scholars, and to make familiar all those lines of discovery which have proved most fertile in reasonable or ingenious hypothesis. He sets forth in detail the remarkable analogies in the myths, heroic legends, and folklore of the widely dispersed offshoots from the Aryan stock; discriminates and expounds their multiform accretions and transformations, and in the last analysis traces them back to the seed-conceptions and germ-stories current among the parent race before the successive migrations from the table-land of Iran. The author's aim is confined within the modest limits of dissemination or interpretation, and to that end he is careful to give his theme a literary rather than a scientific treatment. Those who know his outline of a history of Greece need not be told that he is master of a clear and animated diction, and thoroughly understands the methods of winning and holding the attention. His book, indeed, is so engaging that it might easily be mistaken by the young for a store-house of fairy-tales, and it is proper, therefore, to remark that,

* *The Mythology of the Aryan Nations.* By the Rev. Sir George W. Cox. Two vols. C. Kegan Paul & Co.

while Sir George Cox does not put forth the claims of a discoverer (except in a single instance), he displays an edifying willingness to test the accuracy of others' statements. We may add that, in his task of establishing the physical origin of Aryan myths, he is supported, as regards the majority of his important assertions, by the authority of such writers as Grimm, Bréal, Kuhn, Preller, and Welcker, as well as Max Müller, Cornewall Lewis, Grote, and Thirlwall.

We can not better indicate the scope of the interesting questions discussed in these volumes, than by glancing at the one fact which Sir George Cox claims to have discovered, and which, at all events, he has gone far toward demonstrating. Undoubtedly the great expounders of the new science had already dwelt with much fullness of detail on the wonderful parallelisms in the myths of the Aryan world. But our author goes further in this direction, and adduces strong and cumulative proofs of a somewhat paradoxical assertion. He affirms that even the epic poems of the Aryan nations—the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the *Volsung* tale, the *Nibelungenlied*, the *Romance of Roland*, the *Story of King Arthur*—have no historical framework of fact, but are simply different versions of one and the same traditional legend; and that this legend, moreover, had its origin in the phenomena of the natural world, and especially in the course of the day and the year. It is impossible not to be impressed by the amount of evidence brought forward on behalf of an hypothesis whose momentous bearings will be readily perceived. We are disposed to concede that the mythology of the Vedic and Homeric poets is shown by the author to contain the germs, and, in most instances, more than the germs of almost all the Teutonic, Scandinavian, and Celtic lays. This common stock of materials, whose existence supplements the evidence of language for the ultimate affinity of all the Aryan nations, has, of course, been molded into an infinite variety of shapes by Greek rhapsodist, Persian tale-weaver, Welsh bard, German Meistersinger, French trouvère, and Norse Saga-man. It is true, moreover, that at least the later forms of the primeval legend contain some incidents which may be either truly told or else travestied from real history, nor is there room to doubt that the coloring thrown over them is in part reflected from the manners of the age. But, according to the author's theory, the groundwork and structure of the story are purely mythical. He finds in the Vedic hymns the common prototype of all these varied legends, and detects in it convincing marks of a physical origin. We are shown how the story of Achilles,

as regards all of its main outlines and incidents, reappears in the Saga of the Volsungs, and in the Nibelungenlied ; in the epical cycles of Arthur and Charlemagne ; in the lay of Beowulf and the Shahnameh of Firdusi. Indeed, on the hypothesis of a posture of thought attributing conscious life to all physical objects—and such seems to be the attitude of the Vedic hymns—we must acknowledge that the growth of a vast number of cognate legends would be inevitable. Nor is there anything bewildering in the suggestion that phrases which denoted at first the death of the dawn, or her desertion of the sun as he rose in the heavens, or the stealing away of the evening light by the powers of darkness, might give birth to the legends of Helen and Guenevere, of Brynhild and Gudrun, of Paris and of Launcelot, of Achilleus and Sigurd. Sir George Cox points out that his theory involves, after all, no more than this, viz., that certain races of mankind, or certain tribes of the same race, were segregated from each other while their language still invested all sensible things with a personal life ; and that, when the meaning of the old words was either wholly or in part forgotten, the phenomena of the earth and the heavens reappeared in the guise of quasi-historical incidents, and the Pani or Night which sought to lure Saramâ the Dawn into his dismal cave became to Hellenic rhapsodist the Paris who beguiled Helen to Troy, and to British minstrel the Launcelot who corrupted the faith of the wife of Arthur. We need not say that this hypothesis is likely to prove particularly repugnant to Mr. Gladstone and Dr. Schliemann ; nevertheless, it undoubtedly derives very strong support from the facts registered by comparative mythologists.

MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCLXXV.

OCTOBER, 1879.

I.

THE WOMAN QUESTION.

THE nineteenth century will be the riddle of history. With its universal activity and universal restlessness, currents and counter-currents, progress and reaction ; now assailing old faiths, and now patching their venerable battlements to make itself a den there ; now proclaiming the religion of science, now prone before the Vatican, and now groveling in prehistoric superstition ; attacking the foundations of modern society ; denouncing mediævalism and borrowing its rusty tools to build a new order of things—this nineteenth century, among its heterogeneous progeny has brought one to light that the world has not seen for many a day. The demand that women shall take an active part in politics is not quite new. That marvelous people of antiquity, the richness of whose political experience matched the power and splendor of their intellectual and æsthetic achievement, were not strangers to this supposed product of modern democracy. It appeared at Athens in the time of Aristophanes, who mocks it with not over-delicate satire. Much has been talked and written about it ; yet we beg to add a few words more. It involves the whole question of the relations of men and women.

One would think that the subject to which men have given their chief attention since the world began would by this time be tolera-

bly well understood, and that little doubt would remain as to the nature, capacities, and position of women. Varieties of race, modes of life, degrees of barbarism or civilization, have modified their relations to the other sex and changed the estimate set upon them. But, while shading and coloring differ, the outlines remain the same, answering in the human race to those that rudely but plainly mark the relations of sex through all the orders of animated nature. Nevertheless, when one sees the vast changes for the better which have already taken place in the position of women, it is impossible not to hope that the future has still others in store. In what direction are we to look for them, and through what influences? These are questions on which those who have at heart the welfare of women, in other words of all humanity, have differed and will no doubt continue for a long time to differ. Let us hope that, in discussing them, the airs of benign mastery which naturally annoy women will be avoided on one side, and postures of antagonism on both. The two sexes are one, and their interests are the same.

The order of Nature is marked by a prevailing consistency. Over all her great fields of action, she is at one with herself, though irregularities and contradictions appear in special cases. Individual men and women are often inharmonious in physical or mental structure, but it is not so with men as a whole, or women as a whole. The typical man or woman is perfectly self-consistent. The one is made for conflict—whether the physical conflict of actual war, or that sometimes no less bitter and cruel, of the competitions of business and ambition. His greater stature and firmer muscles are matched with a sterner spirit, less tender sensibilities, and susceptible nerves, a ruder hardihood, and, in nearly all strongly masculine natures, with a certain remnant of primitive ferocity, which lies latent in the bosom of the highest civilizations and impels their male offspring to adventures of war, the chase, and travel in savage and perilous lands. In short, this fighting animal is well appointed for his work, whether to confront his enemy in deadly strife, or to battle in the interest of a purpose or an idea against cold, hunger, fatigue, want, obloquy, or hope deferred. And to these qualities of achievement, he joins, at least relatively, a mind governed rather by reason than emotion, and a deliberate and logical adaptation of means to ends.

There is equal harmony on the other side. Here, the whole nature corresponds to the rounded outlines and softer muscles of the physical frame. There is the same universal fitness to a pur-

pose, but a widely different one. The susceptibilities that unfit the typical woman for rude conflict are joined to high and priceless qualities, without which life would be a curse. Not that men are incapable of equal moral elevation. In this respect we believe that men and women stand, in different attitudes, on about the same level. Nor, because, under the inspiration of passion, men have drawn ideal portraits of women in prose and verse, does it follow that women are superior to the other sex. Women have admired men as much as men have admired women; but their admiration has not found the same expression, by reason of that principle of universal nature which makes the man the wooer, and not the woman. The ideal woman is a very noble creature, and so is the ideal man; and this is not the less true because the ideal is not often realized in either case.

It has been pretended that the distinctive mental qualities of women are inherited from ages of oppression. Never was there a shallower fallacy. Whatever qualities of a woman are transmissible by inheritance, may descend to all her offspring alike. The male infant would be as apt to receive them as the female. The mental qualities of the latter are no more results of hereditary oppression than her bodily qualities. The supreme law of sex has decreed that the boys shall be boys and that the girls shall be girls. The natures of the two sexes are like the two electricities of the magnet. Each needs the other, and is drawn to the other; and as each is emphatically masculine or emphatically feminine, so is the strength of this mutual need.

The reciprocity between the two separate halves of human nature extends over a wide field, not only in passions and emotions, but in the regions of moral and intellectual life. Most intelligent men have felt the stimulus and refreshment of the faculties that spring from the companionship of an intelligent and congenial woman, and which is unlike anything resulting from the contact of a male mind. It is a fructifying power, with which neither the world of thought nor the world of action could well dispense. Many men of the higher sort recall as an epoch in their lives that wonderful awakening of energies, ambitions, and aspirations which comes with the first consciousness of the influence of the other sex. Sometimes the change amounts to revolution in character, and the young man can hardly recognize himself in the boy of two or three years before. The influence that begins the awakening is powerful to maintain it. Hunger, thirst, the instinct of self-preservation, ava-

rice, malice, envy, and other of the lower motive forces, are self-sustaining. But, excepting those that belong to the province of religion, the nobler desires and energies draw impulse and aliment from the principle of sex. Truth itself would seem hardly worth the pursuit if women were not in the world.

This principle of sexual reciprocity, reigning through all organized nature, except its lowest forms, widening and strengthening as the scale of being rises, and culminating at last in man, more intense and more comprehensive in him as he is more highly and variously endowed than the creatures beneath him—this principle is the most pervading among the forces of human life. Its degrees of power over individuals are almost infinitely various, but the whole race is more or less in subjection to it, or to the influences that rise out of it. Other forces may outrival it in different persons at different times, but none of them has the same character of universality, and none is so prolific in results of all kinds, for evil and for good. It is the spring of the chief pleasures and the chief pains of life. It fires the noblest ambitions, and, misplaced or abused, becomes the source of unspeakable degradation.

What we are to observe is, that this imperial and all-essential power is founded not on resemblances but on differences of nature and function. These differences are so great that it may be doubted if men and women can ever quite understand each other. Women have a nice perception of male psychology in certain phases of life and character ; but there are regions of masculine nature in which their perception is exceedingly faint and dim, because there is nothing that answers to them in their own consciousness ; and no doubt the same holds good of men in their comprehension of women. It is true that the differences between the sexes are not uniform in degree. There are masculine women and feminine men. But when the two thus resemble each other, it is, for the most part, rather through defects than positive qualities. A woman is called masculine oftener because she lacks womanliness than because she possesses manliness ; and a man is called feminine oftener because he lacks manliness than because he possesses womanliness. There are men who, through defects of nature, are indifferent to the society of women ; and there are women equally so to the society of men. But the ocean rolls and surges, though in lazy nooks and quiet bays the waters lie unruffled, unconscious and incredulous of the turmoil without.

It has been said that the question of the rights and employment

of women should be treated without regard to sex. Mr. Wendell Phillips tells us that all those who so treat it are "high-minded," and all the others "low-minded." It should rather be said that those who consider it regardless of sex do not consider it at all. It will not do to exclude from the problem the chief factor in it, and deal with women only as if they were smaller and weaker men. Yet these have been the tactics of the agitators for female suffrage, and to them they mainly owe what little success they have had. Hence their extreme sensitiveness whenever the subject is approached on its most essential side. If it could be treated like other subjects, and discussed fully and freely, the cause of the self-styled reformers would have been hopeless from the first. It is happy for them that the relations of women to society can not be so discussed without giving just offense. Their most important considerations can be touched but slightly; and even then offense will be taken. It is only for us to see that it be not taken reasonably.

The immense disadvantages under which women are placed; the cruel hardship and injustice to which many of them are often subjected; the terrible and crushing penalties, sometimes grievously disproportioned to the real fault, to which they are liable; the misery and degradation of a numerous class, resulting in many cases more from circumstance than from intrinsic viciousness—all these taken together form the most perplexing and painful problem in human life. A remedy is looked for in a change of public opinion which shall visit the breach of chastity with equal condemnation in men and women. This remedy has long been urged, and probably at this moment there is in the world at large as little disposition to accept it as ever. There is nothing in the case of men in the slightest degree answering to these penalties imposed on women, except the contempt and disgrace with which every spirited people visits a display of cowardice. Fear, or the yielding to it, is great shame in a man, and none at all in a woman. But the cases are not parallel, for a man can retrieve lost honor, and a woman can not. Whence arise the different values attached to the same virtue in men and women, and why has every attempt to make them equal signally failed? The difference is due to the structure of civilized society, which, on both its political and its social side, is built on the family. Women, and not men, are of necessity the guardians of the integrity of the family and the truth of succession, with all the interests of affection, of maintenance, and of inheritance involved in them.

Hence the virtue in question is far more important in them than in men. Some savage or barbarous peoples have evaded the difficulty by refusing to recognize the father at all in the question of kinship. When the whole system of lineage is traced through the woman alone, the reason for imposing special penalties upon her ceases, for her children must always be legitimate. This remedy, which exempts the father from any obligation to support his children if he does not choose to do so, can belong only to a low state of barbarism, though a practical adoption of it has lately been proposed, professedly in the interest of women. Nations less barbarous have tried to secure the object by constant watching and restriction, sometimes amounting to actual slavery. European civilization uses better and more effective means. It establishes a standard of honor, and trusts women to conform to it. In this they are generally aided by more delicate sensibilities, by passivity of temperament, and by being protected from the countless temptations that beset every man who mingles much with the world. * Nor to him is the temptation from within less than those from without. To impose the same penalties on him that are imposed on a woman would not only be without the same necessity, but would be a far greater hardship.

Whatever liberty the best civilization may accord to women, they must always be subject to restrictions unknown to the other sex, and they can never dispense with the protecting influences which society throws about them. A man, in lonely places, has nothing to lose but life and property ; and he has nerve and muscles to defend them. He is free to go whither he pleases, and run what risks he pleases. Without a radical change in human nature, of which the world has never given the faintest sign, women can not be equally emancipated. It is not a question of custom, habit, or public opinion ; but of an all-pervading force, always formidable in the vast number of men in whom it is not controlled by higher forces. A woman is subject, also, to many other restrictions, more or less stringent, necessary to the maintenance of self-respect and the respect of others, and yet placing her at a disadvantage, as compared to men, in the active work of the world. All this is mere truism, but the plainest truism may be ignored in the interest of a theory or a "cause."

Again, everybody knows that the physical and mental constitution of woman is more delicate than in the other sex ; and, we may add, the relations between mind and body more intimate and sub-

tile. It is true that they are abundantly so in men; but their harder organism is neither so sensitive to disturbing influences nor subject to so many of them.

It is these and other inherent conditions, joined to the engrossing nature of a woman's special functions, that have determined through all time her relative position. What we have just said—and we might have said much more—is meant as a reminder that her greatest limitations are not of human origin. Men did not make them, and they can not unmake them. Through them, God and Nature have ordained that those subject to them shall not be forced to join in the harsh conflicts of the world militant. It is folly to ignore them, or try to counteract them by political and social quackery. They set at naught legislatures and peoples.

Notwithstanding limitations on one side and comparative freedom on the other, it would not be safe to say that the allotment of happiness to the two sexes is unequal. The life of men, like that of women, has its own hardships—the deadly strain of fierce competition, exhaustion without possibility of rest, heavy responsibilities, agonies of suspense and ruin. Aside from the low state of health of women in some civilized countries, and in America above all, it is likely that, on the whole, they have about the same share as men in the enjoyment of life. It is among those who have no part in the occupations and duties of the rest of their sex that one is most apt to find that morbid introversion, those restless cravings, that vague but torturing sense of destinies unfulfilled, and activities without an object, which rarely receive much pity, but perhaps deserve it as much as any of the more positive woes. There is no misery like the misery of vacuum. But among all the causes of female unhappiness, and involving and aggravating all the rest, there is none more fruitful of tribulation than ill health, which, in American women, brings with it disabilities equal, probably, to all the rest together. If our women are to rise to the height of their capacities, the first and indispensable requisite is physical regeneration.

It is the interest of men in general that women should reach their best development, just as is it the interest of individual men that those with whom they associate should be refined, instructed, intelligent, and high-minded. The question is only of means.

There is a universal law of growth and achievement. The man who knows himself, understands his own powers and aptitudes, forms purposes in accord with them, and pursues these purposes

steadily, is the man of success. He who takes no account of his own nature, makes his will the father of his thought, shuts his eyes to unwelcome truths, places himself in false positions, and turns from the good within his reach to strain after the unattainable, is predestined to vexation and failure. Every one has his place in the world, and the wise and fortunate find it. As it is with men, so, in a measure, it is with women; and as it is with men and women as individuals, so it is with men as a whole, and women as a whole. One must make Nature an ally and not an enemy, for the strife is unequal. The palm will not grow in the soil and climate of the pine.

Most metaphors express more or less than the truth; and so does this. Between the life for which men alone are fit and that for which women alone are fit there lies a region where both may prosper. They may pursue the same objects, though seldom in precisely the same way, or with exactly the same results. In some employments women, with equal application and persistency, would certainly have an advantage. We do not mean to consider the relative intellectual power of the sexes. It is enough for our purpose to remember that the faculties of the two are exercised under different physical and moral conditions, which modify their action.

It is often and most justly said that the intellectual growth of the country bears no proportion to its material progress. The drift toward pursuits called practical is so strong that it carries with it nearly all the best male talent. The rush and whirl of business catches the men as in a maelstrom, and, if it sharpens and invigorates some of their powers, it dwarfs others, and narrows the mental horizon. Women are free from these disadvantages. Many of them have abundant leisure and opportunities of culture better than the best within the reach of men on this continent forty years ago. Their sex is itself a power if they use it rightly. They can, if they will, create and maintain higher standards of thought and purpose, raise the whole tone of national life, and give our civilization the fullness that it lacks; for, if they raise themselves, they will infallibly raise the men with them. But they will not do it by frothy declamation on platforms, or flooding the bookstalls with sensation stories, any more than by those other trivialities which professional female reformers denounce. Nor will they do it by trying to forget that they are women.

There is a strange want of dignity in the attitude of some of these reformers toward the question of the relations of their sex to

society. Instead of claiming for them what is theirs, a nature of their own, with laws of its own, and a high capacity of independent development, they propose, as the aim of their ambition, the imitation of men. The position in which they try to place women may be said to answer to that of a colony to its metropolis ; a provincialism which can not disappear till the colony learns the nature of its own worth, and accepts the conditions of its own vitality. Till then, its attitude is a continual admission of inferiority.

There is no country in which women enjoy such large and various liberty as with us ; but it would be bold to say that American women, as a whole, are superior to those of other leading nations. In spite of their advantages, a vast proportion of them fall immeasurably short of the influence and consideration that ought to belong to them. We would by no means be understood to intimate that this is a consequence of liberty. It proceeds from a variety of causes, some of which act injuriously on men also ; and foremost among them is an overstrained and morbid activity, an incessant tension of nerves, bred partly by climate, but incomparably more by the peculiar social conditions of a country where all kinds of competition, spurred by all kinds of stimulus, keep mind and body always on the stretch. The men feel them in the struggles of active life ; the women in the ambitions, anxieties, and worries of a social existence, where emulation prevails from the highest to the lowest. And they, as the more susceptible and more easily deranged, suffer more than the men.

To reach the best results there must be a harmony and balance between body and mind, which can only come by giving its due exercise to each. In an athlete, who devotes his life to nothing but athletics, the muscles and sinews thrive at the expense of the mental faculties ; but, in a man or woman whose brain is overwrought, whether by important matters or by trifles, the body suffers without profit to the mind ; for the abused physical nature quickly reacts on the mental, and both are impaired together. Worn as so many of our women are by this morbid action and reaction of body and mind, it is impossible for them to reach that full womanhood than which the world has nothing more beneficent or more noble.

In this condition of things, what do certain women demand for the good of their sex ? To add to the excitements that are wasting them other and greater excitements, and to cares too much for their strength other and greater cares. Because they can not do their own work, to require them to add to it the work of men, and

launch them into the turmoil where the most robust sometimes fail. It is much as if a man in a state of nervous exhaustion were told by his physician to enter at once for a foot-race or a boxing-match.

This brings us to our object, the consideration of the movement for female suffrage. It has been claimed as a right that women should vote. It is no right, but a wrong, that a small number of women should impose on all the rest political duties which there is no call for their assuming, which they do not want to assume, and which, if duly discharged, would be a cruel and intolerable burden. This pretense of the female suffragists was reduced to an absurdity when some of them gravely affirmed that, if a single woman wanted to vote, all the others ought to be required to do so.

Government by doctrines of abstract right, of which the French Revolution set the example and bore the fruits, involves enormous danger and injustice. No political right is absolute and of universal application. Each has its conditions, qualifications, and limitations. If these are disregarded, one right collides with another, or with many others. Even a man's right to liberty is subject to the condition that he does not use it to infringe the rights of his neighbors. It is in the concrete, and not in the abstract, that rights prevail in every sound and wholesome society. They are applied where they are applicable. A government of glittering generalities quickly destroys itself. The object of government is the accomplishment of a certain result, the greatest good of the governed; and the ways of reaching it vary in different countries and different social conditions. Neither liberty nor the suffrage are the end; they are nothing but means to reach it; and each should be used to the extent in which it is best adapted to its purpose. If the voting of women conduces to the greatest good of the community, then they ought to vote, and otherwise they ought not. The question of female suffrage thus becomes a practical question, and not one of declamation.

High civilization, ancient or modern, has hitherto rested on the family. The family, and not the individual, has been the political unit, and the head of the family, *in esse* or *in posse*, actual or prospective, has been the political representative of the rest. To give the suffrage to women would be to reject the principle that has thus far formed the basis of civilized government.

It is said, and incessantly repeated, that the influence of women has kept even pace with the growth of civilization. As respects direct political influence, this is certainly untrue. In former times,

and under low social conditions, women have occasionally had a degree of power in public affairs unknown in the foremost nations of the modern world. The most savage tribe on this continent listened, in solemn assembly, to the counsels of its matrons, with a deference that has no parallel among its civilized successors. The people of ancient Lycia, at a time when they were semi-barbarians, gave such power to their women that they were reported to live under a gynecocracy, or female government. The word gynecocracy, by the way, belongs to antiquity. It has no application in modern life; and, in the past, its applications were found, not in the higher developments of ancient society, but in the lower. In the splendid civilization of Athens, women held a very subordinate place. In the France of two centuries and more ago, they had a share of political power greater than at any time since, though France had not then mounted to her full height.

▲ certain benign influence, indefinite and almost mystical in character, has been ascribed to "woman," which, it is proclaimed, will purify our politics. That, in some relations of life, the instincts of women are preëminently delicate and true; that in them the moral nature and the better emotions are more apt to rule than in the other sex; that their conscience is more sensitive, and their religious susceptibilities quicker and more controlling—is, happily, not to be denied; but they are no whit less human than men. Like them, they have "the defects of their qualities," and the very delicacy and impressibility of their mental and moral structure give efficacy to these defects. There are circumstances under which they rarely appear to advantage, or avail much for good.

There are some means of judging from experience whether they are likely to exert, in public life, the beneficent power ascribed to them. Many countries of Europe have been governed by queens, and this at a time when to wear a crown meant to hold a dominant power. According to the theory, these female reigns ought to have shown more virtuous and benign government than is generally found under the rule of men. The facts do not answer to the expectation. Isabella of Castile was full of amiable qualities, but she permitted herself to be made the instrument of diabolical religious persecution. Catharine II. of Russia was one of the ablest women who ever held a scepter, and one of the most profligate. Maria Theresa of Austria was in many respects far above the common level; but she was a sharer in what has been called the greatest of political crimes—the partition of Poland. That outrage

was the work of three accomplices, two women and a man—the Empress of Russia, the Archduchess of Austria, and the King of Prussia. The reign of Henry IV. of France was one of the most beneficent in history. His first queen was a profligate and his second a virago, gravely suspected of having procured his assassination in collusion with her lover. The last wife of Louis XIV. was discreet and devout, but she favored the dragonnades, and called her brother to share the spoils of those atrocious persecutions. A throng of matchless statesmen, soldiers, philosophers, and poets made the reign of Elizabeth of England brilliant and great. It was adorned by the high and courageous spirit of the Queen, and sullied by her meanness, jealousy, and inordinate vanity. Mary of England lives in the memory of her bloody persecutions. Mary of Scotland was the thorn of her kingdom. Her fascinations have outlived three centuries, and so have her tumults of unbridled love and the dark suspicion of crime that rests upon her. The queen-mother of Charles IX. of France fomented, if she did not cause, the frightful massacre of St. Bartholomew, and surrounded herself with a band of beautiful and unscrupulous girls, whose charms she used systematically as means of political influence. There have been many bad kings, many indifferent ones, and a few who have earned the gratitude of all time. Many women have worn crowns, but we look among them in vain for one of those royal benefactors of the race. Not that women have less power for good than men. In some circumstances they have more. Their desire of good is often intense ; but this desire has not been best fulfilled in the field of politics.

Besides queens, women in less eminent stations have sometimes had great political influence. This was never more true than in France at the middle of the seventeenth century, when the wives and daughters of the high nobility played a remarkable part in the politics of the day. The sagacious and able De Retz, who lived in the midst of these events, and took an important part in them, had unrivaled opportunities of studying women in their political character. His judgment is that they were very adroit in managing the strings of a party intrigue, but failed on great questions of policy. Two other points are prominent at this time : First, the action of these political ladies always had a personal bearing, and turned about some man or men from motives of love, predilection, jealousy, or schemes of alliance ; secondly, with a few exceptions, they used their own charms, or those of other women, as means of

gaining political advantages, and this without scruple, and sometimes without shame. Instead of purifying politics, they corrupted them.

Finally—and this instance, if it yields an argument to only half the country, yields it to the half that alone has need of it—the women of the South were more ardent for secession and slavery than the men; and, when the men knew that the cause was lost, their weaker partners refused to yield. Fighting was useless; but fair lips still cried, “Fight on!” It was the action of those two very different qualities—a woman’s will and a man’s resolution. The one can be argued with, and the other can not. The one is subject to reason; the other sees nothing but the object on which its heart is set, and strains after it in the teeth of ruin. Not that one does not continually meet women entirely reasonable in their aims, and in their pursuit of them; but this intractable element of “a woman’s will” will have to be accounted with whenever the sex enters the lists of active politics.

Shakespeare gives a superb illustration of these two qualities, or rather of one of them. An intense desire possesses Lady Macbeth, and masters her whole being. A crown glitters before her eyes, and, as she gazes on it, fear, conscience, loyalty, the sacred law of hospitality, are all forgotten. The vehemence of her longing bears her on like a fate. Her husband hesitates, divided between duty and ambition. She taunts him with fear, and his admirable answer—

“I dare do all that may become a man;
Who dares do more is none”—

is wholly lost upon her. He yields; the deed is done, and the prize seized. Then come the avenging furies. She pines and dies under the tortures of the mind, while the sterner nature lives on, to perish at last by the sword, fighting with fierce desperation against the retributive doom.

This impetuous property of feminine nature, no doubt, may have its use at times. When a people is afflicted by some overwhelming evil, to be thrown off at any risk or sacrifice, then a one-sided vehemence of attack is not out of place. Such modes of attack are not confined to women. Ardent philanthropic reformers have commonly shown feminine characteristics, and assumed corresponding attitudes toward the objects of their zeal. But, useful as men of this stamp are in exceptional emergencies of a certain kind, the

habitual reformer is generally a nuisance when he tries to deal with the broad and many-sided questions involved in the government of nations. These demand qualities widely different from his; and, as the foundation of them all, the essentially masculine one of justice.

One of the chief dangers of popular government is that of inconsiderate and rash legislation. In impatience to be rid of one evil, ulterior consequences are apt to be forgotten. In the haste to redress one wrong, a door may be opened to many. This danger would be increased immeasurably if the most impulsive and excitable half of humanity had an equal voice in the making of laws. And, in the administration of them, abstract right would then be made to prevail after a fashion somewhat startling. A lady of intelligence and admirable intentions, an ardent partisan on principles of pure humanitarianism, confessed that, in the last Presidential election, Florida had given a majority for the Democrats; but insisted that it was right to count it for Hayes, because other States had been counted wrongfully for Tilden. It was impossible to make her comprehend that government conducted on such principles would end in anarchy. In politics, the virtues of women would sometimes be as dangerous as their faults.

But it is not their virtues that we should see in the dust and scramble of the political arena. As, when white sand is mingled with black, the black is drawn to the magnet and the white is left behind, so the coarse and contentious among women would be drawn to politics by a sort of elective affinity. Those of finer sensibilities and more delicate scruples would remain in more congenial climates, and the law of natural selection would rule in all its force. The great majority of the sex would employ themselves in the duties which must be discharged so long as the world goes on, and distract themselves as little as might be with primary meetings, canvasses, conventions, and election campaigns. It has been said, and too truly, that the best men shun politics. Their endless complication, the innumerable wires that guide their machinery, and the dexterity required to work it, give to the practiced trickster who has made them his trade an advantage over far abler men who have not. The system of spoils draws hungry and rapacious crowds to choke incessantly the highways and by-ways of the public service, and the brevity and uncertainty of the tenure of office make it certain that those most fit for it will least care to accept it. If these and other causes have deterred the best men from taking

part in active politics, they would deter the best women far more. All that is repulsive to the one would be incomparably more so to the other. If politics are to be purified by artfulness, effrontery, insensibility, a pushing self-assertion, and a glib tongue, then we may look for regeneration ; for the typical female politician will be richly endowed with all these gifts.

Thus accoutered for the conflict, he may fairly hope to have the better of her masculine antagonist. ^ A woman has the inalienable right of attacking without being attacked in turn. She may strike but must not be struck, either literally or figuratively. Most women refrain from abusing their privilege of non-combatants ; but there are those in whom the sense of impunity breeds the cowardly courage of the virago, and makes the tongue more terrible than the sword. A man's tongue is strong only as the organ of reason or eloquence ; but a woman's is a power in itself. During some angry party debate, the future House of Representatives will present an animated scene when, in or out of order, the female members take the floor.

In reckoning the resources of the female politicians, there is one which can by no means be left out. None know better than women the potency of feminine charms aided by feminine arts. The woman "inside politics" will not fail to make use of an influence so subtle and strong, and of which the management is peculiarly suited to her talents. If—and the contingency is in the highest degree probable—she is not gifted with charms of her own, she will have no difficulty in finding and using others of her sex who are. If report is to be trusted, Delilah has already spread her snares for the Congressional Samson ; and the power before which the wise fail and the mighty fall has been invoked against the sages and heroes of the Capitol. When "woman" is fairly "inside politics," the sensation press will reap a harvest of scandals more lucrative to itself than profitable to public morals. And, as the zeal of one class of female reformers has been, and no doubt will be, largely directed to their grievances in matters of sex, we shall have shrill-tongued discussions of subjects which had far better be let alone.

It may be said that the advocates of female suffrage do not look to political women for the purifying of politics, but to the votes of the sex at large. The two, however, can not be separated. It should be remembered that the question is not of a limited and select female suffrage, but of a universal one. To limit would be impossible. It would seek the broadest areas and the lowest depths, and spread itself through the marshes and malarious pools of soci-

ety. Those instincts that dart to their goal while the reason of man gropes and wanders ; that love of the good and the beautiful which is to soothe the raging waters, and guide their currents in ways of peace and right—these belong to the chosen of their sex alone ; and, even in them, it may be doubted whether they would find profitable exercise in American politics. Faith is indispensable to all achievement ; but it must not quarrel with common sense, nor walk with eyes shut. If it does, it will lead not to success, but to disaster. Now, the most ardent faith, if joined with common sense and the faintest knowledge of human nature, will fail to discern in the great mass of the female sex any promise of purer and wiser government. Women, as a whole, have less sense of political responsibility than men. For this there are various reasons, but one will suffice. They have shared very imperfectly in the traditions, and not at all in the practice of self-government. The men of free countries have been trained to a sense of political responsibility by long striving for political rights, the memory of which has acted as a continual education, special to one sex because the other has had neither the will nor the opportunity to share it. By slow progress in the acquisition of these rights, they have acquired a consciousness of their value, some knowledge of the conditions on which they rest, and the skill to use them. In the freest countries, and our own among the rest, there are large numbers of men who have not received this training, have never learned the art of self-government, and can not share in it without injury and danger to the state. Women as a whole may be said to be in the condition of persons devoid of this training, and of the sense of political responsibility that grows out of it, excepting a minority composed of the more thoughtful, who have acquired it by education, conscientiousness, and association with the better sort of men. But the vast majority have little or none of it ; and hence, if they are to be admitted at all to a share in public affairs, they should be admitted very gradually. We say nothing here of those differences of nature that have hitherto in all ages, countries, and races, made men the governing half of the race. What we urge is, that now and for generations to come, woman as a whole must of necessity come into politics far less prepared for them than men as a whole. Large masses now vote who are unprepared to vote. The unprepared women are incomparably more numerous, and in many of them the want of preparation is complete and absolute. This is the condition of nearly all those in the lower strata of society. We shall of

course be told that they must go into the water before they can learn to swim ; but what is proposed is not to teach them to swim : it is to throw them all at once into a fathomless ocean, where they will drown themselves, and pull down those who were swimming there, or trying to swim before them.

A French statesman once said that, against a mob of women, the Government is entirely helpless. There are no means of repression. Bullets, bayonets, sabers, and grapeshot are out of the question. And yet, in the French Revolution, female mobs were fiercer and more destructive than those of men. To give women the suffrage is to expose the most excitable part of the human race to the influence of political passions with no means of defense against possible consequences. A body of legislators coerced by a female mob would be in a position as pitiable as ridiculous. There are those who think that the suffrage would act as a safety-valve to political passions ; but it has not so acted in the case of men. Dissatisfied masses, foiled of their purpose at the polls, are more apt to resort to force than if they had not already tried lawful means without success. The bloody riots of 1877 were the work of men in full enjoyment of the suffrage. It is to the dread of lead and steel that the friends of order must look in the last resort ; and, when this does not exist, political frenzy will have its way.

If the better class of women flatter themselves that they can control the others, they are doomed to disappointment. They will be outvoted in their own kitchens, without reckoning the agglomerations of poverty, ineptitude, and vice that form a startling proportion of our city populations. It is here that the male vote alone threatens our system with its darkest perils. The female vote would enormously increase the evil, for it is often more numerous, always more impulsive, and less subject to reason ; and, through causes which we gave above, almost devoid of the sense of responsibility. Here the bad politician would find his richest resources. He could not reach the better class of female voters, but the rest would be ready to his hand. Many women will sell themselves ; many more would sell their votes. Three fourths of them, when not urged by some pressing need or contagious passion, would be moved, not by principles, but by personal predilections. These, even with the best of their sex, do not always lean to the soundest and most stable wisdom, either for public or private life. We deprecate any interpretation of disrespect. We have known a gracious and noble example of cultured womanhood who could by no means

be persuaded that one of the worst of our politicians, reputed also one of the most agreeable, was not all that he appeared ; and who would infallibly have given him her vote, if she had had one to give. The female cohorts of crowded cities would espouse the cause of their favorites with a vehemence unknown to men ; but it would be fatuity to believe that they would choose them in the interest of good government. We say nothing of the outcasts of society ; though they, too, would have their watchword and their chief.

The evils of universal female, as of universal male suffrage, would be greatest in dense industrial populations. In the country, they would be less felt, and least of all in the rough and simple life of the thinly-settled borders, or the far West. Like other political evils, they would reach their climax in great cities. The government of these is difficult enough already. To make it impossible would be madness.

If it is urged that tax-paying women ought to vote in virtue of their tax-paying, it should be remembered that men have no such right. With us, the beggar and the millionaire vote alike. No political power is granted to the rich that is not granted to the poor ; or, in other words, property is not acknowledged as a basis of representation. It is taxed, not because it confers a franchise, but because the Government protects or is presumed to protect it. The same measure of protection is given to the property of a woman as to that of a man. If female tax-payers were allowed to vote, one of two things would happen : a principle of government which was repudiated in the interest of democracy would be restored in the interest of wealth ; or else all women, rich or poor, would receive the franchise together. The first alternative is hardly possible ; under the second, the female property-holder would have her own vote to defend her property along with several needy female votes to imperil it ; for the poor women outnumber the rich.

Those who wish the Roman Catholic Church to subvert our school system, control legislation, and become a mighty political force, can not do better than labor day and night for female suffrage. This, it is true, is opposed to every principle and tradition of that great Church, which, nevertheless, would reap from it immense benefits. The priests have little influence over a considerable part of their male flock ; but their power is great over the women, who would repair to the polls at the word of command with edifying docility and zeal.

The right of voting and the duty of fighting should never be divorced. Women, though non-combatant, are abundantly combative when excited. It is conceivable that they might discover a *casus belli* when the men could not see it; and, with or without the help of sympathizing male zealots, might vote in majority that the men should fight. This they would probably refuse to do against their wishes and convictions, and the women, with law clearly on their side, could not help themselves. Law with no power to enforce it is futile and sometimes ridiculous. The above contingency is not likely to occur; but that it is simply possible shows the false position of a government subject to female suffrage.

Neither Congress, nor the States, nor the united voice of the whole people could permanently change the essential relations of the sexes. Universal female suffrage, even if decreed, would undo itself in time; but the attempt to establish it would work deplorable mischief. The question is, whether the persistency of a few agitators shall plunge us blindfold into the most reckless of all experiments; whether we shall adopt this supreme device for developing the defects of women, and demolish their real power to build an ugly mockery instead. For the sake of womanhood, let us hope not. In spite of the effect on the popular mind of the incessant repetition of a few trite fallacies, and in spite of the squeamishness that prevents the vast majority averse to the movement from uttering a word against it, let us trust that the good sense of the American people will vindicate itself against this most unnatural and pestilent revolution. In the full and normal development of womanhood lie the best interests of the world. Let us labor earnestly for it, and, that we may not labor in vain, let us save women from the barren perturbations of American politics. Let us respect them, and, that we may do so, let us pray for deliverance from female suffrage.

FRANCIS PARKMAN.

II.

SCIENCE AND HUMANITY.

IN criticising the system of thought and life which Auguste Comte has propounded in his successive works, too much attention is often bestowed on subordinate details. It is in some ways inconvenient that he strove to give so great a degree of precision and minuteness to the scheme he conceived. The mind of the reader is too often drawn off by these startling novelties from the central ideas. Now, the central ideas will be found to be summed up in the two words at the head of this paper, Science and Humanity. These two watchwords imply—1. That all intellectual truths must ultimately rest on science; 2. That every impulse of human life must always converge to humanity. They who follow out these two thoughts will realize how completely positivism discards any trace of *mystical* emotion; and, again, how wide is the gulf that separates it from the irritable criticism of negation, from the destructive dogmatism of atheism.

Order and progress—live for others—are the words which Auguste Comte inscribed on the first page of the work wherein he pictured in one system the scheme of life that had been forming itself in a long course of human history—the religion of humanity.

The whole of this work of his, the “Positive Polity,”* is but the development of the thought which is embodied in these words. What is it that they mean? It is this:

The true moving force of man’s life, individual or social, is affection: love of our kind, love of right, zeal for the good. Let us live for others, for the happiness of man is to live as a social being; let us live for self, only so far that we may live more truly for the whole, to which we belong by the very nature of man. All this is summed up in the word humanity.

* “Politique Positive,” Paris, 4 vols., 1851. “Positive Polity,” English translation, London, Longmans & Co., 1875.

But let us remember always that this affection can not be stable, uniform, or efficient unless it have a foundation. It must stir us not only to the right things, but to the right things through the right means. And, to move us aright, it must know, or rather be guided by knowledge. Feeling, therefore, must ever rest on truth, must be in accord with facts, with all the realities around man and within man. And so, the foundation of right living is the true order, first, of the world in which we find ourselves; next, of the society of which we are units; lastly, of the moral nature of the human soul. And, that we may conform to these various kinds of order and live by them, and with them, we must *know* them. So knowledge is become a necessary condition of duty. All this I have summed up in the word science.

And yet again: The aim and goal of human life, individual as much as social, is improvement; a continual rising into a higher state, a firmer morality to each of us, a purer civilization for our race. To love and desire the good, even to know how to achieve it, is not enough: we must labor for it, having as our motive, a sound heart; as our guide, right knowledge. Thus the union of love for the good with knowledge of the true order issues finally in one end—progress: material, intellectual, moral; increased mastery over nature, wider knowledge, purer hearts, and loftier conduct.

At last, after centuries of divided efforts, feeling, thought, and activity come to work in one harmonious whole. And the conception of humanity rises up to give each of the three a new meaning. At last we see that it is the vast human whole which is the true source and end of every social union. So we see that all we really know is, the world of law translated into the language of the human mind, and ordered for the sake of human welfare. And, lastly, it is the progress of man, and of man's earth for the sake of man, that is the noblest ideal of activity. Humanity is the embodiment of our highest love, the measure of all our knowledge, the object of our true activity. It is the source of all we have; the master of our present lives; the end of our hopes hereafter.

I.

I have used the word *religion*—a word which brings us face to face with two opposing difficulties and a crowd of ambiguities. It is said by some: "What is the need of religion, if you take as your basis of life the entire sum of human science? If religion is true, it is included in science; if it is not scientific, it will make life un-

real." So argue, consciously or unconsciously, all who trust for the future of civilization to bare knowledge of real things, who distrust theology and all forms of emotional creeds.

On the other side, the objection of all who cling to theology in any of its many forms is this: "How can there be a religion, if there be no divinity? Is humanity a conception that can compare in sublimity with God? Does not the reign of law, which you take as your foundation, destroy the possibility of the infinite, of omnipotence, of absolute goodness; nay more, of will, of consciousness in a supreme being of any kind?"

It is most important to clear up what we mean by religion.

If we thought that religion were something outside of positive science, if it were merely "morality touched with emotion," if it were simply a yearning of the spirit after something or some being which we intuitively assumed to be, but of whom we really know nothing definite, or whom we deliberately take to transcend all human understanding—if religion begins and ends with the worship of a sublime but vague ideal—then we say to the skeptic, or the atheist, or the man of scientific materialism: "By all means, we will have no religion in that sense. You are right. Come what may, we will not build our house upon the sand of elastic emotion." If, as some caricaturists would pretend, positivism was designed simply to substitute for the adoration of God the adoration of transfigured man, and to stop there, then it would deserve all the contemptuous condemnation of the man of science, who takes his stand on knowledge of physical laws and rejects all religion altogether. Such a creed would make life unreal; it would be in conflict with science; it would open human life again to all the danger and confusion of giving paramount place to a principle which is ultimately an emotion devoid of conviction. For we know that each heart and each imagination would unconsciously transform and recast that principle for itself. The result would not be worth the effort. The new object of adoration would be as unreal as the old.

But we mean something widely different by religion. Religion, with Auguste Comte, means the perfect unison between man's intellectual convictions and his affective nature—both being devoted to a wisely ordered activity. When intellect, feeling, and activity are brought into a consensus, so that man's whole powers are exerted harmoniously, in accordance with his true conditions and wants, then, and not till then, man's life becomes religious. Thus there is no contrast between science and religion. Religion is sci-

ence brought to bear upon man's industry and effort at the prompting of a noble feeling. Religion is not worship barely, because it is not any emotion barely: it is emotion inspired by knowledge to action. Nor can religion have as its object anything unknown or unknowable, or vague, or ideal only. For it implies the application of the whole of human knowledge to a definite purpose, under the fusing warmth of love.

The puzzle laid before man is this: The intellect is ever at work discovering the hidden laws and relations of things. Man's noblest instincts are ever urging him to devote himself to the good; his lower instincts are constantly urging him to devote his energy to self. His energy is ever seeking work for its hands—work—product of some kind. How these three are to work together is the problem before man. The intellect may serve bad instincts as well as good. The good instincts do not of themselves know how to find the truth. By themselves they are less vigorous than the selfish instincts. The energy is often wasted in vain efforts, and often is actively bad and destructive. With Comte, religion is the concordat, or scheme of mutual alliance whereby each of the three is brought to coöperate and do its best by the others, under the earthly limitations of man's being.

Can any man say that, in this sense, religion is superfluous, or contrary to science, or a source of unreality? All serious men, whatever their creed, of whatever school, are aiming at this. All scientific labor whatever is directed (so far as it is not vain display or dilettante trifling) to give the greatest extension and unity to science, to bring it to bear most efficiently on human thought and life. Politicians, thinkers, moralists, practical reformers, and abstract theorists, are all occupied in bringing man's powers into truer relations with each other. At least they profess to be engaged in this. No man but the robber or the satirist is professedly occupied in making human life discordant.

It is the fashion to say: "No doubt human thought and activity must be got to harmonize; but this will come about of itself. Let us have no system, no general plan, no direct effort after unity. All will go well in the world, if everything is let alone. The only gospel is the gospel of absolute *laissez faire*; there is a plenary inspiration and an all-sufficing revelation in *laissez aller*. Individual energy will at last shake down into working agreement."

This is a wide question; and it can not be decided *a priori*, without actual study of the system propounded. If positivism,

after honest inquiry, be found to be really repressive of the spontaneous activity of every individual unit of the community, if it repeat the social oppressiveness of the old socialist and communist Utopias, if the harmony it offers be only a paper constitution, a narrow and inadequate miniature of a vast design, then assuredly positivism deserves to be rejected by every free spirit. It would be a toy, a parody of a great thing, a nuisance and an obstruction. But no man has a right to say this off-hand, without honest weighing of its nature and its aim.

A great deal of misconception has risen from the habit of assuming that Comte enacted as laws, to be imposed by force, a number of examples which he gave simply to illustrate his meaning. There is nothing about *force* in true positivism ; nor is there any attempt to crush individual energy and freedom.

To those who think there is something generous and profound in the monotonous formula, "No system," we say what is any kind of education, what is government, or philosophy ; what is general science itself ; what is morality ; what are any of the higher efforts of the human mind, whether of creative genius, of force of character—what are these but attempts, partial attempts no doubt, to bring into working harmony men's varied capacities and energies ? Civilization is made up of the more or less conscious efforts of men so to order their lives with a mutual understanding that they may lead to the smallest amount of waste, and the greatest amount of common purpose. It is but the frenzy of insurrection which has taken for its watchword, "Let everything go its own way"—when every rational effort of men about us in thought or in action, be it in the shape of advice or of law, springs from the wish that things should be got to go the right way and not the wrong way. Well, religion, with Comte, means the state in which the human faculties pull together, and all pull the right way.

I turn now to the second class of objectors, the theologians of any school, who mock at a religion without divinities, and ask us if the universal reign of law which we proclaim does not exclude the very conception of omnipotence and absolute goodness. I have said, we mean by positivism an organization of life, individual and social, and not the bare substitution of one object of adoration for another. We do not concern ourselves with the absolute and the infinite, or with first causes, or eternity, or transcendentals of any kind. We are not careful to answer men in this matter at all. We neither accept these notions nor deny them, nor disprove them,

nor denounce them, nor in any way concern ourselves about them. Those who choose to found man's life upon the infinite (i. e., the unintelligible), and upon the superhuman (i. e., the visionary, the vague, the unreal), these men will not trouble us, and we shall not trouble them. The right ordering of man's life is a thing too serious and vast to be decided by any off-hand appeal to rival sublimities.

When theologians say, "Have you any such sublime conception as God to give us?—what can you offer us for the eternities, and omnipotence, and absolute goodness that you take away?" common sense replies: We take away nothing. These things are slipping away in spite of you and without any act of ours. If after eighteen centuries of struggle—nay, twenty-eight or thirty-eight centuries of continually new adaptations—this eternity, and omnipotence, and absolute goodness, are wholly unable to organize the intellectual and practical life of man; if they shrink, generation after generation, into a smaller field of life and man's interests; if they be ever growing more distinctly disparate with human life, and can not be brought into line with science and industry, and what is called our worldly life at all; if the utmost that theology can do now is to attenuate itself to a pious wish, to urge deprecatingly and timidly that it is not *inconsistent* with science, not *incompatible* with worldly energy and every human delight in life—then we may say that theology is manifestly unable to deal with the problem. It is not enough to be a pious wish, a sublime abstraction. It is a miserable claim to be not inconsistent with science, not incompatible with energy and culture. The question is: Can theology vitalize, stimulate, coördinate science? Can it show the relation of science to human progress? Can it on the conception of law build up a religious attitude of mind far better than on the conception of arbitrary omnipotence? Can theology (with its vale of tears and its celestial crown) honestly direct the myriad efforts of human versatility to clothe human life with everything useful, ennobling, lovely? If it can not do any of these things, it is manifestly unable to be the supreme law of human life, for two out of three parts of human nature are entirely beyond its reach. It says (and it may say truly) its principle too is love. Yes! it is the love of God. But there it stops. It does not pretend to say that its *foundation* is *order* (i. e., positive knowledge of real things), still less can it say, its *end* is *progress*—physical, material, intellectual, as well as moral, progress. It can only ejaculate that its founda-

tion is a divine order, a thing ever shifting, vague, and purely hypothetical ; its end is a transcendental progress to a supersensuous crown of glory. To positive science, to practical human improvement, it has nothing whatever to say, except "Set not your thoughts and affections on this world." In doing this, theology withdraws from human nature. It says to the heart, Worship, love, obey. To the intellect, to the character it has nothing to say at all, but a pious hope that they will both act to the honor and glory of God : and both put their own interpretation on that.

Theology, therefore, is not religion. It does not pretend to concentrate and harmonize human nature. It merely pretends to soften, console, and purify the heart. In the early stages of man's life it did more. There were once forms of theology which in their day very largely treated human nature as a whole, and in all its sides. When man knew very little, and led a very simple life, the conception of gods, or God, and the manifold apparatus of theology, really covered the greater part of his life, mental, practical, and emotional:

"He heard, borne on the wind, the articulate voice
Of God, and angels to his sight appeared
Crowning the glorious hills of paradise ;
Or through the groves gliding like morning mist
Enkindled by the sun. He sate and talked
With winged messengers, who daily brought
To his small island in the ethereal deep
Tidings of joy and love."

Time was, when, under the wing of the great theocracies, or under Moses and the prophets, in early Greece, and Rome, in mediæval Europe, or in the glory of Islam, and amid the first Bible saints, theology was practically coextensive with life. It really knit human nature into a whole, explained it to itself, and taught it its relations to the world around it. But if sublimity, and universality, and omnipotence are the mark of what we need, or the test of truth, then surely the God of Abraham and of Isaiah, the God of Moses and of David, the pantheon of Greece and Rome, the paradise of Dante, of St. Bernard, of Thomas à Kempis, show us something far more sublime. Their gods were far more almighty and omnipresent than the abstract, negative, hyper-ethereal deity of a modern cultured theologian, a being who can only be described by negations, and who is relegated far away from science, politics, industry, culture, beauty—far away from every human sphere but that of metaphysical meditation ; who is too neutral to

conflict with science, too ethereal to be dragged into practical fact, too subjective to have any consistent part in controlling man's real life and external activity. No! it is not now, when, century after century, theology has been gradually withdrawing from the field of human nature, until it has reached almost the vanishing-point, now that its sole hope is in its very indefiniteness, and its sole justification that it does not meddle either with thought, or art, or practical activity, or social order, it is not now that we can listen to its claim that it is so sublime and universal; touching, though it may be, is yet its power over the heart as well as the imagination, and exquisite as are often the products of its saintlier lives. The sublimity, the purity, the saintliness of its ideal, and often of its fruits, we see them all—and we trust we may preserve them and make them our own. But our present business is far more than simply to find a sublime ideal, or even to get a conception of exquisite pathos, with power to humble and to console the heart. Our business is to bring religion once more to bear upon life and humanity, by finding that key of life which will correlate at once life and humanity in all their sides, after all the vast development they have had in modern ages. And this theology can not do, or at least does not do.

This same objection, it will be seen, applies equally to theology of every kind, under every one of its modern forms, from that of the sternest Bible Puritanism or that of the most mystical Catholic cloister to the flimsiest cloud-shadow of God which engages the fancy of the modern *littérateur* or metaphysician. These rationalized trinities, these residua and survivals of the bare old deisms, these "defecated" hypotheses of a possible divine abstraction, these indescribable "eternals that make for righteousness," and all the other phrases by which clever men try to escape from the obvious difficulties they feel in saying God when they do not mean God—these are even less *religion* than are the orthodox theologies. The Unitarian formula which seeks to escape from logical contradictions by discarding the Athanasian Creed, the Neo-Christianity which seeks to escape from historical criticism by giving up the Bible as the word of God, and the scheme of redemption as the basis of its creed, these philosophical conundrums which try to save theology by veiling it in an impenetrable cloud-land—these have less to say to human nature, to thought, and energy, to modern science and industrial life, even than the Vatican itself, or Calvinism pure and simple.

The Vatican, it is true, offers nothing but the Syllabus for its mode of treating science and society. That we think is farcical enough. Calvinism ostentatiously declares that science and society are worldly, and therefore ungodly, and withdraws into its chamber to commune with its god. But it still finds its god commensurate with its own life, all stunted and distorted as that life is. Even these two have something to say about life—practical life, thought, conduct, happiness. But the bare deist, the rationalizing theist, the metaphysical dreamer about an hypothetical first cause, such as these are simply withdrawing from the field altogether. Their creed has nothing to say to man, and man's life, except what each man may find it in his own head or heart to say—which is a sort of religion as you like it. They fancy they are dexterously avoiding the difficulties, logical or historical. But, in avoiding difficulties, they are more and more surrendering the whole field of human nature, intellectual, practical, ay, and moral too, for their religion is refined down to a metaphysical puzzle. This is not religion at all. They make religion, in its flight, abandon the whole field of human nature, which it is the business of religion to transform and guide, which it once did transform and guide. They abandon it to those who have something to say about the reordering of human nature as a whole.

It is a verbal objection merely that what is without God is not religion. As a question of mere language, this objection is captious and unsound. The nature-worshipers, the sun- or fire-worshipers, Confucianism, Buddhism, have perfectly real religions, although they do not admit God. If we take the whole world and all ages, the religions which start from the idea of God have not embraced one tenth of the human beings whose religion has started from some other idea. A religion, in ordinary speech and in good sense, is any system which binds masses of men into common beliefs, stimulates them to common action, and softens their hearts in one worship. That body of ideas, by which a race of men are moved, which they believe as one man, and by which they live and die, is a religion, always. It is a mere accident, whether this body of ideas includes the idea of God or not. Very often it does not.

II.

Let us see what the problem really is. Every religion, every complete philosophy, and every systematic social polity, aims at making man's life more harmonious within, more complete in social

union, and in truer relation to the world around us. It is the fashion nowadays to say that religion explains the relation of man to the infinite, or of man to the universe, of man to the mysterious questions within him, or the immensity without him. But this is merely a modern, narrow, and perfectly artificial idea of religion. The religion of Moses, or of St. Paul, meant something far more than the relations of these individuals to the infinite, or their unexpressed and inexpressible yearnings after something mysterious. Religion then meant a comprehensive scheme of life and thought which made the man as a whole feel at rest, in health, in harmonious unison within him ; which knit bodies of men having the same belief into a common mode of thought, and life, and activity ; and, lastly, which laid down the rule of life as marked out by their human lot, and showed them the only path to sustained happiness. It thus did three things : It bound the human powers into a whole, and taught them to work as one ; it united men in masses of believers ; it imposed on them a rule of life. To harmonize the soul within, to draw men together, to regulate their whole lives, always was, and still is, the real business of religion. The idea that religion is concerned only with the infinite and undefined yearnings is a modern piece of sentiment.

The difficulty of the task lies in this complexity of human nature, its contrasted elements, and the overpowering limitations upon man's destiny imposed by the facts of nature. Man has instincts, appetites, emotions ; violent or languid, selfish or unselfish, animal or tender, common or sublime. Man has intellectual powers, ranging from the lowest cunning to the most lofty imagination. He has qualities of energy, prudence, perseverance, courage ; faculties that may make a hero, or may make a miser or a tyrant. Besides all this triple endowment of qualities, man is a social being, and his nature can only be developed by society with his fellows, and is deeply modified by that society. Lastly, this complex, modified, social being finds himself in a world of tremendous forces and boundless opportunities, where his whole energy sometimes can hardly sustain his life, which sometimes offers unlimited gratifications to his appetites, vast fields of conquest to his activity, perpetual pabulum for his inquiring thought. In this chaos of necessities, allurements, opportunities without, in this conflict of forces within man, what is to be the spring of his life ; which is to lead, which is to rule ; what is to be the end, the result of the whole ? To these questions all sorts of answers may be given, and have been given.

At the outset, the active, energetic powers had it all their own way, casually stimulated first by one passion, then by another. Man thought just enough to get his weapons or win his battles. On a large scale, too, some famous societies, both in the old world of war and in the modern world of industry, have appeared to be based on the dominant scheme of activity. But societies or men which are absorbed in the blind rage for practical achievement, be it in fighting, robbing, producing, or trading, are soon found to be unsound. They are seen to be turned into slaves of some ignoble appetite, and the force of society about them, or the facts of nature, bring them down and remind them that in headlong surrender to activity they were really the creatures of passion.

It has often been suggested that the dominant element in life should be sought for in some intellectual principle—in the search for truth, the superiority of knowledge, and the like. But, when we come to examine it, we find that the search for truth is not a motive power at all. Truth can tell us how to do a thing, but it can not impel us to do it. The motive source must be a feeling, or a desire. A profound knowledge of nature may be used either to enrich mankind or to commit assassination. Thought is neutral—it may act under an evil or an indifferent or a noble motive. It always acts under some impulse of the feelings, moral or immoral. Nor can thought command. The mind gives light; it does not give force. It is dispersive, and may exercise itself in the boundless fields of curiosity. By itself thought can neither concentrate man's life on a uniform purpose, nor sustain and stimulate him to enduring action. Lastly, it appears that the intellectual energy of the mass of mankind is far too moderate to constitute within them a principle of life. One in a thousand of us may really be capable of a life of intellectual effort. Nine hundred and ninety-nine make use of their intellects to serve their ends. How often beneath the show of a passion for intellectual engrossment do we find some refined egoism, some concealed vanity or ambition! The character which is given over to speculation is often a character of curious feebleness. A society which proclaims the supremacy of intellectual excitement is a society without steadiness, morality, dignity, or tenderness.

Therefore, since the harmonizing principle of life can not be permanently found either in the intellectual or the active powers, there remain only the moral on which we can found it. To which out of the various affections and appetites of man are we to turn?

Obviously not to the lower appetites, or the self-regarding passions ; violent, necessary even, and ever present, as some of them are. It is a contradiction in terms to say that any man was ever raised to a higher nature, or became a truer man, by means of consistent devotion to one of his lower appetites ; and it would be equally paradoxical to pretend that societies of men are civilized and united by the humanizing power of the gospel of selfishness. We may leave this singular form of religion to the more fanatical disciples of the doctrines of Plutonomy.

It is plain that the harmonizing principle must be found in the higher or unselfish instincts, in our feelings of attachment, of veneration, of goodness ; in those fine gifts of our nature which move us to devote ourselves to something outside us, to humble ourselves in awe before something that is greater than ourselves, to use our powers for good, for the benefit of our fellows and the common weal.

And thus it is that every religion, or social system of any kind, which was ever worthy of the name, has aimed at regulating human nature and organizing society by proclaiming as the principle of life the cultivation of some one or more of the great social feelings. They have used all sorts of devices, combinations, and forms. But priests, philosophers, moralists, and preachers of every creed have ever said : "Base your life upon a noble feeling, if you are to live aright ; base the state upon a generous devotion of its members to some great ideal, if it is to prosper and be strong." The old Hebrews placed it in submission to their tribal God, who represented to them the spirit of theocratic patriotism. The old Romans placed it in courageous devotion to the eternal destiny of Rome. The older Greeks placed it in the adornment of their lives and of their cities with every ennobling attitude and grace. Christ and St. Paul placed it in humility, charity, long-suffering, mercy, purity. Mohammed placed it in utter devotion of self to the will of an overruling Providence. The Catholic Church has found it in veneration for the divine beings, and the cultivation of every Christian grace. The Protestant Churches have found it in obedience to the written word of God, and the ever-present sense of saving the believer's soul by a life of love and faith. All of these systems conceived that they could harmonize life by placing it under the stimulus of a high, unselfish passion.

And they were all right so far. There *is* no other basis on which man's life can be knit and society ennobled but by conscious

devotion to some great cause represented by a dominant power. It was by virtue of this truth that these various societies exhibited such wonderful powers, and produced such memorable results. They were strong by means of it ; neither men nor races have been strong without it. This great truth lingers on even in the attenuated fragments which survive in the modern theologies and theistic philosophies. Powerless as they are to deal with contemporary thought and life, they still command respect and a clinging devotion from masses of men and women, and from some of the noblest spirits of our time, because in spite of their want of logic, force, humanity, or usefulness, they still do testify to the beauty of holiness, and the inspiring might of a lofty sense of devotion. Now, positivism declares that, come what may, this is the root of the matter. It holds with the theologies, with all the theologies, that the key of man and of life is, as they ever said, *love, veneration, devotion*.

Wherein, then, was their utter and portentous failure, if they were right in this main point ? How is it that they have failed so strikingly, both to assimilate science and to moralize industry ? Why is it that their power is exerted but fitfully and slightly over one corner alone of human nature, while the breach they have made with the rest of human nature grows wider and wider every day ?

Obviously, it was because their spiritual elevation and devotion were not according to knowledge—not in correspondence with fact. Touching man's noblest feelings, they called on men to bow down to imaginary beings ; when men asked them for evidence of these beings and proof of their doings, the theologies could only answer, "Believe in faith !" They invented childish theories about the earth and our world and the facts of nature, and treated the intellect of man as if it were a slave. They talked about the arbitrary intervention of mysterious wills and deities, when science kept on showing us for ever new evidence of the reign of law through the world and a total elimination of all arbitrary providences. And when men came to act, to conquer this glorious earth and to organize their practical life in all the complications of modern material industry, the theologies of themselves could do nothing to civilize and moralize it. They could only ejaculate : "Lay not up for yourselves treasures where moth and rust doth corrupt and where thieves break through and steal ; but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through and steal." Well ! this is to outrage the intellect of

man, to trifle with our human energies ; and the fury with which the man of thought and the man of action have so long pursued the priest and his theology dates from that day when, in the name of man's noblest emotions, man was ordered to forswear his reason and his manhood, and, if he took these precepts in their literal sense, to debase himself, to become an idle, hysterical, ignorant mystic. Love, veneration, devotion—yes ! but everything turns on what or whom it is that we love, venerate, and devote ourselves to serve ; and how these feelings may be ranged with all we know, and may inspire all the work that we find to do in the world.

The more we look at it, the more we see that this cardinal error lies at the root of every kind of theology or metaphysical theosophy, whether it take the form of Catholicism or Protestantism, polytheism or Buddhism, spiritualism, deism, or pantheism. Whether you worship God, or the Virgin Mary, or the principle of good, or the Anima Mundi, or the "eternal that makes for righteousness"—if you concentrate the noblest sentiments of the human spirit on imaginary and superhuman objects, if you place the ideal of happiness and perfection in some supersensuous kind of bliss—you must place the whole of this influence that you call religion outside the human reason, which can only deal with the rational and the real, and outside the human energies which can only act in a human world. A superhuman creed may pretend to tell man his relations to the Infinite, and to prepare him for eternal bliss ; but what is wanted here is something to tell him his relations to the finite where he now is, and how he is to do his work honorably in this transitory but very urgent and very difficult bodily life on earth.

III.

But how comes it that, if theology is so manifestly unable to perform its task, it has so long retained the hold it possesses ; how comes it that the forces that have driven it from point to point have never succeeded to its place ? For five centuries at least in Europe the struggle has been going on, and in every conflict theology has lost some ground. Over the whole field of physical science the reign of law has been steadily and for ever established. The heavens no longer declare the glory of God ; they declare the glory of Kepler, Galileo, Newton. Neither Jove nor Jehovah now manifests his anger in the thunder, nor rides upon the wings of the wind. The electric force now binds two continents together, and the law of storms is yielding up to us the secrets of the gods of heaven.

The famines, the diseases, and the revolutions which afflict mankind are no longer the judgments of God. They are the inevitable sequences of known and preventable conditions. Thus throughout the whole incalculable array of human discoveries, through the vast field of human industry and labor, there has stretched itself out a body of scientific laws and a wealth of practical achievement which are utterly incommensurable with theology of any kind. These two are for ever incompatible—as distinct from each other as a dream is distinct from a demonstration in geometry, as distinct as a fairy-tale is from the invention of the electric light. It is pretended, indeed, that theology may yet hold a place beside them. It is not so. The theology of Moses, of St. Bernard, of Milton, could not live beside them for an hour. If any theology can live within their light, it is the metaphysical puzzle of some ingenious academic logician. How comes it, then, that this grand scientific movement, which has routed theology in every battle, has failed to take its place in the world—can not yet win that loyalty and authority which have ever been given to religion?

Why, after all, what is it that these vast intellectual achievements can offer to mankind? Inexhaustible satisfaction to our thirst after knowledge; perpetual contrivances for making life richer; enchanting visions of yet brighter discoveries. But after that? Nothing but boundless fields of knowledge and fresh matter for investigation, and fresh appliances for life. But affection, veneration, devotion, what of these? What power do these sciences and appliances offer to tame the turbulent passions and weld the discordant nature; in the name of what mighty force do they claim man's veneration; to what service do they bid him to dedicate his life? They know nothing of these things. They offer him, indeed, a perpetuity of gratified curiosity, the service of pure, unalloyed truth, a noble wonder at the immensity and complexity of the All. I will not deny that there are poets and philosophers here and there, of rare and peculiar genius, whom this exclusive thirst for truth may lead to bright and useful lives. But what a mockery is this passion for truth to the mass of the men and women around us, if we tell them to make it the standard and master of their lives! Curiosity is a low and feeble motive to appeal to, if you seek to lift rude men and women out of the slough of their selfish passions; love of knowledge is a fine thing, but does it prompt men to succor the miserable and protect the weak? Truth is sacred, but will truth make men generous, just, and tender, better fathers and hus-

bands, truer friends, braver citizens, more humane men? Wonder is often a healthy state of mind; but will an eternity of wonder at the material world around us fill us with gratitude, veneration, and resignation, such as the Mussulman, or Catholic, or Protestant felt, and may still feel, for his living providence?

Here, then, for centuries there has been waged the secular conflict between positive science on the one side and theology on the other—free thought and free life against a supreme faith and an exalted spirit of devotion. It has long seemed an insoluble dilemma. Each has something that the other can not destroy. Each has something that the world will not accept; each wants something that the world will not forego. In spite of all the priests of all the creeds, mankind will not consent to surrender one jot of their mind's freedom; nor can all the preachers of a thousand sects persuade them to give up their interest in this earthly life. The intellect shall be free; and men will care to live in this world and not in any other. On the other hand, in spite of science, men will not rest in peace until they have a faith; they can not consent to forego a religious sense of duty and reverence. How long is this battle to be fought? Is the dilemma for ever insoluble?

IV.

Positivism professes to be the answer to this momentous problem. The key-note of that answer is as follows: There must be both science and devotion, and the two must occupy the *same* field and be concentrated on the same object. Science alone, theology alone, make a lame and one-sided scheme of life, for neither is religion; neither gives a unity; and the two are incapable of ever coinciding in one. So long as science is occupied with the physical facts around us, it is impossible to say that science can present us a religious basis of life. So long as faith is supposed to be something opposed to knowledge, it is impossible to say that faith can inspire any rational mind. But the great intellectual fact of our generation is this—that science has extended its domain to the science of man. Social things have now been brought, like physical things, within the realm of law. The science of society—or sociology—has arisen. It is the unique and resplendent achievement of Auguste Comte. No rational thinker now denies that the whole world of human activity, of intellectual and moral powers, are, like the facts of nature, capable of scientific treatment. History, the origin and development of civilization, the economy of our social life, the

secret springs of our moral life, the laws of our intellectual life, are all reduced to a science ; less exact than our knowledge of the solar system, but equally real and far more complex. That which of old time was known as science—the laws of man's physical sphere, or of his physical frame—is become but the prologue and antechamber of science. The great science, the sacred science, the crown and summary of all science, is the science of man.

And now this new science unfolds to us an issue out of the dilemma. It reveals to us the laws of a force toward which we can feel the highest sense of sympathy, to whose service we can devote ourselves, whose mighty power over us we can not gainsay, while we must accept it with love and reverence. That force is the vast and overwhelming consensus of all human lives, the complex movement through the ages of human civilization and thought. Before this crucial discovery of human intelligence it was impossible to feel that the truths of science and our noblest sympathies had a common object or field. One might wonder at the firmament of stars and delight in our study of the planets ; but it was idle to love the planets, or to feel ourselves inspired by the milky way. It was marvelous to track the secrets of electricity, or the analysis of gases ; but the lives of men and women were never ordered by profound affection for electricity or gas. The study of all the forms of life upon the earth enlarged our minds, and the physiology of the human frame showed us how fearfully and wonderfully we are made ; but no man could love the vegetable or animal kingdoms as a whole. Nay, anatomy, or even vivisection itself, were not found altogether conducive to a reverential and sympathetic state of mind.

But when we passed into social science and found how all the other sciences had their issue and meaning in the science of man, when we found how they all served as the instruments and materials for the glorious human fabric, when we learned how the long succession of ages had developed man's mind and powers, how civilization was advancing with sure and widening progress, how the efforts of the human race stood round each of us from the cradle to the grave, how the thoughts of the wise, and the works of heroes, and the influence of every noble life, made us what we are—then we felt at last that the realm of law was become the realm of love. There was now a human providence which watched over us, taught us, guided us, ruled us ; there was a supreme power which we might serve, but which we could not contend with ; there was a cause to which to devote our lives and which could inspire all the warmth of

our souls. That cause was the onward march of the human race, and its continual rising to a better mode of life.

Thus, then, science at last has brought us to the feet of a power for which we can feel all those emotions of love, veneration, and devotion that have been so long lavished upon the creations of our fancy or our fear. Man can again become a religious being, for the deepest principle of his nature is again the service of a power for good above him. But observe the vast difference in the new form that religion has taken. This power for good is real, provable, human. It is entirely within the sphere of the intellect, and is manifested by the efforts of the intellect. The intellect is no longer the slave, or the foe, of the devotional ardor. It is its helpmate, its guide, and instructor. The new power is not a transcendental ideal which drags man away from his life on earth. It is as human as himself; it offers not the ideal of one Christ, but the reality of all the Christs; one with us, tried as we are, suffering as we are, bound by the same laws of matter, and united by the same conditions. It is not, indeed, eternal, almighty, omniscient, perfect—that is to say, it is not unintelligible, unreal, unhuman. If it were these things it would stand apart from our intellects, and be indifferent to the best of our practical energies. But, relatively to us, it is perpetual, mighty, provident, benevolent. So that, if religion, at first sight, seem in its new form to have lost something in sublimity and intensity, it has gained everything in reality, in comprehensiveness, in usefulness, in humanity.

It is just because the new object of our highest reverence is brought down from heaven to earth, is brought within the range of our human powers, that it gives such a mighty stimulus to our reason, to our energies, to our zeal for every kind of good. An infinite Trinity, or an infinite Godhead, is indeed incomprehensible, is above our intellect; does not need our thoughts; can not be tracked out by finite minds. An almighty Creator does not need our efforts; there is no work of his that we can really do, for his all-seeing providence can baffle everything we attempt. He needs not our well-doing, for he is beyond all service and all good. We are to give him nothing but praises: we may show our virtue by benevolence; but virtue is not devoutness. "When we have done all that is commanded of us, we must say, 'We are unprofitable servants.'" Silent adoration is all we can really give. "Thou art necessary to me," says the Catholic mystic to his God. "I am not necessary to thee!" In every way that we turn it, an absolute per-

fection paralyzes our reason, unmans our energies, refines away even active goodness into a mere ecstatic prayer. Monks and nuns are logically consistent with their creed.

But the power of humanity calls up every fiber of our brains to understand its organism, to learn its forces, and to know its difficulties. We are all necessary to humanity, for we are a part of it; it needs every faculty of our natures; not a stroke of our true work is lost to it; not one of our human offerings is valueless; every good word, and act, and gentle touch has its fruit and serves our kind; every smile that we shed upon a child is an act of devotion to our human providence.

And yet let us beware of thinking that all this is bounded and ended by a vague humanitarianism. If religion meant simply that men and women would be saved by trusting to indefinite progress, by relying on general goodness, and uttering encomiums on human dignity, religion would lead to some extraordinary types of character, and would end in as little as so many kinds of vague worship and hope. On the contrary, humanity, we say, is placed in a hard world, and has a world of hard work before it. There are mountains of things to be learned, of things to be done, of things to be practiced. All round the human race stand the hard forces of matter, and the difficult and complicated facts of science. Society can not be touched without knowledge; and the knowledge of the social organization of humanity is a vast and perplexing science. The race, like every one of us, is dependent on the laws of life, and the study of life is a mighty field to master. But life has its conditions in inert matter, of which chemical and physical laws give us the fixed and subtile limits. Lastly, our whole existence is dependent on the laws of the solar system wherein we dwell.

This vast array of law thus forms the condition and basis of human life; and we can only live rightly in so far as we live in accordance with it. Thus knowledge—knowledge of the laws mathematical, astronomical, chemical, physical, biologic, social, moral—becomes for us not only compatible with religion but essential to religion, a part of religion, its foundation and creed. To oppose or contrast science and religion would be, for a positivist, as irrational as it would be in a Christian to oppose the creeds and the gospels to Christianity. With us science is religion, so far that it is the intellectual aspect of religion. And thus with us the first part of a religious training is a sound and rational education. The beginning of all service of humanity is the knowledge of the laws of the world

which surrounds it, of the laws of its own nature. Enthusiasm for humanity, worship of humanity, would be shallow sentiment or rank hypocrisy, if it did not imply unwearying efforts to know the power we pretend to serve, to master those laws which reveal to us its destiny, and to carry that knowledge into act.

Not that this knowledge can ever remain a dry intellectual attainment. Religion, as Comte has said, consists of three parts—a belief, a worship, and a rule of life—of which all three are equal, and each as necessary as any other. To make religion consist in knowledge only would be to make it end in scientific curiosity. To make it consist in worship only would make it end in affectation and sentimentality. To make it consist in a rule of life alone would be to make it end in pharisaism. True religion is the combination of belief, worship, discipline. Humanity demands from us the best of our brains, of our hearts, of our conduct.

It were idle to pretend to sketch in these few pages any one of these three parts of religion. The scheme of positivism is not like some faiths which can be stated in a phrase, and accepted in a passion of emotion. It might make way more rapidly, but it would not be the solid thing it is, if it could be adopted by an exclamation, "I believe," if believers could be added by thousands after listening to a psalm, if it could be understood without a mass of labor. It would be an imposture if it presumed to explain the entire relations of life without an immense body of arguments, facts, and principles. It is the business of the great works of Comte to unfold and connect these principles.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

III.

LOUIS NAPOLEON AND THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.

SOME four or five years ago new and valuable sources of information were opened to the future historians of the war of the rebellion by the Government's purchase of the Confederate archives. Those in the possession of the War Department, which illustrate and explain the movements of the Southern armies in the field, are being indexed, classified, and published. Those of the Confederate Department of State are deposited in the Treasury at Washington, and, with the exception of one or two letters of the rebel agents in Canada, have for various reasons not yet been made public. Among these latter curious records of the "lost cause" is the diplomatic correspondence of the Confederacy with its Commissioners in Europe. This consists of a few dispatches from Dudley, Rost, and Mann, who acted as Commissioners of the Confederacy in Europe from the beginning of the war until February, 1862; of some later dispatches from Mann at Brussels; of a few letters of Lamar, who was appointed to Russia; of about one hundred and fifty dispatches from Slidell and Mason, the Confederate Commissioners at Paris and London respectively, beginning from the time they reached their posts after the Trent affair, in February, 1862, and ending abruptly four months before the close of the war; and, finally, of all official communications forwarded to these Commissioners by Judah P. Benjamin, the Confederate Secretary of State. Parts of these papers were written in cipher, and the translations made at Richmond accompany them.

Of these dispatches by far the most important are those of Mr. Slidell. The story which they tell of the intentions and intrigues of Louis Napoleon not only exposes the duplicity of that remarkable

personage in his American diplomacy, but throws interesting sidelights upon the policy of the English Cabinet toward this country.

They prove that the French Government was far less friendly to the United States than the British Cabinet ; that it was not owing to any scrupulous observance of the laws of neutrality, on the part of the Imperial Government, that Franco-Confederate Alabamas did not put to sea from the ports of France. Suggestions and assurances were given to Mr. Slidell and to others, by the Emperor in person, for the building and equipment of such privateers ; every facility was afforded the rebel agents by the imperial officials for this purpose ; and it was entirely due to the vigilance of Mr. Dayton, the United States Minister at Paris, and to a happy accident, that such plans miscarried. It also appears, beyond a reasonable doubt, that many of the rumors afloat in London and Washington during the war, as to the hostile designs of the Emperor, were not without foundation. During the first two years of the rebellion, while openly professing the most friendly feelings for the United States, the arch-plotter of the Tuileries was not only willing to act concurrently with her Majesty's Government in recognizing the South, or in declaring the insufficiency of the blockade, but he was eager so to do ; he made repeated efforts, unofficial it is true, but none the less earnest, to induce the Palmerston-Russell Cabinet to act with him in this direction, and the Ministry persistently refused or ignored all such overtures. There even appear reasons for believing that, but for the opportune capture of New Orleans, he would have taken some positive step in American affairs even without the coöperation of England.

The tone of this correspondence shows, moreover, that Mr. Mason, Mr. Slidell, and Mr. Benjamin all considered the British Ministry, and Earl Russell especially, as indifferent if not unfriendly to their cause ; and that they never entertained any very sanguine hopes of action, on the part of England, after the Trent affair. Indeed, in the autumn of 1863 Mr. Mason's long-standing complaints of the cold and distant treatment he had met with from the English officials were finally considered by his government, and, in compliance with an order from Mr. Benjamin, he withdrew from London, deeming his further presence there useless.

It was not until the last of January, 1862, that Slidell and Mason landed at Southampton, and proceeded to their destinations at Paris and London. The dark days of the war for the North had come. A series of disastrous reverses, followed by a period of sluggish in-

activity, had strengthened public opinion abroad that the destruction of the Union was an accomplished fact. The cotton famine was already producing its effect on the two millions in the United Kingdom, and on the hundreds of thousands in France, who depended upon that staple for their support ; and rumors were rife in the streets of Paris and London that the Mexican Expedition had other and far greater objects than those openly avowed by the allies. The letters of instruction which the Commissioners carried treated mainly of cotton subsidies, the inefficiency of the blockade, the right of the South to recognition, and the advantages which would accrue to England and France from free trade with the Confederacy.

From the beginning the shrewd Commissioners seem to have looked to the foreign policy of Louis Napoleon for the recognition of the Confederacy or for armed intervention. It is needless to dwell upon the condition of the empire at this time, and the causes which shaped that foreign policy. Louis Napoleon knew that his dynasty could be perpetuated only by reviving the military passion, by stimulating in his subjects their traditional love of glory, and by dazzling France with repeated victories. It was necessary for him to assume not only the *rôle* of a savior of society, but that of a Providence in the affairs of nations. An aggressive foreign policy followed as a matter of course.

Among the dreams of Louis Napoleon's youth, which he appears never to have forgotten in maturer years, and which soon formed a part of this foreign policy, was that of restoring to France her long-lost colonial empire. The breaking out of the civil war in the United States afforded him an opportunity for obtaining a foothold on this continent. In one of his dispatches to Mr. Slidell, Mr. Benjamin quotes, in this connection, a letter giving a conversation which the writer had with the Emperor at the Villa Eugénie in Biarritz, about the beginning of the war :

He (the Emperor) turned with peculiar and undisguised eagerness to the Mexican question. . . . He knew the very number of guns on the Morro, the sums the United States had spent on the fortifications in Florida, the exports and imports of Galveston and Matamoras, in short everything which well-informed local agents could have reported to an experienced statesman eager for information. He examined me again on Texas and its population, the disposition of the French residents, the tendencies of the German colonists, the feeling on the Mexican frontier. Twice, I remember well, he repeated, "*La Louisiane n'est ce pas qu'elle est Française au fond ?*"

At last he turned to the colonies, and then stated in round terms (finding that I quoted from his "*Idées Napoléoniennes*") the well-known words, "Eh bien, il faut reconstruire l'empire là bas." From what I could then gather I was fully persuaded that he proposed to seek in Mexico a compensation for the lost colonies in the West Indies, which, he said, could not be recovered "*sans nous brouiller avec nos alliés.*" He insisted upon it that France must sooner or later have a "*pied à terre*" on the Florida coast for the purpose of protecting her commerce in the Gulf, for, he added, "*nous ne voulons pas d'un autre Gibraltar de ce côté là.*"

Everything looked encouraging to Mr. Slidell upon his arrival at Paris. The Imperial Government, by the Mexican Expedition, by its half-official endorsement of the intemperate *brochure* of M. de Hauteville on the Trent affair, and by the tone of its official organ, "*The Moniteur*," had clearly indicated its hostile policy toward the United States. The current of feeling in Paris ran strongly against the North, and the Laboulayes and Gasparins, in their vain efforts to stem it, had even less success than Exeter Hall and Manchester in England. Although openly declaring that England and France would act together on all American questions, the imperialist leaders had not been cautious in their expressions of the secret policy to be pursued toward the South. As early as May, 1861, the Duc de Morny, the greatest personage in France after the Emperor, had told Mr. Rost, the first Confederate agent at Paris, that "the South would soon be recognized. He considered it a mere question of time"; and, in several dispatches written during the summer and fall of 1861, Mr. Rost also declared that he had it on authority which he was not at liberty to doubt, that the Emperor was ready to recognize the Confederacy jointly with England, but that so far he had not been able to persuade England to act with him. We shall see that the letters of Mr. Slidell corroborate these statements.

Upon his arrival in Paris, Mr. Slidell, after consulting with the Commissioners whom he superseded, had interviews with M. Thouvenel, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Persigny, then Minister of the Interior; Fould, Minister of Finance; Rouher, Minister of Commerce; De Morny; Count Walewski; Baroche, President of the Council of State; and Mocquard, the private secretary of the Emperor. After exchanging views with these high officials, he wrote a letter to his government, in which he speaks of the almost universal feeling of friendliness for the South, and then declares positively: "The Emperor has invited the English Government to

join with him in recognizing the South, but the English Government, owing to Earl Russell, has refused to act simultaneously with him."

The grounds for this rather startling statement, rumors of which seem to have reached the ears of both Mr. Adams and Mr. Dayton, are explained in a later dispatch, dated April 14, 1862, which contains an account of an interview which took place on April 11th, between the Emperor and Mr. Lindsay, an English ship-builder, member of Parliament, and Southern sympathizer :

Mr. Lindsay spoke of the Federal blockade as being ineffectual, and not in accordance with the fourth article of the Congress of Paris, and mentioned facts in support of his opinion. The Emperor fully concurred in Mr. Lindsay's opinion, and said he would long since have declared the inefficiency of the blockade and taken the necessary steps to put an end to it, but that he could not obtain the concurrence of the English Ministry, and that he had been and was still unwilling to act without it; that M. Thouvenel had twice addressed to the British Government, through the Ambassador at London, representations to that effect, but that no definite response had been elicited. The dates of these representations were not mentioned by the Emperor, but M. Rouher (Minister of Commerce) had said to Mr. Lindsay that the first had been made during the past summer, say in June, and the other about four weeks ago. . . .

What, then, was to be done? He could not again address the English Ministry through the official channels, without some reason to believe that his representations would receive a favorable response; that for that reason he had been desirous to see Mr. Lindsay; that he was prepared to act promptly and decidedly; that he would at once dispatch a formidable fleet to the mouth of the Mississippi, if England would send an equal force, and that they would demand free egress and ingress for their merchantmen with their cargoes of goods, and supplies of cotton which were essential to the world; . . . that he had from the first considered the restoration of the Union impossible, and for that reason had deprecated the continuance of a contest which could not lead to any other result than separation. He authorized Mr. Lindsay to make this statement to Lord Cowley, and to ascertain whether he would recommend the course indicated to his government. . . .

Mr. Lindsay reported on Sunday, the 13th instant, to the Emperor, the details of the conversation he had with Lord Cowley, the substance of which was, that he did not think his government was prepared to act at present, that the proper moment for action had passed, and that further developments should be waited for. The Emperor was even more emphatic than on Friday in the expression of his opinion. He requested Mr. Lindsay to see Lords Palmerston and Russell, and communicate to them everything that had passed. He seemed much dissatisfied with the course of England. He also wished

Mr. Lindsay to see Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, not as coming from him, because it would not be proper to address himself to the leaders of the Opposition, but that they might be informed of his views and wishes. He asked Mr. Lindsay to inform himself fully of the intentions of Lord Russell, etc., and to return as soon as possible to give him the result. He said he did not desire to be embarrassed by the forms and delays of diplomacy, as he felt the necessity of immediate action.

On the 18th day of April, six days after the above dispatch, Mr. Slidell again wrote his government on the same subject as follows :

Lindsay returned on the 17th instant, and to-day saw the Emperor. Earl Russell, in response to a note which Lindsay had addressed to him, that he was charged with an important message to him from the Emperor, said that he could receive no communications from a foreign power, excepting through the regular diplomatic channels. Lindsay saw Disraeli, who expressed great interest in our affairs, and fully concurred in the views of the Emperor. He said that he had the best reason to believe that a secret understanding existed between Lord Russell and Seward, that England would respect the Federal blockade, and withhold our recognition; that, if France would take the initiative, any course she might adopt to put an end to the present state of affairs would undoubtedly be supported by a large majority in Parliament, and, knowing this, Lord Russell would give a reluctant assent to this, to avoid what would otherwise certainly follow, a change of ministry. The Emperor said that Lord Russell had dealt unfairly in sending to Lord Lyons (the British Minister at Washington) copies of his representations, made through the Minister at London, on the subject of American affairs, and which had been made known to Seward. He heard Lindsay's notes of his conversation with Disraeli with great interest, and seemed particularly struck with what he had said about the previous understanding already mentioned, as affording a key to what he had not been able before to comprehend; and, with the suggestion that if he were to act alone, Earl Russell would soon be compelled to follow his example. He repeated that, while he desired to preserve a strict neutrality, he could not consent that his people should continue to suffer from the acts of the Federal Government. He thought the best course would be to make a friendly appeal to it, either alone or concurrently with England, to open the ports, but to accompany the appeal with a proper demonstration of force on our coasts, and, should the appeal appear likely to be ineffectual, to back it by a declaration of his purpose not to respect the blockade. The taking of New Orleans, which he did not anticipate, might render it inexpedient to act; that he would not decide at once, but would wait some days for further intelligence. Here the interview ended with a request to Mr. Lindsay to keep it secret.

There are good reasons for believing that Louis Napoleon meant just what he said to Mr. Lindsay in these conversations. No one,

it is true, understood better than he the saying attributed to Louis XI., "Qui ne sait pas dissimuler, ne sait pas régner." And although Mr. Dayton, as well as other keen observers who have studied his character, speak of his habitual caution and reserve, yet, like all radically weak men, he was prone to rely on those around him, and at times expressed his views to his friends with a dangerous frankness and familiarity. Moreover, at subsequent interviews with Slidell, Roebuck, and Lindsay, he often repeated this charge against the English Government, in almost the same words. It is evident, too, that he spoke openly to Slidell, since he discussed in later conversations with him all the steps which he meant to take, and several that he did take, in American affairs, such as the six months' armistice and the offer of mediation. A year later, indeed, this freedom of speech involved him in a serious complication with Roebuck, Lindsay, and Earl Russell.

But, fortunately for the Union, at this critical time, when the Emperor felt the necessity of "immediate action" and had determined upon his "friendly" appeal to the North to open the ports, and, should such appeal appear likely to be ineffectual, to back it by a declaration of his purpose not to respect the blockade, what he "did not anticipate" occurred. While he was speaking, the Federal guns opened fire, and in a few days the news was flashed across the ocean that Farragut and heroic old Bailey had swept past the forts at the mouth of the Mississippi, and that New Orleans had fallen.

The disastrous effect of this catastrophe upon the projects of the French Emperor appears from Mr. Slidell's dismal acknowledgments. In a conversation which he had a few weeks afterward with M. Billault, the Minister *sans portefeuille*, one of the most conservative and cautious men in the Cabinet, who represented the Government in the Chambers upon all subjects connected with foreign affairs, Mr. Slidell read a note which he had received from Sir Charles Wood, a leading Southern sympathizer in England, denying that the British Government was unwilling to act in American affairs, and alleging that it was as well disposed to the South as the Emperor himself. In answer to this, M. Billault declared that the French Cabinet, with the possible exception of M. Thouvenel, had been unanimously in favor of the South, and added that, "if New Orleans had not fallen, our recognition could not have been much longer delayed, but that even after that disaster, if we obtained decided successes in Virginia and Tennessee, or could hold

the enemy at bay for a month or two, the same result would follow." In an interview with M. Thouvenel, about the same time, Mr. Slidell also reports :

. . . . Although he did not directly say so, his manner left me fairly to infer that if New Orleans had not been taken, and we suffered no very serious reverses in Virginia and Tennessee, our recognition would very soon have been declared; and that, if we gained any decided victory there, the capture of our ports would not prevent it at a very early day. . . .

The policy of the Emperor at this time seems to have been due partly to his often-expressed conviction that the Union was for ever dissolved, and partly to the exigencies of the situation in Mexico. His famous letter to General Forey was written early in July, and clearly outlines the policy to be pursued toward this country. "In the present state of civilization in the world," he writes, "the prosperity of America is not a subject of indifference to Europe, for she nourishes our manufactures and gives life to our commerce. We are interested in having the Republic of the United States a powerful and prosperous power, but we are not willing to have that republic take possession of the entire Gulf of Mexico, command from there the Antilles as well as South America, and monopolize the distribution of the products of the New World." To prevent this a stable government would have to be established in Mexico, and he adds, "We will in that event have restored to the Latin race on the other side of the Atlantic its power and prestige."

Shortly after the publication of this letter to General Forey, the Confederate government seems to have become seriously alarmed lest the Emperor, in his dream of "restoring to the Latin race on the other side of the Atlantic its strength and prestige," should not rest satisfied with the conquest of Mexico alone. In a long letter to Mr. Slidell, on the subject of French intrigues in Texas, looking toward the establishment of that great State as an independent power between the Confederacy and Mexico, Mr. Benjamin incloses a note from M. Théron, a French consul in Texas, to Governor Lubbock of that State, which the latter had immediately forwarded to Jefferson Davis. It is dated August 18, 1862, and reads as follows :

SIR: Will you be kind enough to inform me, confidentially, of your personal opinion on the following questions:

1. The annexation of the Republic of Texas to the United States, was or was not a good political movement.
2. The act of disunion, and of the junction of the State of Texas to the Southern States, was or was not a good or bad politic taken by the State.

3. The reëstablishment of the old Republic of Texas, will or will not be beneficial to our beloved adopted country.

Your answer to these three questions, sir, will serve me as a guide in my political correspondence with the governments which I have the honor to represent.

The Confederate Government was so startled by this novel and blundering attempt to induce the chief official of the State of Texas to carry out to its logical results the cherished doctrine of secession, that M. Théron, as well as the French Consul at Richmond, who had been taking a suspicious interest in Texan affairs, was ordered to leave the Confederate States.

On July 16th, about a fortnight after the Forey letter was written, Mr. Slidell was granted his first personal audience with the Emperor, at which the latter again expressed his dissatisfaction at the "waiting" policy of the British Cabinet, and declared that his friendly services had not been appreciated by the English Government. He then said :

That he had committed a great error, which he now deeply regretted; that France should never have respected the blockade; that the European powers should have recognized us last summer, when our ports were in our possession, and when we were menacing Washington; . . . that the difficulty was to find the way to give effect to his sympathies; that he had always desired to preserve the most friendly relations with England, and that in so grave a matter he had not been willing to act without her coöperation; that he had several times intimated his wish for action in our behalf, but had met with no favorable response; and that, besides, England had a deeper interest in the question than France—that she "wished him to draw the chestnuts from the fire" for her benefit.

During this whole summer of 1862 neither Mr. Dayton nor Mr. Adams seems to have been willing to attach much importance to the rumors of the hostile designs of the French Emperor, which were flying about the streets of London and Paris, though they often allude to them in their dispatches. "I listen to all such reports," writes Mr. Dayton in August, to Mr. Seward, "with the utmost distrust. . . I very much doubt if Mr. Slidell has ever, on any occasion, exchanged a word with the Emperor." This skepticism on their part was increased by the denials of members of the British Cabinet that the Emperor had made any propositions whatever to her Majesty's Government on the American question.

Early in June Mr. Mason also heard from trustworthy sources that both Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell declared that no action

was contemplated by their Government in American affairs ; and that they positively denied that any overtures looking toward recognition or intervention had been received by them from France. Greatly surprised at these contradictions, coming, as they did, so soon after Lindsay's interview with the Emperor, memoranda of which were in his hands, he made further inquiries into the matter, and in a dispatch to Mr. Benjamin expressed his views on the subject as follows :

"It is notorious that the French Emperor is anxious and willing to recognize the South with England, and has pressed the Ministry to join him in so doing, but that not officially." He adds that the reiterated denials of Lords Palmerston and Russell refer only to official propositions, and that by diplomatic usage they were justified in taking no notice of any communications which were not strictly official. This opinion of Mr. Mason's was subsequently confirmed by the Emperor himself, in a later interview with Mr. Slidell in October. The latter spoke of the denials of Lord Cowley, of the report that his government had received any official notification as to the Emperor's views on the American question, and somewhat naively asked him for an explanation. At this the wily diplomatist "smiled, and said that he supposed it was in accordance with diplomatic usages to consider nothing to exist that had not been formally written."

It seems probable, therefore, that the denials of the British Cabinet were true ; that the French Ambassador at London had not yet presented any written letters to the English Government, containing any direct statement of the views of the Emperor on the subject of recognition or intervention ; that the latter, evidently distrusting the "tortuous policy of perfidious Albion," preferred to pursue a more irregular style of diplomacy—to acquaint the British Cabinet unofficially with his views and readiness to act with them, provided the direct proposition came from them ; so that, in case of a rupture with the United States, England might appear to be the party taking the initiative. But Lords Palmerston and Russell, who had probably not forgotten the duplicity of Louis Napoleon in the Crimean diplomacy, and who may have felt that they had been again hoodwinked by that astute intriguer in the negotiations immediately preceding the Mexican Expedition, would take no notice of any unwritten propositions of any kind.

The autumn of 1862 passed without change in the aspect of American affairs. In October M. Thouvénel resigned his office,

ostensibly on account of his views on the Italian diplomacy, though Mr. Slidell surmised from hints which the Emperor had let fall at his October interview, that it was partly occasioned by his lack of vigor on the American question. Before his resignation, however, he declared to Mr. Slidell that the claim made by Lord Cowley, that his government had received no official knowledge of the Emperor's views on the subject of recognition, was a "*mauvaise plaisanterie*" on the part of the English Government, and assured him that there had been "*des pourparlers très réels*" on the subject, and that England was not disposed to act. He was succeeded by M. Drouyn de Lhuys.

Soon after this change in the management of the Foreign Office, Mr. Slidell, learning from Persigny that the Emperor was making "*des démarches*" in favor of the South throughout Europe, and that he was impatient to act, requested and obtained another personal audience. "The Emperor began the conversation by repeating that the condition of affairs in Europe was very unsatisfactory, especially in Italy and Greece, and that he had to act with extreme caution. After referring to the possibility of joint mediation on the part of France, England, and Russia, which Mr. Slidell considered useless, his Majesty then said: . . . 'My own preference is for a proposition of an armistice for six months, with the Southern ports open to the commerce of the world. This would put a stop to the effusion of blood, and hostilities would probably never be resumed. We can urge it on the high grounds of humanity and the interests of the whole civilized world. If it be refused by the North, it will afford good reason for recognition, and perhaps for more active intervention.' I said that such a course would be judicious and acceptable—indeed, it was one that I had suggested to M. Thouvenel in February last; that I feared, however, he would find it as difficult to obtain the coöperation of England for it as for recognition." The Emperor, however, thought that the coöperation of England might perhaps be obtained. The conversation was then changed by the Emperor asking why the Confederacy had not created a navy. After discussing the subject of building ships abroad, Mr. Slidell said that, "if the Emperor would give only some kind of verbal assurance that the police would not watch too closely when we put on guns and men, we would gladly avail ourselves of it. To this the Emperor said: 'Why could you not have them built as if for the Italian Government? I do not think it would be difficult, but I will consult my ministers about it.'"

What followed this interview is well known. In a few days a circular dispatch was sent to England and Russia, suggesting a joint appeal to the belligerents for a six months' armistice, following in this the original plan of Mr. Slidell. To this, England returned a negative answer, and Russia promptly refused, keeping her promise made through Prince Gortchakoff to Bayard Taylor at St. Petersburg earlier in the war.

But the Emperor was not satisfied with the results of this November plan. As soon as he learned of the fate of this scheme, his direct offer of mediation was made through his Minister at Washington, couched in the most friendly terms, and "urged on the high ground of humanity," which had also been fully discussed with Mr. Slidell. This was emphatically rejected by the United States Government.

At this time the successful cruises of the *Alabama*, and the Emperor's suggestion about building privateers "as if for the Italian Government," set the rebel agents to work in that direction. M. Drouyn de Lhuys, who was apparently on very confidential terms with Mr. Slidell, and who was perfectly aware, according to the latter, of the peculiar relations existing between one of his subordinates and Mr. Slidell, was consulted on the subject of building these ships. He said that it "was an affair that belonged rather to the Minister of Commerce or of Marine ; that it was better that he should know nothing of it ; that he was quite willing to close his eyes until some direct appeal was made to him." The Minister of Commerce was then interviewed, and, to Mr. Slidell's categorical inquiry as to "whether, if we were to build ships of war in French ports, we should be permitted to arm and equip them and proceed to sea," answered in the affirmative.

M. Arman, a great French ship-builder, also saw the Emperor on the subject of arming war-steamers which might be built for the Confederacy. "The Emperor assured him that there should be no difficulty on the subject, and authorized him to say so to me. M. Arman suggested that I would probably not be satisfied with any assurance which I did not receive directly from the Emperor, and asked if he would not grant me an audience for that purpose. He replied that he thought that a message from him should satisfy me, but that, as he had already received me, there was no reason why he should not again do so." A few weeks after this, Mr. Slidell had an audience with the Emperor, and expressed to him his thanks for his sanction of the contract made for the building of

four ships of war at Bordeaux and Nantes. "I then informed him" (he writes) "that we were prepared to build several iron-clad ships in France, and that I only required his verbal assurance that they should be allowed to proceed to sea under the Confederate flag, to enter into the contracts for this purpose." This modest request, that the chief executive of a neutral power should not only sanction the building of iron-clads for a belligerent, and allow them to sail, but allow them to sail under the belligerent's flag, was a little further than the Emperor would go. "He said," continues Mr. Slidell, "that we might build the ships, but that it would be necessary that their destination should be concealed." It is perhaps unnecessary to add that the work on the four corvettes of the Alabama class and the three iron-clad rams at Nantes and Bordeaux was pushed with energy.

During the spring of 1863 the Emperor's attention was engrossed by the Polish troubles, but in June the crisis seems to have passed. The news from the seat of war in the United States was encouraging for the South; the crown of Mexico was to be formally offered to Maximilian, and Mr. Slidell learned that the French Cabinet was again discussing the feasibility of taking some positive step in favor of the Confederacy. He, therefore, submitted to the Emperor, through Persigny, a memorandum again demanding the recognition of the Confederate States, and on June 18th was granted another audience. At this interview the Emperor said that he had read the memorandum presented to him by Persigny, and that he was more fully convinced than ever of the propriety of the general recognition of the Confederate States by European Powers, but that the commerce of France and the success of the Mexican Expedition would be jeopardized by a rupture with the United States; that, in case of trouble with that country, no other Power than England possessed a sufficient navy to give him efficient aid in a war on the ocean, which, however, he did not anticipate, if England would join with him in recognition. He agreed to see Roebuck and Lindsay, who had requested an interview on the subject, as they were about to press a motion in Parliament for the recognition of the Confederacy, and promised to lay the matter before his Cabinet at once. Finally, he added, after a little reflection: "I think I can do something better: make a direct proposition to England for joint recognition. This will effectually prevent Lord Palmerston from misrepresenting my position and wishes on the American question."

On June 19th Mr. Slidell's private agent in the Ministry of

Foreign Affairs wrote him as to the result of the meeting of the Council :

The question which you were pleased to discuss with me to-day was, in effect, submitted to the Council yesterday. The proposition to be made in London was deemed, first of all, inopportune. It was determined, as a middle course, to contradict to the English Cabinet the rumors falsely attributing to us sentiments and a policy less favorable to the South; to remind it that we had repeatedly made propositions to it, which it did not think proper to welcome; to declare to it that our disposition had not changed—quite the contrary—and to declare to it that we should be delighted to be able to act in consequence; and that, if it had itself any overture to make to us in a spirit analogous to that which had inspired ours, we should receive it with as much eagerness as pleasure.

On June 21st M. Mocquard, the private secretary of the Emperor, sent the following note to Mr. Slidell on the same subject :

MY DEAR MR. SLIDELL: You will doubtless be pleased to receive the following communication, which the Emperor charges me to make to you confidentially. M. Drouyn de Lhuys has written to Baron Gros, our Ambassador in London, to sound Lord John Russell on the question of the recognition of the South, and has authorized him to declare that the Cabinet of the Tuileries was ready to discuss the subject.

On June 25th Slidell writes to his government about the interview of Roebuck and Lindsay with the Emperor as follows :

I have now to report that the interview of Messrs. Roebuck and Lindsay with the Emperor at Fontainebleau was highly satisfactory. They were authorized to state in the House of Commons that the Emperor was not only willing but anxious to recognize the Confederate States, with the coöperation of England.

The excited debate in Parliament which followed this interview is a matter of history. On the last day of June, Mr. Roebuck pressed a motion in the House of Commons for the recognition of the Confederate States, and in his opening speech said that he was authorized by the French Emperor to state in the House of Commons that he was still anxious and willing to recognize the Confederacy, and that he had again made overtures to the English Government to that effect. He then spoke of the Emperor's complaint of the uncourteous treatment he had received from the English Cabinet, and accused the Cabinet of misrepresenting the Emperor's views, of concealing his offers, and of disclosing to Mr. Seward the nature of the Emperor's dispatches. In answer to this speech, Mr. Layard, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declared

that no official communication had been received from the French Government since the circular note of November 10, 1862, on the armistice; and Earl Russell arose and said that Baron Gros, the French Minister, had just told him that he had received no recent official communication from his government on American affairs. Mr. Layard further stated that the Emperor's dispatch of November 10, 1862, which was the only dispatch the Emperor could have possibly meant, had been at once published in "The Moniteur" and all the newspapers, and that Mercier himself, the French Minister at Washington, had communicated its contents to Mr. Seward.

The impression left on the public by this debate was, that Roebuck had misstated or that the Emperor had deliberately lied. The former hypothesis seemed most popular in this country, the latter in England. The dispatches of Mr. Slidell, however, render both of these solutions of the affair improbable, for various reasons. Mr. Roebuck and Mr. Lindsay called on Mr. Slidell immediately after their interview with the Emperor, and described it to him exactly as Roebuck did in the House of Commons. The Emperor told Roebuck and Lindsay only what he had often said to Slidell.

A full discussion of the issue raised as to the disclosure to Mr. Seward by Lord Lyons of the French "representations" to the English Cabinet would be tedious. Mr. Seward simply denied that Lord Lyons had communicated to him the contents of the circular dispatch. "The Moniteur," in its explanation of the affair, admitted that there were no official dispatches except those which were immediately printed, and that the Emperor, therefore, could not have made the accusation attributed to him. Both the English and French officials at the Foreign Offices also declared that there were no such official dispatches to which the Emperor could have referred in March, 1862. But another explanation of this imbroglio is suggested by Mr. Slidell's dispatches. The Emperor may have referred to representations made through his minister at London in the summer of 1861, which, as he admitted himself, were not labeled "official," and which he mentioned as early as April, 1862, in his interview with Mr. Lindsay. On this hypothesis the explanations of the French and English Cabinets were wide of the mark. In a note of M. Mocquard, the Emperor's private secretary, to Mr. Slidell, written by the Emperor's instructions for the purpose of explaining the matter, he admits that his Imperial Majesty had said that "the Cabinet of London boasted at Washington of declining such of the Emperor's proposals as were in favor of the South," but denied that

he meant to accuse Lord Lyons of disclosing any official dispatches of the French Government.

That Earl Russell, with his dislike for the secret intrigues and double dealing of the Emperor, in making open professions of amity and good will to the United States Government while secretly urging the English Ministry by every unofficial means in his power to join with him in recognizing the South, saw fit to open Mr. Seward's eyes on this point, is quite possible, if not probable. But of this there can be, of course, no clear proof. Mr. Seward's published dispatches only show that he had heard many rumors, from many sources, of the feelings and intentions of the Emperor, and that he had that natural distrust of him which every one seems to have entertained after studying his character and career.

Mr. Slidell's dispatches explain more clearly Baron Gros's denial of having received any recent official communications on the American question from his government. M. Mocquard, in his explanation of the affair to Slidell, wrote: "On the next day after the interview of Messrs. Roebuck and Lindsay with the Emperor, the Minister of Foreign Affairs telegraphed Baron Gros to "officially" inform Lord Palmerston that, should Great Britain be willing to recognize the South, the Emperor would be ready to follow her in that way."

M. Drouyn de Lhuys also read to Slidell's "friend" in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a letter in which, after directing him to sound Lord Palmerston on American affairs, and to inform him that France was willing to follow the English Cabinet in recognizing the Confederacy, the Emperor added, "*Je me demande si je ne devrais pas faire dire officiellement à Lord Palmerston que je suis décidé à reconnaître les États Confédérés.*"

It seems clear, therefore, that the Emperor did send some kind of dispatch to Baron Gros through M. Drouyn de Lhuys, requesting the former gentleman to sound Lords Palmerston and Russell on the American question, and to notify them that he was ready to join England in recognizing the Confederacy, provided she would make the official proposition on the subject. Either the French Ambassador did not receive it, or, after Mr. Roebuck's motion met with such feeble support and such violent opposition, Baron Gros, either with or without instructions, may have deemed it proper to deny that he had received any official communication on the subject of recognition, as indeed he had a right to do if what he received was a purely confidential dispatch.

While the debate on Roebuck's motion was pending, Lee, crippled and beaten at Gettysburg, retreated beyond the Potomac, Vicksburg surrendered, and the crises on the battle-field and in diplomacy were passed at the same time.

During the autumn and winter of 1863 the French Government, however, seems to have done all in its power to assist the rebel agents ; and Mr. Slidell still entertained hopes that the recognition of the South by France would precede the Archduke's formal acceptance of the Mexican crown. James Williams, a confidential agent of the Confederacy, spent two weeks at Miramar in almost daily communication with Maximilian, and wrote to Jefferson Davis that he was disposed to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Confederacy. Mr. Slidell's agent in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs confirmed this, and said that he had seen the memorandum made by Maximilian of the conditions under which he would agree to accept the crown, and that the recognition of the Confederacy headed the list. The corvettes and iron-clads also approached completion, and Mr. Slidell hoped that they would soon put to sea. But he was doomed to bitter disappointment in all his hopes.

As early as November 6th he had become uneasy at reports that the destination of the corvettes could be proved by the United States officials, and addressed the following note to the Emperor :

The confident assertions of agents of the Washington Government, and certain remarks made at the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and of Marine, lead the undersigned to apprehend that, without consulting your Majesty, orders may be given that will interfere with the completion and armament of ships of war now being constructed at Bordeaux and Nantes for the Government of the Confederate States. The undersigned has the most entire confidence that your Majesty, being made aware of the possibility of such an interference, will take the necessary steps to prevent it. The undersigned has no access to the Minister of Marine, and does not feel authorized to state to the Minister of Foreign Affairs the circumstances under which the construction of these ships was commenced. He relies upon this reason to excuse the liberty which he has ventured to take in addressing himself directly to your Majesty on a subject in which are involved not only vital interests of the Government which he represents, but very grave and delicate responsibilities for himself.

Although he received some encouragement from various sources after the writing of the above, his worst suspicions soon proved to be well founded. In the following January a confidential clerk of the contractor who was building the corvettes absconded with

full proofs of their real ownership and destination, which were soon in Mr. Dayton's hands. The latter at once placed them before the proper authorities. The corvettes were detained, and M. Drouyn de Lhuys and the Minister of Marine both expressed to the American Minister their amazement at this discovery. How genuine their surprise really was can be judged from Mr. Slidell's previous communications with the Emperor, and from Mr. Slidell's own statements.

"The contract for the corvettes," he writes to Mr. Benjamin, "was concluded only after the official consent to their armament and sailing was given by the Minister of Marine; and this was given on the representation that they were intended for commercial purposes, although their real character and destination were fully known to him—he, however, reluctantly signing the order in obedience to superior authority."

In the case of the *Rappahannock*, too, the English privateer detained in France, Mr. Slidell was again disappointed. Through his faithful friend Persigny he urged that she should be allowed to proceed to sea, and Persigny showed him the following line from his Majesty :

MY DEAR PERSIGNY: I have given orders that the *Rappahannock* may leave the ports of France. But the American Minister must know nothing of it.

NAPOLEON.

But, owing to bad management and various complications, even the *Rappahannock* was detained.

Finally, the waning hopes of Mr. Slidell were utterly destroyed. Maximilian came to Paris, and, to Mr. Slidell's surprise and chagrin, refused to grant him an interview. After this he wrote despairingly to his government that all hope was gone, and that "the whole policy of the Emperor was changed." The repeated successes of the North, the unpopularity of the Mexican Expedition, the complications on the Continent, and the stubborn adherence of the English Cabinet to its "waiting policy," were sufficient to induce a far less vacillating man than Louis Napoleon to conciliate the North, and to wait upon the course of events. Of the rest of Mr. Slidell's mission nothing need be said.

The fall of Richmond rudely destroyed Louis Napoleon's vision of a great Latin empire beyond the seas. Nothing was left for him but to withdraw with as little humiliation as possible. The beginning of that expedition found him firmly fixed upon his throne, pop-

ular among many classes, and supported by a successful and contented army; the end of that expedition found him humiliated by his own vacillating policy and by Mr. Seward's diplomacy, his army disgusted at their lack of success, discontent everywhere. A desperate effort soon became necessary to prop his tottering throne. The march to Mexico, in a measure, led to the march to Paris.

Some months ago one of the last survivors of the great men who controlled the policy of England and of the United States during the rebellion, Earl Russell, passed away. In his "Recollections and Suggestions" he acknowledged but one grave error in his management of American affairs—his neglect to detain the Alabama. We believe that when an impartial history of the rebellion is written this will appear true. Whatever may be said about the hostility shown toward the United States by the people of England during the war, it is time that intelligent men should at least give credit to the Ministry which guided Great Britain in those troubled years, for its caution, honesty, and comparatively fair neutrality in the face of Louis Napoleon's persistent intrigues.

In the march of present events in Europe, if the circumstances should be reversed and England should be plunged into a great war, it is only to be hoped that the foreign affairs of the United States will be managed with as much ability, discretion, and fairness, as were then shown by the much-abused Palmerston-Russell Cabinet.

OWEN F. ALDIS.

IV.

THE RAILWAY PROBLEM.

For several years past our railway system has been operated in a manner that has attracted widespread attention, and has created a demand, not only from persons interested financially, but from the country at large, for some decided reform. The competitive struggle existing during many years, and which still exists, resulting in irregular, unfair, and improper dealings with the public and with its vast business interests, has awakened a feeling that can not be longer ignored, and which can only be quieted by the adoption, promptly and firmly, of integrity of purpose and action by those who control these immense railway properties. The public has come to regard as insincere and almost farcical the repeated so-called trunk-line conferences, held as they have been from time to time with the avowed object of stopping the cutting of rates, with all the consequent demoralizing evils and destructive effects.

The leading railways of the country may be thus grouped : the great trunk lines, which control the territory from St. Louis and Chicago in the West to the cities on the Atlantic seaboard, comprise the main arteries ; while the numerous Northwestern, Western, and Southwestern roads connecting with each of the trunk lines are essential adjuncts. No one doubts that, in case of united and effective action on the part of the trunk lines, the cutting of rates would cease within a brief period ; and that, without such action on the part of the trunk lines, these roads will continue to act irregularly and with continued disastrous results. Let the tributary companies be separately and vigorously treated, and desired and valuable results will be secured. If, however, any connections are permitted to cut, and the trunk lines share in this cutting and loss, the entire system is disordered and a failure. Keep the fountain-heads pure, and all the currents can beyond doubt be properly controlled. It is admittedly the interest of the trunk lines to preserve

rates intact, and agreed schedules are adopted at irregular intervals, only to be broken, involving conference upon conference, culminating usually in the restoration of the former figures. The question naturally arises, Why, if agreed rates are generally restored and accepted, do violations occur with such frequency? To answer this question, the condition of the Western connections and the difficulty of holding them to their agreements must be examined. Many of these roads, being in the hands of managers who have no direct interest in their securities, and who are not held to any direct responsibility, have been operated by them to their own personal advantage and to the advantage of friends. The only influence brought to bear to compel them to join the conferences and agree to the restoration of rates thus far, has been the moral power of the managers of the trunk lines. There are exceptions, where judicious railroad men of large experience operate bankrupt roads to advantage; but these cases occur only when the lines are advantageously located. In addition to the bankrupt roads, there are others operated almost exclusively at the expense of the stockholders. Their interest has been for years in default, and they are managed shrewdly in the interest of parties who recognize the fact that they will be ultimately forced under the control of the courts, and meanwhile reap as rich a harvest as possible. Such is the character of many of the lines beyond the territory controlled by the great trunk companies and feeding them. The remainder desire the maintenance of regular and paying rates, and labor to secure them; but find their efforts are abortive, and are forced to compete for traffic or allow the business to go to other channels. Looking to an ultimate settlement, and the formation of a pool, so that they may obtain a fair proportion of the traffic, they fear to fail to secure tonnage even at unremunerative rates. In dealing with this question, through rates have been exclusively considered. The trunk lines get the bulk of their through business from connecting lines; and, under the system which has heretofore prevailed, when these connecting lines cut rates they have accepted their *pro rata* of the reductions. One of the trunk lines accepting such cut rates from its connecting lines, all others are forced to accept similar rates from their connections. Then the lack of faith on the part of the railroad managers in each other has also had much to do with the non-maintenance of fixed rates.

One of the chief difficulties in maintaining rates arises from the fact that many officials interested in Western lines, as well as in

some of the trunk lines, have a separate pecuniary interest in the cars running upon these lines, for which they obtain a certain mileage, and which consequently they desire to have kept in motion continuously. If business can not be had at schedule rates, and these parties have no paramount interest in preserving them, the incentive for making a cut can be readily seen; and, if the officers interested in the cars are possessed of sufficient influence, the necessity for cutting rates can be so explained as to prevent their correction. In fact, to the power of these and other interested "institutions" may be traced the greatest difficulties which the trunk lines have had to encounter—difficulties which, up to this time, have proved to be insurmountable.

A few words as to trunk line competition, which, owing to obvious circumstances, is not so subject to these influences. The West-bound pool has during its existence been the most successful commercial organization, considering its character and the difficulties besetting it, that has ever been known in America. Continued already for more than two years, with every indication of a long life, and no responsibility attached to its membership other than the mere pledge of the parties upholding it, it may well be regarded as a phenomenon in railway history. That its primary objects have been secured its age clearly demonstrates; and there are few who will doubt its usefulness and uniform success, passing as it has through periods of business depression and commercial inactivity greatly calculated to open up extended competition between the trunk lines. Again, the enemies of the pool both in the East and West, who had profited in former years by wars of the trunk lines, saw that an avenue to large revenues at the expense of the latter was about to be closed, and therefore labored to excite jealousy between these lines; the Wall Street and other operators resorted to many devices, and endeavored to stir up personal feeling and antagonisms between the managers of the trunk lines, based on statements invented for the purpose of effecting a break. How nearly successful the many hostile influences were is well known to those managers. The results of the pool, however, have so clearly demonstrated the wisdom of maintaining it, that all influences inimical to its stability have been resisted, and the trunk lines enjoy to-day from a secure position the discomfiture of their enemies, and see that "in union there is strength," and are likewise conscious of a marked endorsement of this policy by the public. They recognize fully that their interests on this subject are identical, and that the

pool must stand. Undue competition in East-bound traffic is brought about by the absence of a stable agreement, and the trunk lines are forced into it by the character of their connections. If an effective agreement relating to East-bound traffic could be made, cutting be altogether stopped, and the business of the Western roads as well as of the trunk lines be conducted according to business rules and principles, under the renewed confidence as to the continued development of this country and continuous emigration, an era of general prosperity would be witnessed such as is anticipated by few.

Having traced the causes of the evil, we see that the whole trouble may be attributed to a lack of responsibility in those exercising the great authority described. Agreements are made, schedules adopted, but what penalty is there for any violation of them? It is true that nominal charges are decided upon sometimes by certain railroad associations, but they are not enforced by subscribing lines, merely because there is no sufficient authority to apply the penalty. This being the case, why should agreements be subscribed to at all? The only answer is, the belief that the moral influence of the trunk lines is good. This to a certain extent is true. Had it not been for this influence, things would have been decidedly worse. To this lack of responsibility, which, as has been demonstrated, is the most powerful influence for evil of the railroad system, can be traced at times the threatened collapse of the West-bound pool, and the complete failure thus far of all efforts to establish at the leading Western points similar pools controlling East-bound traffic. It appeared some time since as if these pools would be successfully formed, and several began to operate. Chicago, however, it was claimed, could not be pooled; and those who wished the pool system to be a failure seized upon this as a pretext for breaking up pooling at Cincinnati, Indianapolis, and other centers. A temporary agreement has since been made to pool the business of Chicago for the control of East-bound traffic, and it is hoped this will lead to the formation of similar pools at other centers.

Passenger associations are in nominal existence, and from births under pleasant auspices, with a brilliant future before them, have so steadily degenerated that there are now very few companies which deem them of sufficient importance to allow their passenger agents to attend the periodical meetings. They have formed agreements; but, notwithstanding all efforts to the contrary, rates have been cut and fares reduced lower and lower. Affecting, as

these organizations could, so beneficially the revenues of the corporations, their only good thus far has been to secure at times a restoration of rates for a brief period.

As to the effect on the roads themselves, no difference of opinion exists in reference to the disaster and discredit to all concerned. They are compelled to do the same amount of work and employ the same equipment as though their traffic were remunerative. The damage to their rolling stock and roadway, considering the increased rapid transit demanded during the period of excessive competition, is greater than when they are operated under ordinary conditions, and their entire expenses are proportionately increased, while their revenues are lessened. While this is the result of competition in through freights, the local traffic and that to and from non-competing points are forced to submit to unreasonable discrimination at the hands of the railway companies; for, although the volume of business is greater, the revenue is not increased, and they must indirectly bear a disproportionate share of the expenses of the entire line. This has been the case for years, and formerly the people were content with protests; but recently they have assumed a more determined and aggressive attitude, and their efforts to secure a recognition of their claims by the railway companies have culminated, as known, in appeals to State legislative bodies for relief from the alleged discriminative policy. While members of the State Legislatures comprehend that there should and necessarily must be a difference between the proportions of rates from competing points and between long and short distances—that is, between through and local rates—they, for obvious reasons, unite with the extremists in endeavoring to secure the passage of such acts as will compel the establishment of rates to satisfy local demands.

The facts stated show but a portion of the very serious evils growing out of unregulated railroad management.

What shall be the Remedy?

It is generally believed that a legion of theories can be applied by which relief could be afforded; but the subject, while apparently controllable, is extremely complicated and difficult. The mere fact that a system is in operation in the United Kingdom of Great Britain which is successful would lead to the supposition that it could be advantageously inaugurated here; but, as is the case with

many other European national measures, it would be inoperative under our republican institutions. The English system, however, offers many useful suggestions, and is well worthy of attention in this connection. It has been the subject of national legislation in that country for years, several successive Parliaments having been called upon to improve it. The acts of 1854 and 1873 appear to embrace the most important legislation in reference to railways. The act for "the better regulation of railways and canal traffic of 1854," of the British Government, provided merely that railroad and canal companies should extend facilities for receiving and forwarding freight and passengers without improper discrimination or partiality. The higher Crown courts were fully authorized to receive and investigate complaints as to violations of this act, with authority also to issue injunctions against the respondents. Disobedience under the injunction was visited by a process against one or more of the directors of any such company, or against any owner, lessee, contractor, or any other person disobeying; and the courts were empowered to impose a fine not exceeding two hundred pounds per day for every day that the injunction was ignored. The companies were further liable for damage to stock or merchandise occasioned by default or neglect, notwithstanding any notice, etc., of the company limiting their liability; but not denying the right of the carrier to make such conditions, subject to the decision of the Court as to their justice and reasonableness. The act specified limited damages to live-stock except in special cases.

This act was succeeded in 1873 by "An act to make better provision for carrying into effect the railway and canal traffic act of 1854, and for other reasons," which created a Railway Commission of three persons and two assistants. One of the Commissioners was to be experienced in law and one experienced in the railway business. Provisions were made for the removal of a Commissioner for inability or misbehavior. The Commissioners were armed with an official seal recognized by the courts, and were authorized to act regardless of any vacancy in their number. They were compelled within three months from the period of appointment to dispose of all moneyed interests in any railway or canal company; were not allowed to accept during office any such interest, and could not exercise jurisdiction in a case where they were directly or indirectly interested. All complaints of discrimination, etc., made by the Boards of Trade or individuals under the former act were transferred to them, they being invested with all authority formerly

reposed in the courts, which ceased to exercise jurisdiction in railway matters except to enforce the decisions of the Commissioners. On the receipt of a complaint the Commissioners were directed to notify the respondents, and to act in cases of arbitration under general or special acts. In the matter of through rates the company desiring to forward freight over other lines was required to notify the latter within ten days of the proposed through rate and route and proportions. If not objected to within the specified period, the rate was considered accepted; and, if objected to, was referred to the Commissioners for decision. If the demurrer was to the apportionment, the rate went into operation and the subsequent decision was retrospective. In any other event the rate was suspended until the decision was obtained. In deciding the apportionment of the rate the Commissioners were required to consider all of the surrounding circumstances, including any special expense in the construction, maintenance, or operation of the proposed route or any portion of it. No line could be compelled to accept a less mileage rate than at that time received by a competing line. These through-rate provisions also applied to steam-vessels operated by the railway companies interested. Municipal or other public corporations, local or harbor boards, could lodge complaints without proving that they were aggrieved, it being necessary to accompany the complaint with a Board of Trade certificate. The companies were required to keep a list of special and schedule rates in a place of public access, and to furnish any required information regarding their business. The Commissioners were authorized to determine terminal charges not fixed by national legislation. The railway and canal companies were not permitted to consolidate without the Commissioners' consent, and only after the terms of agreement had been thoroughly published. Differences as to transportation of mails were referred to the Commissioners. The Assistant Commissioners possessed similar authority, but acted under instructions from their superiors, who were empowered to employ clerks, officers, scientific and other experts to decide all questions of law and fact, and were clothed with all the authority of a civil court. Any of the civil courts were instructed to enforce the decisions of the Commissioners, and, in an appeal, to decide any question of law without costs to them, their decisions not to be stayed pending the appeal. They were also empowered to sit collectively or individually, and in open court or secret, and required to make annual reports to the Government. In 1874 an amendment was adopted transferring the

authority in questions concerning transportation companies from the Boards of Trade to the Railway Commissioners.

English legislation, it will be seen, was with a view to regulate, not so much the general policy of the roads, as to protect minor corporations, and the people whose money is invested in them, a thing that is so desirable in this country. The act of 1854 appears to have been intended as an experiment, in which the matter of extending facilities to persons and corporations without discrimination, prejudice, disadvantage, or partiality, is specially provided for, and the question of through rates, although implied, is not specified. The enforcement of this act was left altogether to the superior courts; but in 1873 the later act was issued, defining particularly the matter of facilities as applying to through-freight traffic and the apportionment of charges for the same. To carry out the provisions of this act, which evidently contemplated a speedy settlement of all railway differences, authority was transferred from the courts to a Railway Commission created by it. A competent lawyer and a competent railway man were necessary as members of that Commission, strengthening their final decision; and, all being disinterested parties, were well able to assume a settlement of any question. The law was cast iron and the tribunal was all-powerful. One clause especially of the act is adaptable to a like commission or pool in this country, viz., the provision demanding in a question of apportionment the consideration of any extraordinary circumstances or expense surrounding the construction or operation of the road at issue; and in no instance could the proportion be made less than that received by a rival line. Access by the general public to schedules and rate lists was also a good provision, as well as that making any individual or corporation an informant in charges of violations.

The first duty of the Railway Commissioners was to simplify the methods of procedure on applications, dispensing with certain forms and placing a company on its defense without delay. Among the first cases before the Commissioners the railway companies were charged with discriminating in favor of themselves against carriers, in not deducting from a through rate, including delivery, a proper amount for goods carted by the complainants. In one instance they were made to divide the rate in order to show the proper amount for cartage. In the other case the complainant compromised and was made an agent of the company, thus demonstrating that the railway companies were not only not allowed to show par-

tiality to themselves but also not to discriminate between customers. In another case a railway company was defended in discriminating in favor of a corporation and against private individuals, it being shown that the general public were benefited by having the price of the product of the corporation reduced in consequence. All of these were under a section taken from the act of 1854 regarding the extension of uniform facilities. Under the section of the act of 1873 providing for the reference by arbitration of differences between railway companies, a case occurred in which a company as lessee failed to account for receipts for terminal expenses to the leased line, which were decided under the agreement to comprise a portion of the general receipts. Another was where it was found necessary to adapt the gauge of one road to the cars of another running over it. The question was decided by establishing the respective rights of the two companies and fixing a table of rates. This case was adjusted after several years' litigation. Questions as to divisions of through rates according to mileage also arose, but were settled by the companies preliminary to a general hearing by the Commissioners. During the second year the Commissioners were called upon principally to decide upon questions of discriminations on the part of the railway companies between customers. Rates were proved to have been charged higher and lower than those fixed by the schedules, and the schedule rates were restored. Abatements in charges to persons agreeing to patronize a certain company were discovered on complaint and stopped. Rebates for terminal service performed by customers were stopped on complaint of parties at a corresponding station where an opportunity did not offer for the performance of similar service. A number of cases of disagreement in reference to through rates and routes were submitted to the Commissioners and equitably adjusted. In one or two cases the jurisdiction of the Commissioners was contested, but, this being decided in their favor, the questions at issue were privately arranged. There were no appeals allowed from the decisions of the Commissioners, inasmuch as the exceptions were not based on questions of law.

No national legislation has been seriously presented on this subject in the United States except in the "Reagan Anti-Freight Discrimination Bill," which, while it is impracticable, suggests some good points. This bill, as modified and amended, provides against discriminative freight rates in interstate traffic, forbids the issue of rebates or drawbacks, or the formation of pools or agreements between competing lines, prohibits delays or interruption of traffic, con-

cessions in rates and charges, and exempts broken car-loads. This is the bill in brief ; and while its author's objects are probably good, if it should be adopted and put into effect, it would be liable to lead to complications from which it is doubtful whether even he could suggest an effectual plan of relief. The burden of its reformatory feature is to prevent unfair discrimination, and nothing is more patent than that the trunk-line managers themselves would do everything in their power to secure this result if presented in a practicable form ; but even after benefiting by the experience incident to the opposition to the original bill, it is plainly demonstrated that Mr. Reagan is still largely at fault in pressing it in its present shape.

The measure aims to cure the effects without treating the cause. Nothing can be more beneficial than the stopping of the rebate and drawback system, under cover of which the principal cutting is successfully carried on ; but, while the interests of the roads are in securing a great bulk of business rather than an equitable division of profits, their ends can not be accomplished if agreements and compacts are prohibited. Fluctuation in rates, consequent discrimination, etc., are not the result of legitimate competition, but the consequence of ruinous warfare, treachery, and dishonesty between the various roads. The Reagan bill does not prohibit competition, but indirectly encourages, while ostensibly discountenancing it. The greatest injustice is that the bill does not cover water transportation or water and rail traffic ; as, between the seaboard and Chicago, for illustration, lines having lake and rail connections would be exempt from the penalties of the bill. The interstate clauses, which are the burden of the measure, are also unjust. A road beginning and ending in a State, as in the case of one of the trunk lines, would have an unfair advantage over its competitors, and, although a through line, could break freight bulk at the borders of the State in which it originates, and thus evade the provisions of the bill. For obvious reasons, the placing of local traffic on the same basis as through business can not prove operative. If rates were equalized or local schedules reduced by *pro rata* arrangement, the railways could not pay expenses ; and no sane person will argue for a moment that freight transported from station to station and over short distances should pay as little revenue per mile as that carried to distant points at greatly decreased comparative expense. Any measures brought before Congress constructed to meet popular feeling may be expected to be crude, as in the case of the

Reagan bill ; because, unless prepared by persons who understand and appreciate the railroad situation, they must necessarily be incomplete. Generally, behind such movements in State Legislatures are local influences and local shippers, with arguments as to the effects of the so-called discriminations against local patrons, quoting the difference *pro rata* between through and local charges, and making a showing which excites the sympathies of the congressional representative, as it had previously worked upon the inhabitants along the line of road, who perhaps are not directly interested in the question of railway charges, but enjoy the privilege of the elective franchise, and whose influence in common with that of their fellow citizens is courted and secured. The representative then proposes a bill which is calculated to correct the discrepancies complained of, and perhaps if passed would not really work much damage to the railway companies. But, when the bill gets before the Legislature, other agencies develop, and not only are sweeping and radical measures ingrafted on it, but its condition is so altered that its author would fail to recognize it. The clauses originally intended to cover the purposes of the author are entirely superseded by impracticable sections. This is the immediate result of friendship for the railway interests, of lobby and other influences, and of the peculiar views of individuals who have ideas on every subject which they must ventilate. Thus the measure is crippled and burdened ; and, if perchance it pass one branch of the legislative body, it is so encompassed by fallacious features that the other branch will not lend itself to enacting its absurdities. It appears that Congress alone can not be relied upon to correct the evils of the railway system, and for similar reasons the State Legislatures can not treat the subject successfully. Where can and must the remedy be found ? To an unbiased mind conversant with the details of the subject, the inquiry can receive but one answer. The remedy lies first with the railway companies themselves, and secondly with the national and State Legislatures. But how is this to be effected ? The railway interests must propose the necessary measures, and, in case of their failure in putting them into effect, Congress must second and support them, and must be called upon to assert and apply its power in a matter where one of the greatest and most important moneyed and business interests of the country is involved. While Congress is authorized and empowered to act in questions of interstate commerce, it can not control or regulate commerce within a State, and here a strong feature of the subject

becomes most prominent. It has been demonstrated why through traffic must apparently be conducted to some extent irrespective of local interest, because of competition; but if competition be removed, and laws be framed exclusively to regulate through traffic, the question of local rates would be entirely changed, and influences and evils more difficult to be dealt with than the former ones would be developed. Therefore, while Congress solves the problem from a national standpoint, the coöperation of the State Legislatures with the railway interests must be secured on local questions.

In the general discussion, the subject of water transportation and its relations to the railroad lines demands especial attention. This is a feature not treated in the Reagan bill, but it is one of the most important, as shaping the policy of the railroads with reference to freight traffic at certain periods. Water lines, or part rail and part water lines, can not be governed in common with "all-rail" lines, but must be separately classified and controlled. In treating them the attendant circumstances must be regarded, and concessions made on general grounds of differential rates. As regards dispatch, facilities for accommodations, and working, the railroads are vastly superior, and "odds" should be given to the weaker and less favored competitors. Determined opposition will be encountered, but the urgency of combining this interest with that of railroads must be appreciated.

Another important factor of the subject is the question of passenger traffic, which has for years been notoriously irregular and unsatisfactory. A review of the entire passenger traffic of the country, say for five years past, will demonstrate that there has been no comparative yearly increase during this period, except at the time of the Centennial Exhibition, and a careful survey of that exceptional year shows that the revenues were disproportionate with the increased bulk of business. This important railway department should exhibit a steady growth. Much has been done to contribute to this end, and yet all efforts to afford a healthy impetus have failed. The result can only be attributed to the unfavorable condition of the present railway system, combined with the general depression of business produced by the panic of 1873. The West-bound trunk line pool has been applied exclusively to the working of freight traffic, and here it is claimed a great mistake has been made. Whether this be so or not, the fact remains patent that, in the effort to reform the system, the passenger traffic must not be neglected, but should receive the attention of those who are

to take the matter under effective control. The West-bound trunk line pool was organized experimentally. Its success has exceeded the greatest expectations of its founders, its history having been one of uniform victory in the face of almost insurmountable opposition and difficulties.

A recapitulation shows that the evils lie mainly with the connections of the great trunk lines, the irresponsibility of a large number of them, and the lack of good faith in making agreements and in sustaining them. All of these culminate in the cutthroat policy and unprincipled dealings assuming the respectable title of "competition." It is competition after a fashion, but it involves extravagances and lack of honesty, which not only affect the offenders, but permeate all railway companies, and necessarily injure the respectable corporations and those which desire to operate under an honest policy. It entails disaster to all interests involved, excites the disgust and contempt of the people, and opens up avenues for movements calculated to work great mischief and loss. The pernicious effects are witnessed in the large number of bankrupt roads throughout the country, in others struggling to maintain their existence, and which, unless there be a prompt change, must sooner or later end in a more general financial ruin; stockholders' money recklessly squandered in keeping up false policies, and the entailing of immense losses and injuries upon the stockholders of the great trunk lines themselves. Thus increased bad feeling is being engendered in every community, which will inevitably result, if not remedied, in unwise legislation, calculated to work inestimable damage to the railroads and country at large.

The only safe, expedient, and practicable remedy, in the judgment of many thoughtful and patriotic citizens, lies in the organization of a competent and reliable pool through the instrumentality of the combined railway and commercial interests of the land, under a commission with final authority, and composed of persons with no other interests at stake than to perform faithfully their duties as arbitrators. The success of the West-bound trunk line pool would indicate, although it has not been surrounded by the same difficulties, that a general pooling of all the roads in the country is feasible. The recent appointment, with fixed salaries, of Messrs. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., David A. Wells, and John A. Wright, as arbitrators, furnishes such a commission as, with full powers upon all points, should ultimately succeed in bringing about results which will meet with the general approval of not only those interested

in railways, but of the country at large. The character of these gentlemen is a sufficient guarantee to the public as to the value of the Commission, in case they be clothed with such ample powers as will enable them to enforce their decisions. It is understood that they have been invested with power to make their decisions final and obligatory, and that they have been requested to present a plan under which those decisions can be made absolutely operative. It has been urged upon many railway managers recently that the best manner to arrange this power will be for each governing line to deposit a large sum with the Board of Arbitration, subject to distribution to the aggrieved parties by them in case of infringement of contract, and this fund, whenever diminished, to be reinstated under orders from the arbitrators. If experience, under the supervision of a permanent board of such high character, should show that State and national legislation will be required in justice to all interests, such legislation can doubtless be obtained as will prove judicious and valuable alike for the railway companies and the people. If reasonable and proper rates of transportation can be thus established and maintained, the requisite capital for the additional railways that will be necessary to aid the growth and progress of the country can then be obtained, and so equitable an improvement will be effected in the control and management of railways that it will prove as valuable to the public of the United States as the system adopted in Great Britain has proved for the people and for railway properties there. Legitimate competition would not be suspended; but the reckless system of forcing enormous business at irregular and unremunerative rates, as at present, for the advantage of the few and at the expense of the many, would be brought to an end. All legitimate agencies to develop and foster trade would be utilized, illegitimate and costly agencies would be dispensed with, and rates would at the same time be sustained at a reasonable and proper standard.

These statements, though imperfect, will, it is hoped, serve to present for public consideration the principal causes and effects of the wild and unsatisfactory history of railway management for many years past, and to aid in effecting a solution of the great railway problem.

ROBERT GARRETT.

V.

THE DIARY OF A PUBLIC MAN.

UNPUBLISHED PASSAGES OF THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE
AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

PART III.

MR. SUMNER AND MR. CAMERON.

Washington, March 3d.—I received this morning a note from —, asking me to come at once, if possible, to his house, and going there instantly, as I chanced to be free to do, I found to my surprise that he had sent for me to meet Senator Sumner, whom I found engaged in close conversation with him, and who greeted me with a warmth a little out of proportion, as I thought, to the relations between us, for I have never affected an admiration which I certainly have never felt for Mr. Sumner.

It was soon explained when I found that Senator Sumner had asked — to send for me in order that he might urge me to call at once upon Mr. Lincoln and represent to him “in the strongest language which you can command—for no language can be too strong”—the dreadful consequences to the influence and success of the new Administration which must follow his nomination of Mr. Simon Cameron to a seat in the Cabinet. Mr. Sumner’s conviction was absolute that Mr. Lincoln had bound himself by a political bargain in this case, which would itself suffice to blast his reputation as an honest man were it made known, as it would surely be; but he treated this as a small evil in comparison with the mischief sure to be done by the presence in the Cabinet of such a person as Mr. Cameron, “reeking with the stench of a thousand political bargains worse than this.”

When he had abated a little of the vehemence of his language, I took occasion to ask why I should have been requested to inter-

vene in such a matter, and on what grounds Mr. Sumner and — had reached what seemed to me the extraordinary conclusion that I could be induced to meddle with it. Senator Sumner interrupted me by asking, somewhat more peremptorily than I quite liked, whether I needed to be informed of the true nature of this “political Judas from Pennsylvania, whom Providence had marked with the capillary sign of his character, and who might have sat to Leonardo da Vinci for the picture in the Milanese refectory.” All this made me but the more indisposed to listen to him, but I finally succeeded in ascertaining that he had sent for me on the strength of —’s assurances as to the way in which Mr. Lincoln had been kind enough to speak of me to himself. I hastened to assure them both that any good opinion which Mr. Lincoln might have of me must have been based upon my careful abstinence from precisely such interferences—“impertinent interferences,” I quietly called them—with his affairs, as the intervention to which they desired to urge me would certainly be. I told them how extremely slight my acquaintance was with the President-elect, to which — replied that Mr. Lincoln himself had cited my representations in favor of one gentleman whom he hoped to include among his advisers as having been “the most decisive endorsement” with him of that choice. I could only reiterate my surprise; and Mr. Sumner insisting upon his theme, began again with more fervor, if possible. He very soon gave me the true secret of his extreme anxiety on this point. He asked me what interest I or my friends could have in such a preponderance as the Middle States seemed destined to have in the Cabinet if Mr. Seward and Mr. Cameron were to enter it together, and in what way it could advance our wishes or purposes to allow the New England States, “the cradle and the spinal life of the Republican party,” to be “humiliated and thrust below the salt at the board which, but for them, would never have been spread”—with much more to the same general effect, but all this with an intensity and bitterness quite indescribable. — was more temperate in his expressions, but almost equally urgent with me to do what I was compelled again and again in the clearest terms to let them understand that nothing under heaven could make me do, even if I had the fullest belief that my action could in any way affect the matter, which I certainly had not. It astonished me to see how hard it was apparently for Mr. Sumner to understand that my objections to coöperating with — and himself did not in some way arise out of some relations of my own with Senator

Cameron—out of some doubt on my part as to the measure of mischief to be apprehended from Senator Cameron's political reputation, and from the nature of the appointments sure to be made and favored by him.

It was idle for me to assure him again and again that I knew perhaps as much of Pennsylvania politicians in general, and of Senator Cameron in particular, as other people, and should regret as much as he possibly could any "predominance" of Pennsylvania politicians in the new Administration. Nothing could stop him; and he insisted on telling me a succession of stories to illustrate the unscrupulousness of Mr. Cameron, one of which he declared had been told in his own presence and in a company of gentlemen by a chief agent in the transaction, who seemed to regard it, said Mr. Sumner, as a brilliant triumph of political skill, a thing to be proud of, and a decisive proof of the fitness of Senator Cameron for any office in the country.

A CURIOUS CHAPTER IN PENNSYLVANIA POLITICS.

It was to the effect that, when Mr. Cameron found his election to the Senate in grave doubt, he turned the day in his own favor by taking a pecuniary risk which eventually resulted in his making a considerable sum of money. According to Mr. Sumner's version of the affair, the person who gave the history of it in his presence, and who is certainly a prominent man in the financial circles of Philadelphia, stated that a leading member of the Legislature (I think he said a State Senator) offered to vote for Mr. Cameron, and to induce two or more of his friends to do the same thing, if he could be relieved of some local indebtedness in the place where he resided and put in the way of a livelihood elsewhere, his constituents being so hostile to Mr. Cameron that it probably would not be agreeable for him to continue among them after Mr. Cameron's election through his help to the Senate. No bribe passed; but the local legislator was appointed to a remunerative position in the way of his calling (as a lawyer, I think) in one of the great Philadelphia corporations, and removed to that city, having previously paid off his local indebtedness with a loan from Mr. Cameron on the security of some stock which he happened to hold in a small railway, at that time of no appreciable value.

The loan was never called for, but through some subsequent legislation the small railway in question was brought into a more extensive railway system, and the collateral in Mr. Cameron's hands

advanced to a value far exceeding the amount for which it had been ostensibly hypothecated. After listening to Mr. Sumner for a considerable time, I finally asked him why he did not go himself to Mr. Lincoln and depict the Senator from Pennsylvania in the dark colors in which he had represented him to us. He intimated that he had already done so, and after a little the conversation took a turn which confronted me with the painful conviction that all this indignation about Senator Cameron had its origin not so much in any real horror of the Pennsylvanian element in politics as in the belief, which I hope is well grounded, that the presence of Mr. Cameron and Mr. Seward in the Cabinet will confirm Mr. Lincoln in his disposition to pursue a conservative conciliatory policy which may bring the seceded States back into the Union, rather than a policy aimed at a complete separation of the slaveholding from the non-slaveholding region.

NO WAR FOR THE UNION, AND NO UNION.

It did not surprise me, of course, to find Mr. Sumner aiming at such a result, but the acquiescence in his views of — does both surprise and pain me. I asked them if they did not think it better, from the point of view of the negroes, for whom they seem to be so deeply concerned, that slavery should be held for eventual execution within the Union—now that events had so clearly demonstrated the incompatibility of the institution as a permanent feature of Southern society with that general peace and order which must be as essential to the South as to the North—than that slavery should be excluded from the influences of freedom in a new confederacy, organized to uphold and develop it; but I could bring neither of them to reason on the subject. Mr. Sumner grew very warm again. He was as much horrified as I could be or any man at the idea of an armed conflict between the sections. “Nothing could possibly be so horrible or so wicked or so senseless as a war”; but between a war for the Union which was not to be thought of, and “a corrupt conspiracy to preserve the Union,” he saw, he said, little choice, and he desired to see the new Administration formed “supremely in the interests of freedom.” As for the slaveholding States, let them take their curse with them if they were judicially blinded so to do. He quoted some lines, I think of Whittier, about their right to make themselves the scandal and the shame of “God’s fair universe,” as embodying his conceptions of what we ought now to recognize as the policy of freedom, and then he recurred finally to the original

theme, and once more in concert with — began about the visit they wished me to make to Mr. Lincoln. I was forced at last to tell them both explicitly that, while I fully agreed with them as to the supreme necessity of avoiding any collision or conflict between the States, and had no fear of any such catastrophe, my hope of averting it rested mainly upon my hope that Mr. Lincoln was of one mind with Mr. Seward on the subject, and would direct his efforts to a conciliatory preservation of the Union; and that neither Mr. Seward nor Mr. Cameron could possibly have less faith than myself in any "policy of freedom" which contemplated the possibility of a severed Union, or less disposition to favor such a policy. It was not at all a pleasant conversation, but it was a necessary conversation, as I am sorry to find, and it is painfully evident that the new Administration will have to contend with a Northern as well as with a Southern current of disaffection and disunion much stronger than I had allowed myself to suspect.

In the evening I saw Mr. Douglas, and, without telling him whom I had seen to bring me to such a conviction, I expressed to him my conviction that unless Mr. Seward entered the Cabinet, and entered it with some colleague upon whom he could rely for support in a conservative policy, Mr. Lincoln would be drifted out to sea, and the country with him.

I found that the incidents of Saturday had been communicated to him, and, as I inferred, though he did not say so, by Mr. Lincoln himself; and I was much relieved to find that he entertains no doubt of Mr. Seward's nomination, and of his confirmation. He told me that Mr. Seward yesterday received assurances to that effect from Senator Hunter, of Virginia, through —, and he agreed with me that, whatever our private opinions of the political habits and ideas of Mr. Cameron might be, it was most important that no effort should be made to displace him at this hour from the Cabinet, at the risk of seeing a man, either of the type of the Blairs, put in who will press things to a bloody contest, or of the opinion which I fear Mr. Chase represents, that the South and slavery had better be gotten rid of once for all and together. Mr. Douglas used the strongest language as to his own determination to stand by Mr. Lincoln in a temperate, resolute Union policy, and I must own that I never saw him to such good advantage. He was perfectly frank in admitting that he would regard such a policy adopted by Mr. Lincoln as a virtual vindication of his own policy during and before the Presidential election, and that he believed it would eventu-

ally destroy, if successful, the organization of the Republican party as a political power; but a man who received a million and a half of votes in a Presidential contest has a right to feel, and Mr. Douglas evidently does feel, that he speaks for a great popular force in the country. But, as I have often felt before, so I felt again this evening, that Mr. Douglas really is a patriotic American in the strong, popular sense of that phrase. He had seen Mr. Lincoln to-day, and he intimated to me that he had heard that part of the message read which touches the assertion of the invalidity of the acts of secession, and that he was entirely satisfied with it. To use his own expression, it will do for all constitutional Democrats to "brace themselves against." I repeated to him what Lord Lyons had said to me the other day, and asked him what ground Mr. Lincoln has taken on the questions raised by the seizure of Southern forts, and by the fortifications put up in Charleston against Fort Sumter. He says that since Mr. Lincoln reached Washington he has inserted in the message a distinct declaration that, while he regards it as in his duty to "hold, occupy, and possess" the property and places belonging to the Government and to collect the duties, he will not attempt to enforce the strict rights of the Government where hostility to the United States is great and universal. I then told him that Mr. Seward, some days ago, had assured me that he believed he would be able to induce Mr. Lincoln to take such a position as this, and that it would suffice, he thought, as a basis of negotiation with the seceded States, and give the people breathing-time to recover their senses at the South; and we came to the conclusion, which I was very glad to reach, that Mr. Seward's counsels must have brought Mr. Lincoln to this stand, in which I have no sort of doubt, and Mr. Douglas has none, that the great majority of the Northern people of both parties will support him.

TELEGRAPHING TO PRESIDENT DAVIS AT MONTGOMERY.

It was late when I left Mr. Douglas, but when I reached home I found — waiting for me with a most anxious face. He opened his business to me at once, which was to ask my advice as to what he should do with a message brought to him by —, one of Mr. Seward's New York men here, who desired him, in Mr. Seward's name, to have it sent to-night by telegraph to Mr. Davis at Montgomery, Alabama. — had assured him that it was expected, arrangements having been made that such a message should be sent,

and that he would do a public service by sending it. I asked if he had the message, which he produced. It bore a signature not known to me, and was a simple statement to the effect that the tone of Mr. Lincoln's inaugural message would be conciliatory. I asked — what his objection was to sending such a message, which certainly could do no one any harm and which was probably enough true, when he called my attention to the fact that it was addressed to Mr. Davis as President of the Confederate States. I laughed, and told him that I saw no harm in that any more than in addressing Mr. Davis as Pope of Rome, and that I thought he might safely do as he preferred about it, especially as he had apparently agreed with Mr. Seward's friend to send it. I asked him then why this mysterious friend came to him with such a request, upon which he said that he had known the man very well in Wall Street, and had had occasion to avail himself of his services at various times. I finally advised him to send the message, rather than make any further confidences or communication about it, and to be a little more careful hereafter as to his associates and allies. He was in a curiously perturbed state of mind, and I am afraid has been going into stock speculations again.

As to —, from whom he got his message, he told me a curious story, which helps to explain the sort of irritation which Mr. Seward's particular followers so often show about him, as well as to confirm my own not very high opinion of some of these New York men in whom he takes such an interest apparently. It appears that, before the message was handed to him, he had a long conversation with — on the subject of the President's message, and that, after trying in vain to get a definite statement about it from his New York friend, he had twitted the latter until he lost his temper so far as to admit that, when he had pressed Mr. Seward for light as to the President's message this very morning, Mr. Seward had finally put him off with the extraordinary statement that "all he had to do to insure a peaceful settlement of the whole business was to be sure and buy a lot of tickets to the inauguration ball and make it a grand success; that would satisfy the country, and lead to peace."

I really could not stand this, but burst into a fit of laughter, which seemed to annoy — more than it amused him. He grew quite hot as to Mr. Seward's levity and indifference to the interests of his "friends," protesting that it was nothing less than an outrage on the part of Mr. Seward to put off in this way a man

of wealth and influence who was devoted to him, and who had a great material interest at stake in learning whether we were to have war with the seceded States or not, as he was a large owner of steamers which the Government would need to charter if there was to be a war or even a large warlike demonstration. I lost my patience a little with this, and told — promptly that, if these were the motives of his New York friend, Mr. Seward deserved credit for putting him off with a recommendation to buy ball-tickets, but he came back at me triumphantly with the dispatch to Montgomery which his New York friend had secured at the end of a second visit to Mr. Seward, as a decisive sign of the peaceful prospect before us, and which he finally took away, saying that he would send it.

THE MILITARY INAUGURATION OF MR. LINCOLN.

Washington, March 4th.—I am sure we must attribute to the mischievous influence of the Blairs the deplorable display of perfectly unnecessary, and worse than unnecessary, military force which marred the inauguration to-day, and jarred so scandalously upon the tone of the inaugural. Nothing could have been more ill-advised or more ostentatious than the way in which the troops were thrust everywhere upon the public attention, even to the roofs of the houses on Pennsylvania Avenue, on which little squads of sharpshooters were absurdly stationed. I never expected to experience such a sense of mortification and shame in my own country as I felt to-day, in entering the Capitol through hedges of marines armed to the teeth. —, of Massachusetts, who felt as I did—indeed, I have yet to find a man who did not—recalled to me, as we sat in the Senate-chamber, the story of old Josiah Quincy, the President of Harvard College, who, having occasion to visit the Boston court-house during one of the fugitive-slave excitements in that city, found the way barred by an iron chain. The sentinels on duty recognized him, and stooped to raise the chain, that he might pass in, but the old man indignantly refused, and turned away, declaring that he would never pass into a Massachusetts court-house by the favor of armed men or under a chain. It is really amazing that General Scott should have consented to preside over such a pestilent and foolish parade of force at this time, and I can only attribute his doing so to the agitation in which he is kept by the constant pressure upon him from Virginia, of which I heard only too much to-day from —, who returned yesterday from Rich-

mond. Fortunately, all passed off well, but it is appalling to think of the mischief which might have been done by a single evil-disposed person to-day. A blank cartridge fired from a window on Pennsylvania Avenue might have disconcerted all our hopes, and thrown the whole country into inextricable confusion.

That nothing of the sort was done, or even so much as attempted, is the most conclusive evidence that could be asked of the groundlessness of the rumors and old women's tales on the strength of which General Scott has been led into this great mistake. Even without this the atmosphere of the day would have been depressing enough. It has been one of our disagreeable, clear, windy, Washington spring days. The arrangements within the Capitol were awkward, and very ill attended to. No one was at his ease. Neither Mr. Buchanan nor Mr. Lincoln appeared to advantage. Poor Chief-Justice Taney could hardly speak plainly, in his uncontrollable agitation.

HOW MR. DOUGLAS STOOD BY THE NEW PRESIDENT.

I must, however, except Senator Douglas, whose conduct can not be overpraised. I saw him for a moment in the morning, when he told me that he meant to put himself as prominently forward in the ceremonies as he properly could, and to leave no doubt on any one's mind of his determination to stand by the new Administration in the performance of its first great duty to maintain the Union. I watched him carefully. He made his way not without difficulty—for there was literally no sort of order in the arrangements—to the front of the throng directly beside Mr. Lincoln, when he prepared to read the address. A miserable little rickety table had been provided for the President, on which he could hardly find room for his hat, and Senator Douglas, reaching forward, took it with a smile and held it during the delivery of the address. It was a trifling act, but a symbolical one, and not to be forgotten, and it attracted much attention all around me.

THE BEARING OF MR. LINCOLN HIMSELF.

Mr. Lincoln was pale and very nervous, and did not read his address very well, which is not much to be wondered at under all the circumstances. His spectacles troubled him, his position was crowded and uncomfortable, and, in short, nothing had been done which ought to have been done to render the performance of this

great duty either dignified in its effect or, physically speaking, easy for the President.

The great crowd in the grounds behaved very well, but manifested little or no enthusiasm, and at one point in the speech Mr. Lincoln was thrown completely off his balance for a moment by a crash not far in front of him among the people, followed by something which for an instant looked like a struggle. I was not undisturbed myself, nor were those who were immediately about me; but it appeared directly that nothing more serious had happened than the fall from a breaking bough of a spectator who had clambered up into one of the trees.

Mr. Lincoln's agitation was remarked, and I have no doubt must have been caused by the impressions which the alarmists have been trying so sedulously to make on his mind, and which the exaggerated preparations of General Scott to-day are but too likely to have deepened.

THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS, AND THE EFFECT OF IT.

The address has disappointed every one, I think. There was too much argumentative discussion of the question at issue, as was to have been expected from a man whose whole career has been that of an advocate in his private affairs, and of a candidate in public affairs, and who has had absolutely no experience of an executive kind, but this in the actual state of the country is perhaps an advantage. The more we reason and argue over the situation, the better chance there will be of our emerging from it without a collision.

I listened attentively for the passages about which Mr. Douglas had spoken to me, and I observed that, when he uttered what I suppose to be the language referred to by Mr. Douglas, Mr. Lincoln raised his voice and distinctly emphasized the declaration that he must take, hold, possess, and occupy the property and places belonging to the United States. This was unmistakable, and he paused for a moment after closing the sentence as if to allow it to be fully taken in and comprehended by his audience.

In spite of myself, my conversation with Lord Lyons and his remarks on this point would recur to my mind, and, notwithstanding the encouraging account given me by Mr. Douglas of the spirit and intent of Mr. Lincoln himself, this passage of his speech made an uncomfortable impression upon me, which I find it difficult even now to shake off. There is probably no good reason for this, as no one else with whom I have spoken to-day seems to have been

affected by the passage of the speech as I myself was, and I am conscious to-night that I have been in a morbid and uneasy mood during the whole day. Mr. Lincoln was visibly affected at the close of his speech, and threw a tone of strange but genuine pathos into a quaint, queerly constructed but not unpoetical passage with which he concluded it, not calculated to reassure those who, like myself, rely more upon common sense and cool statesmanship than upon sentiment for the safe conduct of public affairs.

Upon the public here generally the speech seems to have produced little effect, but the general impression evidently is that it prefigures a conciliatory and patient policy; and, so far, the day has been a gain for the country. I anticipate little from it at the far South, but much in the border States, and especially in Virginia, which just now undoubtedly holds the key of the situation.

AN INTERESTING MARYLAND VIEW OF THE SITUATION.

On my way back from the Capitol, I met —, of Maryland, who walked with me as far as Willard's. He spoke of the inaugural very contemptuously, and with evident irritation, I thought, and what he said strengthened my own feeling that it will be of use in allaying the excitement which his friends are trying so hard to foment, not only in Virginia, but in his own State. He makes no secret of his own desire to see Maryland and Virginia carry Washington out of the Union with them. When I suggested that other States had spent a good deal of money in Washington, and that there was a good deal of public property here which had been called into existence and value by the United States, and not by Maryland or Virginia, he advanced the singular doctrine that the soil belonged to these States, and that everything put upon it must go to them when they resumed their dominion over the soil. "The public buildings and the navy-yard here," he said, "belong to Virginia and Maryland just as much as the public buildings and the forts at Charleston belong to South Carolina." He did not relish my reply, I thought, which was to the effect that I agreed with him entirely as to the parity of the claims in both cases, and saw no more reason why the property of the United States at Washington should belong to Maryland and Virginia than why the property of the United States at Charleston should belong to South Carolina. He was very bitter about the presence of Senator Douglas at the side of Mr. Lincoln, and generally seemed to think that the day had not been a good one for the disruptionists. I hope he

is right, and, in spite of my own forebodings, I think he is. The Blairs were alluded to in our conversation, and he thundered at them as traitors to their own people. He said they were execrated in Maryland, and that no man of them would dare to enter the doors of the Maryland Club, and assured me that, only a few weeks ago, the neighbors of old Mr. Blair had sent him word that "a tree had been picked out for him in the woods." Much as I dislike the Blairs, and dread their influence on the new Administration, I felt constrained to tell — that, in my judgment, the amiable neighbors of Mr. Blair could do nothing more likely to make his son the next President of the United States than to execute the atrocious threat implied in such a message; and so we parted. This effervescence of local sympathy, in and about Washington, with the secessionist plans and leaders, is most unfortunate, for it gives color to the inflammatory representations of men like Mr. Montgomery Blair, and supplies them with excuses for persuading General Scott into a course of military displays and demonstrations, to which his own unparalleled vanity alone would sufficiently incline him without such help.

THE CONFEDERATE COMMISSIONERS COMING.

On reaching home I found a letter from Mr. Forsyth, telling me that he will be in Washington shortly, as a Commissioner from the Confederate States with others, and intimating his own earnest wish to secure an amicable adjustment of the separation, which he insists upon as irreparable at least for the present. I shall be very glad to see him, for he is a man of unusual sense, and I do not believe he can have persuaded himself into the practicability of the fantastic schemes represented in this wild confederacy. I hope his colleagues may be as able men as himself, for, though I do not see how they are to be in any way officially recognized, their presence here, if they will hear and talk reason, may be very beneficial just now.

ONE OF THE PRACTICAL CONSEQUENCES OF SECESSION.

Just after dinner I was called out by a card from Mr. Guthrie, introducing to me a man from his own State, who wished to see me on "business important, not to himself only." I found him a tall, quiet, intelligent-looking Kentuckian, who had an interest in a mail-route in the Southwest and in the Northern connections with it, and who was very anxious to get at some way of saving his

interest, by inducing the "Confederate Government" at Montgomery to make terms with him such as the Government had made. The man seemed an honest, worthy fellow, very much in earnest. He had copied out, on a slip of paper, Mr. Lincoln's allusion to his intended purpose of maintaining the mails, and I found that what he wished me to do was, to tell him whether I thought Mr. Seward or Mr. Lincoln would give him a kind of authority to take a contract for carrying the mails for the Government at Montgomery, on the same terms on which he held a contract with the Government here, so that there might be no interruption in the mail service. I assured him that I could not give him any light as to what Mr. Seward or Mr. Lincoln would or would not do, but that I would with pleasure give him a note to Mr. Seward, stating who had sent him to me, and what he wanted. This I did, and he went away expressing much gratitude. The incident struck me as but a beginning and inkling of the infinite vexations, annoyances, and calamities which this senseless and insufferable explosion of political passions and follies is destined to inflict upon the industrious people of this country and of all sections. What is most to be feared is the exasperating effect on the people generally of these things, and my own letters from home bear witness daily to the working of this dangerous leaven among classes not commonly too attentive to political affairs.

THE INAUGURATION BALL.

I walked around for half an hour this evening to the inauguration ball, thinking as I went of poor ——'s amazement and wrath at Mr. Seward's extraordinary proposition that the success of this entertainment would settle the question in favor of peace. It was a rash assertion on Mr. Seward's part, for never was there a more pitiable failure. The military nonsense of the day has doubtless had something to do with it; for ——, whom I met just after entering the great tawdry ballroom, assured me that the town was full of stories about a company of Virginia horsemen assembled beyond the Long Bridge with intent to dash into Washington, surround the ballroom, and carry off the new President a captive by the blaze of the burning edifice! The place was not half full, and such an assemblage of strange costumes, male and female, was never before seen, I am sure, in this city. Very few people of any consideration were there. The President looked exhausted and uncomfortable, and most ungainly in his dress, and Mrs. Lincoln, all in blue, with

a feather in her hair, and a highly-flushed face, was anything but an ornamental figure in the scene. Mr. Douglas was there, very civil and attentive to Mrs. Lincoln, with whom, as a matter of politeness, I exchanged a few observations of a commonplace sort. I had no opportunity of more than half a dozen words with Mr. Douglas, but I was glad to find that he was satisfied with the address and with the general outlook, though he agreed with me that the military part of the business had been shockingly and stupidly overdone. He was concerned too, I was surprised to find, about the nomination of Mr. Seward to-morrow, and gave me to understand that both the Blairs and Mr. Sumner have been at work to-day against it still. I promised to see — in the morning, before the meeting of the Senate, on the subject. —, of New York, who walked out of the absurd place with me, and accompanied me part of the way home, tells me that the real reason of Mr. Seward's anxiety for the success of this entertainment is, that the whole affair is a speculation gotten up by some followers of his in New York, and that he has been personally entreated by a New York politician who is very faithful to him, a Mr. Wakeman, to interest himself in its success!

Certainly Mr. Seward is one of the most perplexing men alive. I can not doubt his personal integrity or his patriotism, but he does certainly contrive to surround himself with the most objectionable people, and to countenance the strangest and the most questionable operations imaginable.

VI.

SPENCER'S EVOLUTION PHILOSOPHY.

MR. HERBERT SPENCER begins his lately published "Data of Ethics" by remarking that among the correlatives which imply one another in thought is the idea of part and whole; and he gives various illustrations to show that no correct conception of a part can be obtained without some understanding of the whole to which it belongs. Conduct is thus regarded as an immense whole, of which right and wrong actions are but a part; and it is shown that these can not be duly interpreted except through a knowledge of conduct in general as displayed, not only by man, but by all grades of inferior creatures.

Mr. Spencer might have taken the work he was writing as a good exemplification of this principle; for it is part of a systematic body of thought, and is only to be fully understood in connection with it. Moreover, the entire system has been given out in detached fragments, which were only partially intelligible in the absence of the whole that did not yet exist. This protracted and piecemeal mode of publication has not only favored misconception on the part of the fair-minded, but it has offered advantages to ill-disposed critics which they have not been slow to use in producing erroneous impressions upon the public mind regarding the character of Spencer's work.

A new standpoint, however, has now been gained, which is favorable to a more correct judgment of his doctrines. By the publication of the "Data of Ethics" his system is proximately complete, so that we are enabled to contemplate it as a logical whole, and thus to get a juster idea of the meaning of its parts. This is therefore a suitable time to call attention to some of the current misjudgments that have arisen regarding Spencer's views and position as a thinker; and this can best be done by showing in what way his evolution philosophy has been developed.

The intellectual traits in which preëminence is now conceded to Mr. Spencer are his mastery of method, his breadth of view, and his capacity of organizing ideas. It begins to be seen how all his inquiries have been dominated by a comprehensive plan. His career as a thinker is conspicuously marked by the steadfast purpose with which he has pursued a distant aim. His last publication is on the same subject as his first ; and the interval between them of thirty-seven years has been spent in reorganizing the sciences, and in creating a new philosophy of nature, as a means of accomplishing more effectually the task that he attempted in his youth. What, then, have been the main steps of that mental experience which, beginning with a bias of boyhood, has followed an original and independent course of thought leading to the present powerful effort to make science tributary to a higher morality ?

The youth of Herbert Spencer was passed in circumstances favorable to awaken in him a strong spirit of independent inquiry. His father was a cultivated man of marked character, and a teacher whose cardinal principle in dealing with the minds of the young was, to incite them to do their own thinking. Young Spencer had some active-minded uncles of similar mental type with his father, one of whom was a clergyman of the English Church of very liberal opinions when that trait was much rarer than it is now, and who was the first of his class to publicly and heartily advocate the repeal of the corn laws. Herbert's father and his uncles were much given to the radical discussion of important social questions, to which the boy, being of a reflective turn of mind, listened with intelligent interest. These searching family debates naturally made a strong impression upon him, and so decisively influenced the course of his thinking that at the age of twenty-two he had formed opinions of his own on the important question of the nature, scope, and true limits of civil authority ; and these opinions he wrote out and communicated in a series of letters to a weekly newspaper, "The Nonconformist."

The question to which Mr. Spencer here addressed himself was an ethical one in its largest sense. A supreme authority prescribes and enforces rules of right and wrong to control the conduct of citizens. By what principles shall this governing power be guided in deciding how far the conduct of citizens shall be coerced and where it shall be left free ? The subject was treated under the title of "The Proper Sphere of Government," and it was the object of the discussion to show that the functions of government should

be limited to the protection of life, property, and order, leaving all other social ends to be achieved by individual activities. But beyond this main conception it was implied throughout that there are such things as laws of social development, natural processes of rectification in society, and an adaptation of man to the conditions of social life. Thus, in opening an ethical inquiry in his youth, Mr. Spencer found himself involved in the study of society as a sphere of natural law, and of social questions as problems of science. But he soon perceived that these problems had yet to be worked out. The first conclusion forced upon him by further consideration of the subject was that the basis of morality, as currently accepted, is unsatisfactory—lacks scientific validity. He resolved, therefore, in 1846, to undertake the preparation of a work on society, in which ethical principles shall be traced to their roots. It was finished and issued in 1850 under the title of "Social Statics."

This was an original and greatly advanced work, but, so far as the mind of the author was concerned, it was simply a transitional study which led to new and more comprehensive inquiries. While Spencer's pamphlet of 1842 implied a vague idea of social progress, his book of 1850 is pervaded by it in a far more definite and developed form. The idea of evolution has become fundamental, and discloses itself as of profounder import at every step of the inquiry. It was the writing of "Social Statics," between 1846 and 1850, that forced upon Mr. Spencer's mind the conviction that evolution is to be the pregnant question of the future which must give rise to an extensive revolution of ideas.

Mr. Spencer was brought to the subject in the course of his social studies, but he saw that knowledge was ripe for the broad inquiry. The growth of thought had reached a stage that made a new view of the method of nature not only possible but imperative. The old mythical traditions of the origin of the world were discredited. It was found that the earth has had a vast antiquity, and did not come into existence at all in the condition in which we now know it. The conception of unbroken causation in nature was gaining strength with the rapid extension of the special sciences; and astronomy and geology combined to demonstrate that in the immeasurable past nature has conformed to one system of laws. Natural changes have, therefore, been at work to bring about the present condition of things, while the movement has been on a vast scale from lower to higher. All results concurred in making ever clearer the idea of the unity of nature, from which the conclusion

was logical and inevitable that there is a unity of method in natural causation governing the common progress. The general ripeness of knowledge for the investigation was, moreover, evinced by a vague drift of thought toward evolutionary belief, as shown by the writings of such men as Buffon, Erasmus, Darwin, Lamarck, the author of the "Vestiges of Creation," and others; although the views they put forth were so crude as not to be accepted in the scientific world.*

The period from 1850 to 1860 was one of great activity with Mr. Spencer in the development and organization of his ideas; and it is necessary to dwell somewhat upon it here because it is not generally understood to what an extent the law of evolution had been worked out and established by him long before the public began to

* I do not for a moment claim that Mr. Spencer entered upon this research without valuable help from preceding thinkers. This he has explicitly acknowledged, and has at the same time sharply stated the limit of his indebtedness. In replying, in 1865, to the accusation that he had derived his views from Comte, he says: "And now let me point out that which really *has* exercised a profound influence over my course of thought. The truth which Harvey's embryological inquiries first dimly indicated, which was afterward more clearly perceived by Wolff, and which was put into a definite shape by Von Baer—the truth that all organic development is a change from a state of homogeneity—this it is from which very many of the conclusions which I now hold have indirectly resulted. In 'Social Statics' there is everywhere manifested a dominant belief in the evolution of man and of society. There is also manifested the belief that this evolution is in both cases determined by the incidence of conditions—the actions of circumstances. And there is, further, a recognition of the fact that organic and social evolutions conform to the same law. Falling amid beliefs in evolutions of various orders, everywhere determined by natural causes (beliefs again displayed in the 'Theory of Population' and in the 'Principles of Psychology'), the formula of Von Baer acted as an organizing principle. The extension of it to other kinds of phenomena than those of individual and social organization is traceable through successive stages. It may be seen in the last paragraph of an essay on 'The Philosophy of Style,' published in October, 1852; again in an essay on 'Manners and Fashion,' published in April, 1854; and then, in a comparatively advanced form, in an essay on 'Progress: its Law and Cause,' published in April, 1857. Afterward there came the recognition of the need for further limitation of this formula; next the inquiry into those general laws of force from which this universal transformation necessarily results; next the deduction of these from the ultimate law of the persistence of force; next the perception that there is everywhere a process of dissolution complementary to that of evolution; and, finally, the determination of the conditions under which evolution and dissolution respectively occur. The filiation of these results is, I think, tolerably manifest. The process has been one of continuous development, set up by the addition of Von Baer's law to a number of ideas that were in harmony with it. And I am not conscious of any other influences by which the process has been affected."

take interest in it. During the period referred to, Mr. Spencer published twenty-five elaborate articles in the leading English reviews, all of them implying and illustrating the doctrine of evolution, and a large proportion of them devoted directly to its elucidation. Among these may be mentioned: "The Theory of Population" and "The Development Hypothesis" (1852); "The Genesis of Science" (1854); "Progress: its Law and Cause" (1857); "The Nebular Hypothesis" (1858); "The Laws of Organic Form" and "Illogical Geology" (1859); and "The Social Organism" (1860).

The whole series consisted of original studies of the subjects treated, and they were full of new views resulting from the application of the novel doctrine of development. Some of these papers produced a marked impression at the time, and they all contributed to familiarize the public mind with the conception of evolution as a widely operating principle in nature and in human affairs. It is needful to add that while he was thus actively shaping public opinion on this question Mr. Spencer remained unknown—his name never having been associated with one of these productions. Under the anonymous system of writing for the periodicals to which he was compelled to conform to make his work remunerative, he got no credit for his early views; the consequence being that they were supposed to be contributed by different thinkers, and belonged to nobody in particular.

Fortunately, however, Mr. Spencer did not confine himself to these partial and unavowed expositions of evolutionary theory. He had reached the conception of evolution as a universal law in 1854, and was thus prepared to begin to deal with it systematically. In that year he wrote his "Principles of Psychology," which was published in 1855. In this work the whole subject of mind in all its grades of manifestation was dealt with from the evolution point of view. The unqualified position was taken that "life in its multitudinous and infinitely varied embodiments has arisen out of the lowest and simplest beginnings by steps as gradual as those which evolved an homogeneous germ into a complex organism"; and the psychical life was dealt with as thus developed. The genesis of intelligence is traced in that work by first determining the fundamental peculiarity of all modes of consciousness constituting knowledge; and then consciousness is analyzed and decomposed into successively simpler cognitions so as finally to make apparent the common nature of all thought and disclose its ultimate constituents. Mental evolution is traced out under its concrete

forms from reflex action up through instinct, memory, reason, feelings, and the will. The relation between the organism and its environment was found to be involved in the very nature of life, which consists essentially in the *correspondence* between the order of internal changes and the order of external phenomena. The psychical life follows the same law, so that mind must likewise be interpreted in terms of this correspondence. It is shown that the degree of life and the degree of intelligence vary with the degrees of correspondence; and, commencing with the lowest creatures, Mr. Spencer traces up these relations as extending in space and time, and as increasing in specialty, generality, and complexity. It is also shown that the correspondence progresses from a more homogeneous to a more heterogeneous form, and that it becomes gradually more integrated—the terms then employed in treating of the evolution of mind being those that are now established in treating of evolution at large.

The evolution of life involving accumulated changes through a long series of generations is, of course, based upon the principle of heredity; and this principle was recognized by Mr. Spencer as fundamental in the sphere of psychical life. Mental and moral faculties were viewed as products of inherited experiences that have become organized in the nervous constitutions of higher beings. Mr. Spencer showed in 1855 that this doctrine, applied to mind, ends a chronic antagonism between two classes of psychological students. The principle of the evolution of ideas in the hereditary intelligence of the race, and of the evolution of moral sentiments in its hereditary conscience, reconciles the conflicting schools of intuitionism and utilitarianism in mental and moral philosophy. For, while one maintains that all knowledge is the result of individual experience, and the other holds that we have mental and moral intuitions born with us and independent of experience, the conflict disappears when we recognize that, in the experience of the race, capacities of knowing and feeling grow up and are inherited, so that they appear in the mental constitution of individuals as *a priori* conceptions. Intuitions are thus affirmed, but their basis is laid in extended experience and the laws of hereditary life.

The progress of modern thought furnishes no example so remarkable as this of a book appearing ahead of its time. While yet the notion of evolution was regarded as a baseless fancy unworthy the attention of sober-minded thinkers, Mr. Spencer revolutionized mental science by applying it to psychology. It was in a double

sense an "epoch-making" work, as it placed both the doctrine of evolution and the science of mind upon a new basis. There are many who regard it as Mr. Spencer's greatest achievement, and one of the most original treatises of the century. But it was so completely new that it was very imperfectly understood. A few thinkers, whose studies had been in this direction, mastered it so that its influence was soon felt in the best psychological literature, but the book remained unappreciated and unacknowledged—a single small edition sufficing for twenty years.

How far this work was ahead of the age, and even of the advanced mind of the age, is well illustrated by its reaction upon the opinions of Mr. J. S. Mill. Though himself an eminent psychologist and a trained logician, still he only came to a tolerable appreciation of it after long years of reflection. In his "Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy," Mr. Mill says: "Spencer's '*Principles of Psychology*,' in spite of some doctrines which he holds in common with the intuitive school, is one of the finest examples we possess of the psychological method in its full power." Yet the praise here given relates only to the minor characteristics of the work, while the drawback involves its fundamental position in regard to the growth of mind through inherited mental tendencies and capacities. Mr. Mill had a horror of the doctrine of intuitions, which he considered profoundly mischievous, and he labored with the whole force of his intellect to establish the principle that all the ideas, feelings, and powers of the mind are to be explained as originating in individual experience; the key to the entire philosophy of the subject being found in the principle of association of ideas. Mr. Spencer's view he, therefore, long decisively rejected. Yet, after carefully rereading "*The Principles of Psychology*," some years later, Mr. Mill acknowledged in a private letter that his already high opinion of it had been raised still more, which he recognized as due to the progress of his own mind. Dr. Carpenter, in his recent "*Principles of Mental Physiology*," remarks: "The doctrine that the intellectual and moral intuitions of any one generation are the embodiments, in its mental constitution, of the experiences of the race was first explicitly put forth by Mr. Herbert Spencer, in whose philosophical treatises it will be found most ably developed"; and he adds, "The great master of the experiential school, Mr. J. S. Mill, was latterly tending toward the acceptance of this view," the proof of which is given in the following quotation from a letter of Mr. Mill upon this subject

to Dr. Carpenter. Mr. Mill says : "There is also considerable evidence that such acquired facilities of passing into certain modes of cerebral action can in many cases be transmitted, more or less completely, by inheritance. . . . So far as my imperfect knowledge of the subject extends, I take much the same view of it that you do, at least in principle." Mr. Mill thus finally accepted the doctrine upon the basis of which Mr. Spencer twenty years before had reconstructed the science of mind ; the doctrine, moreover, that is now recognized as the fundamental characteristic of the English school of psychology.

Thus prepared by a wide range of original studies in evolution, Mr. Spencer began to meditate the project of treating the subject on a more comprehensive scale. It was in 1858, while writing the article on the nebular hypothesis, that the principle of evolution presented itself to his mind as the basis of a system of thought under which all orders of concrete phenomena should be generalized. He saw that the time had come when the diverse branches of scientific knowledge may be brought into much closer relations of mutual dependence than ever before ; as a universal principle of action is of the highest value for unifying scientific relations. It was apparent that a law of natural changes more extended than any other, applicable to all orders of phenomena and so deep as to involve the origin of things, is entitled to the same ascendancy in the world of ideas that it has in the objective world. A genetic law of natural things must form the deepest root of the philosophy of natural things ; and Mr. Spencer, therefore, adopted the doctrine of evolution as the basis of a system of philosophy.

In 1859 he drew up the detailed plan of a series of works designed to embody his philosophic views, and this he published in the form of a prospectus in 1860. It projected ten volumes ; the first devoted to the general method and expounding the theory of evolution ("First Principles"). The second treatise, in two volumes, was designed to apply the theory of evolution to the general science of life ("Principles of Biology"). The third treatise, also in two volumes, was assigned to mental phenomena ("Principles of Psychology") ; and the fourth work, in three volumes, was devoted to social science ("Principles of Sociology"). The final work was to deal with ethical science, in two volumes, under the title of "The Principles of Morality," which, like all the rest, was to be interpreted by the theory of evolution. In this prospectus the discussion was laid out in its logical order, and the contents of each

volume given. The series embraced thirty-three divisions, or topics, and the subject-matter of each was described. The whole scheme was thus completely elaborated in the author's mind, all the minute steps of the discussion being given. How fully and explicitly his system was constructed in thought may be shown by now comparing the programme with the works accomplished, when it will be seen that Mr. Spencer has scored to the line from the start. The treatment of "The Data of Ethics," the first portion of the final treatise, is there laid down in its logical relation to the preceding works, and examination of the now published book shows that its argument has an essential basis in each of the volumes that has gone before. Mr. Spencer allowed twenty years for the execution of the plan of labor thus carefully mapped out.

The difficulties of such an undertaking, great under any circumstances, were peculiarly formidable in his case. He was at that time but little known to the public and had no following, nor was there any general interest in his subject. He proposed to enter upon a pioneer work, in an unexplored domain of thought, so novel in plan and wide in scope that it was appreciated by only a few. Objections were obvious. Some maintained that to bring so many and such diverse subjects as he proposed to deal with into the unity of a truly philosophic plan was impossible; others held that, if possible, the time had not come for it; and many agreed that, if possible, and the time had come, the task was too great for any single mind. Mr. Spencer's health was, moreover, so frail that his friends, who had the highest confidence in his capacity to do the work, thought the project in the last degree hopeless of accomplishment. No publisher could be found to undertake so unpromising a scheme, and there was no society to aid or encourage it. The author, with very limited means, had therefore to become his own publisher, thus adding the drudgeries and anxieties of business to the great intellectual labor of the enterprise. But Mr. Spencer decided that the attempt must be made, and, in order to render the undertaking at least partially self-sustaining, he found himself compelled to publish in quarterly parts by annual subscription.

Mr. Spencer has now to be congratulated upon the faith and pluck with which he set to work under such untoward circumstances. The dim hope of twenty years ago has at length become in its main features an achieved reality. Of the ten projected volumes of his system, the first six and a portion of the ninth are published; and the seventh, upon which he has now resumed work, is well advanced

and may be expected next year. He is also to be congratulated upon the reception and influence of his ideas. While yet unfinished and but partially understood, his philosophy has made a deep impression upon the most active minds of the age. Not only have elaborate criticisms been made upon it in all reviews, and a host of books appeared, the authors of which have made reputations by their attempts to answer him, but his views have profoundly affected the course of thinking of multitudes, and guided the thought of many who are devoted to scientific and philosophic inquiry. Though his system appeared in a form most unfavorable to the extension of its influence, it has nevertheless steadily grown in favor with leading thinkers, and has attained a commanding position in the world of ideas, by sheer force of its original character and its adaptation to the intellectual requirements of the period. Its successive parts have been called for and reproduced in different countries, and its progress is now regarded with such interest that his recent volume on *Ethics* appears in several translations on the Continent simultaneously with its issue in England and the United States.

But though Spencer's system has been well appreciated by many liberal minds, it has had to make headway against the strong tides and violent winds of adverse criticism, much of which has been so grossly unjust as seriously to prejudice the public mind in regard to its character. How open he has been to attack is sufficiently apparent from the foregoing statements. His mental career has not only been a progress, leaving behind him outgrown opinions, but his work has been on such a scale that it could only be submitted to the public in dislocated parts, most liable to be misunderstood. This being known, candid minds would suspend judgment or state the qualifications under which it must be taken. One would think that the attitude of a man devoting his life to a great and important intellectual undertaking might command a reasonable forbearance, if not some generosity in the treatment of his work; but there has been more mean advantage taken of Spencer's position and his mode of publication than is creditable to the critical class. An illustration of this has been furnished by the manner in which his ethical discussions have been treated.

It has been explained that "*Social Statics*" was a transitional work that led on to the development of maturer views. The rough, inadequate treatise of 1850 was superseded by his subsequent plan of publications. Because of this, when the work was out of print in England, he opposed its republication in this country, and only

consented to it on the condition of inserting a preface to explain that he no longer adhered to various views there enunciated. But all this precaution and all the accessible evidence that Mr. Spencer was working on toward a new exposition of ethical doctrine were insufficient to protect him from flagrant misrepresentation of his views upon this subject. Opinions disclaimed were still imputed to him, and false constructions were persistently applied to opinions still maintained. Writers who had abundant means of knowing better were prominent in this discreditable business ; and in books and in the leading reviews they attacked Spencer's theory of morals, holding it up to reprobation, although there was no authorized exposition of it in existence. Nor did they give the slightest intimation to their readers that Mr. Spencer was preparing to consider the subject in connection with the works upon which he was known to be engaged. As it was impossible to follow and expose these misrepresentations, Mr. Spencer had to submit to being systematically falsified in his position before the public, notwithstanding the explicit protests that he had made.

Another example of erroneous judgment passed upon Spencer's system, and which was favored by the manner of its publication, involves a perverted conception of the whole character of his philosophy. His method contrasts with all former philosophic methods by confining itself to phenomena and building entirely upon the results of modern science. According to him, it is the aim of philosophy to get the widest and deepest interpretation possible of the constitution and course of nature ; and it consists in the highest principles or most comprehensive truths that can be observed in the order of nature. As the sphere of philosophy thus coincides with the knowledge of natural things, it must begin where science begins and end where science ends ; while the materials with which it builds are the facts, inductions, and generalizations arrived at by observation, experiment, and reasoning in all the divisions of scientific investigation. Spencer holds that philosophy is the most highly unified knowledge ; its formation, therefore, must be a process of fusion or coördination of hitherto disconnected truths into a coherent and harmonious body of thought. If this is logically done, the resulting philosophy will have the same validity as the science upon which it rests ; in fact, it is science in its highest form of expression. Mr. Spencer adopted the doctrine of evolution as the basis of a philosophical system because it offered a method of bringing the truths of science into the unity of an organic whole ; and,

as it thus becomes a comprehensive synthesis of truths established in various spheres of inquiry, he has given it a name descriptive of the method and called it the *Synthetic Philosophy*.

Philosophy, however, is older than science, and as currently accepted is much wider than nature. Thus far, indeed, the philosophic mind has busied itself a good deal more with what is outside of nature than that which is within it. To restrict the sphere of philosophy and make it coextensive with science was, therefore, an innovation, and so Mr. Spencer was bound to explain himself. The ground taken was, that what is above nature is beyond knowledge. In an essay of one hundred and thirty-five pages, entitled "The Unknowable," and prefixed to his first volume, he showed that there are inexorable limits to our knowing faculties, imposed by the very nature of intelligence. He proved that thought can not transcend the relative and phenomenal or penetrate beyond that orderly sphere of environing uniformities by intercourse with which intelligence itself is evolved.

That preliminary essay was in no proper sense a part of Spencer's system. It was introductory to it by circumscribing the field so as to get clear of illegitimate conceptions, and fix the boundary within which the system itself was to be developed. If that opening essay had never been written, the body of philosophic thought would have been just what it is now. But it was published first; and, as, when issued, the positive scheme was not yet in existence, it was strangely interpreted as being the essence of Spencer's philosophy. That is, the attempt to fix a limit beyond which speculation becomes illusive resulted in his being himself placed outside that limit. Though he had projected ten volumes devoted to an exposition of positive knowledge, the impression arose that his philosophy was simply one of denial. In ruling out the "unknowable" from the sphere of valid knowledge, he became the philosopher of the "unknowable"; and, though his system was constructive to a degree that had never before been attempted, though it was composed warp and woof of the truths of the natural world, it was yet ranked as negative and destructive. He attempted to build up a philosophic fabric out of the solid data of established science, and got the credit of a system of nescience and nihilism. Under the notion that it is merely a system of bad metaphysics leading to nothing, many well-meaning persons have been deterred from reading Spencer's philosophy; though, if it had been published all together, so as to be looked upon as

we now see it, no such absurd notion could ever have been entertained.

Another widespread error regarding Mr. Spencer's work involves no less a question than that of its originality, and his character as an independent thinker. He was long accused of borrowing his ideas from Comte, but that charge is now effectually exploded. It is, however, still said that he is a follower of Darwin, and that while Darwin is the master who founded evolution, Spencer is the disciple who has popularized it. Though in this there is no truth, yet the imputation crops up with such pertinacity that it requires to be met at every proper opportunity, alike in the interest of the public which is misled, and as an act of justice to the parties misrepresented.

The last form of the charge which attracted my attention appeared in a recent number of the "Fortnightly Review," in an article by Mr. Frederick Pollock, which is stated to be part of an introduction to the forthcoming essays of the late Professor Clifford. In sketching the life of his friend Clifford, in his college days, Mr. Pollock says: "Meanwhile he was eagerly assimilating the ideas which had become established as an assured possession of science by Mr. Darwin, and were being applied to the systematic grouping and gathering together of human knowledge by Mr. Herbert Spencer." Mr. Darwin is thus ranked as the establisher and Mr. Spencer as the applier of certain ideas by a man who would resent the suspicion that he was not perfectly well informed on the matter he wrote about. Yet the evidence that these "eagerly assimilated" ideas are here falsely credited is decisive.

The first effort that brought Professor Clifford prominently before the public was a lecture at the Royal Institution, given in 1868, the topic chosen being "On some of the Conditions of Mental Development." This is regarded as one of his most marked performances, and is announced to be placed first in the forthcoming collection of his essays. The characteristic of the discourse, and which gave it an impressive novelty to the audience, was its happy illustration of the idea of evolution in explaining mental effects. But Professor Clifford did not pretend to originate this view; where, then, did he obtain it? Mr. Darwin had never written upon the subject of "mental development"; Mr. Spencer had. He had, moreover, as we have seen, totally reconstructed the science of mind on this very basis, and that years before Mr. Darwin's name was ever heard of in connection with development of any kind. It

is therefore easily to be inferred from what source Clifford actually obtained his ideas. But it happens that we are here not left in any doubt. Professor Clifford, feeling that he had been too careless in not giving credit for his views in the lecture itself, subsequently wrote a letter to the "Pall Mall Gazette," acknowledging his indebtedness to Spencer for fundamental ideas presented in his Royal Institution address.

Mr. Darwin is known in connection with evolution chiefly by the important principle of natural selection, which was independently worked out by himself, as it was also by Mr. Wallace. But natural selection is not evolution; it is but a subordinate part of it—it was a principle superadded to a previously existing body of thought; and how completely that had been elaborated by the independent studies of Mr. Spencer I have already shown. Mr. Darwin's first book on this subject, "The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection," was published in November, 1859. Mr. Spencer's prospectus of the evolution philosophy bears date March, 1860; and (as there is plenty of evidence) it was drawn up in the form in which it was published *in the previous year, and before Mr. Darwin's work appeared*. Indeed, I have myself seen an earlier manuscript form of this programme, embracing seven volumes instead of ten, but laying out the same subjects in the same order, and by the same method, that was prepared and became a matter of private correspondence in 1868, a year before Darwin's work was published. Notes to the prospectus, moreover, showed where large portions of the system had been already printed. Mr. Spencer could certainly not have been indebted to Mr. Darwin for the ideas which constituted the evolution philosophy, because Mr. Darwin had as yet given no such ideas to the public.

No man is probably better instructed in regard to the claims of "Darwinism" than Professor Huxley, and in lecturing before the Royal Institution he said: "The only complete and systematic statement of the doctrine" (evolution) "with which I am acquainted is that contained in Mr. Herbert Spencer's 'System of Philosophy,' a work which should be carefully studied by all who care to know whither scientific thought is tending." Yet this system was not only laid out in its logical completeness, in ten volumes, before Mr. Darwin brought forward the principle of natural selection, but when it appeared it necessitated not the slightest change in Spencer's plan of exposition—not even the introduction of a new chapter or a new title. It fell into its place in the biology as a proximate

principle that had to be scientifically resolved into its ultimate factors—interpreted, qualified, and assigned its proper position in an already organized body of doctrine. Mr. Spencer assimilated it in his philosophy, recognized its great importance, and suggested the better phrase for it, “survival of the fittest,” now widely used.

Mr. Darwin's valuable researches, no doubt, gave an important impulse to the subject both in the scientific world and in the popular mind. Natural selection was so comparatively simple a conception and so obvious a truth that it was well fitted to make a sharp impression; and in the current careless thinking it was very natural that it should be exaggerated, and that “Darwinism” and evolution should come to be regarded as the same thing. But the effect of this error has been to narrow the question and hinder the recognition of its real extent. For evolution, if a reality at all, is both a process of profound complexity and a universal law to be tracked in its obscure and varied workings through many fields of phenomena. It follows that the proof of evolution is not to be found in the establishment of any one principle. It is the immense body of concurrent evidence, the consilience of proofs of various orders, and the ever-widening stream of confirmatory facts that establish the theory. Mr. Darwin never considered the subject from this point of view; but it was the point of view assumed by Mr. Spencer at the outset. We have seen how he grew into the inquiry, and how it widened before him. He had gathered evidence that evolution is a universal law of nature, had traced its dependence upon the principle of the conservation of energy, had analyzed it into its ultimate dynamical factors, had shown that it must reshape various of the sciences, and had done the work in one of them, and, finally, had constructed a philosophical method upon its basis, and all this before Mr. Darwin appeared in this field of investigation.

That Mr. Spencer is in the strictest sense the creator of his own work is not open to doubt, nor has there been any intelligent question about it. That which characterizes his system of thought, its wealth of facts, its searching analysis, its synthetic grasp, its logical unity, and its noble beneficence of application—stamps it also as the product of a single, original, and independent mind.

E. L. YOUMANS.

VII.

RECENT HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Von Holst's Constitutional History of the United States.

Adams's Life of Albert Gallatin.

Writings of Albert Gallatin.

Shea's Life and Epoch of Hamilton.

Cullum's Campaigns and Engineers of the War of 1812.

To the general reader, American history is not interesting. It lacks picturesqueness. With the exception of a few striking episodes, it affords scarcely anything of what is called the romance of history. It contains no material for the historical novel, needing only the touch of creative imagination in the grouping and arranging; and that which attracts the general reader in history is essentially the same that fascinates him in fiction. The bareness of our annals in incident and character that have the attraction of romance is due to many circumstances, but chiefly to the fact that from the first we have had, in form and substance, a free government. The history of England has lost much of its attractiveness since her constitutional government has become fully established. People take a deep interest in the fortunes of persons rather than states, and sympathize with the experiences of heroes, not administrations. When countries are ruled by individuals, the rulers become exalted into a species of demigod, and are the objects of devotion. They are the state, and their fortunes awaken sympathies as deep and intense as the deeds and sufferings of the lofty beings of myth and romance. Their will and their personality operate in public affairs, and give to the events of history a vividness and vitality that appeal to the sentiments and feelings. Their rise or fall is momentous, their triumph or humiliation of absorbing importance; their followers do deeds of daring and suffer the pangs of martyrdom in their service or in their cause, and the vicissitudes of a nation's life are filled with thrilling incidents of personal action or endurance, like those which the imagination delights to picture.

But we have had no despots, no beneficent fathers of the people, no princes or pretenders, and our history is devoid of the stirring deeds and touching sacrifices of those who depend on princes' favor or are devoted to the knightly service of royal masters.

But men are always interesting, especially men of great powers, who figure conspicuously in the service of the state, whether under a personal sovereign or the sovereign people. We have had men in our history whose lives are calculated to interest even the general reader, though not with that romantic fascination that belongs to history in ruder days and countries less free. No man can achieve eminence and fail to be interesting to his fellow men, if the incidents of his life are set forth in a forcible and effective manner. There is nothing humanity more admires, even in a free country, than men of exceptional power, of uncommon force, of brilliant achievement. And such men certainly have no less scope under free institutions than elsewhere, no less opportunity to gain distinction by the exercise of their powers in the service of the state. It is a mistake to suppose the sovereign mass must needs overpower and submerge the individual man. Too many of our public men appear to think that, in order to be accepted as leaders and to become exalted in political life, they must take pains to place themselves in front of the people, whichever way they are disposed to face, and be pushed along or raised aloft by the force of popular favor as the result of subserviency. In point of fact, the mere demagogue does not command admiration long or acquire much real power over an intelligent people. Strong character, independence, energy, fidelity to conviction, and power to enforce it, are more admired and exert a far greater influence. Many a promising statesman has wrecked his hopes by studying to win the favor of the people, while those who gain a real ascendancy over the popular mind do so by the display of strong, unbending characteristics, a force and firmness that lead men to rely upon them and to appeal to them to take the direction of affairs from weak and vacillating hands.

If our history is, on the whole, uninteresting to the general reader, it is of absorbing interest to the student. The latter finds attractiveness in the growth of institutions, and that is what the history of the United States is. For the last hundred years it has been almost entirely a constitutional history. This may seem the more strange, as for nearly the whole of that period we are presumed to have lived and to have been governed under the fixed framework of a written Constitution, unchangeable save through

certain difficult formalities, and in fact almost unchanged. Nevertheless, our whole history has been one of constitutional development and growth, and therein consists its interest to the student and the thinker. It has been the fashion to appeal to the written Constitution, as though it were a definite and explicit embodiment of all political wisdom, and yet the political contentions of three generations have been waged upon its meaning and purport. All parties, while professing the utmost reverence for its spirit and its letter, have been disputing and fighting as to what powers it grants and to whom, and what can or can not be done by its authority. Opinions have been as far asunder as the poles, and this contention has constituted our political history for ninety years; out of it our actual institutions have been wrought. Possibly the worship of the Constitution for its perfections has bordered upon superstition. There is a bare chance that it is not such a wonderfully complete and flawless piece of work. When we remember how the Convention which framed it was almost hopelessly divided; what concession was made here on one side and what compromise was granted there on the other side; with what enormous difficulty the various able minds engaged in the work could be brought to any agreement; how the instrument was at last accepted, not as free from defects, but as the best that could be done at the time and under the existing circumstances; with what reluctance the various States received it, how they condemned, denounced, derided it, and finally accepted it, out of dread of the chaos and confusion almost hopeless that would follow if it were rejected—when we recall all these undoubted historic facts, it may not be treasonable or even unpatriotic if a reluctant doubt forces itself into the mind as to the perfections of the Federal Constitution of these States.

In fact, it was very defective, in so far as it left much in doubt, and in some important respects was inconsistent with itself, or at least so inexplicit as to make irreconcilable interpretations plausible and defensible. When did the dispute as to the power of the nation and the rights of the States begin? From the very start, and the arguments have scarcely varied from the time when Hamilton and Jefferson represented the opposing tendencies to this day. The right of nullification and of secession, under certain circumstances, was maintained by the Father of Democracy himself. The very letter of the Constitution has permitted the contentions of ninety years, as to the scope of national and of State authority, and allowed the discussion all the wide latitude over which it has ranged. And

who has advocated national authority, and who the rights of States? Aside from certain conspicuous statesmen, whose views have been determined by the constitution of their own minds, it has depended altogether on the interests to be subserved and the party to be benefited by one interpretation or the other. The Republicans of Jefferson's day came into existence to protest against the centralization of power in the national Government. Before they got control, the national authority, in their opinion, could do nothing, not even acquire territory; but that did not prevent the Louisiana purchase by Jefferson himself, nor the usurpations of the Democracy at the Federal capital in Jackson's time, nor that vast stretch of national power, the annexation of Texas by Congressional resolution. Democratic doctrine as to Federal authority depended on whether the authority was to be exercised by Democrats; and their opponents have always acted on similar principles. Those who sway the national authority, and can use it for their own ends, always believe in it. When their opponents get control, these same men are for restriction. In the war of 1812 it was Massachusetts and Rhode Island that claimed to decide whether the Federal Government could call out their militia, and threatened secession on account of violation of what they claimed to be their rights. If the South became specially given to State-rights doctrines at a later period, it was only because they feared assault upon their special interests through the national authority, and could only shield them behind the rights of States. Which doctrine should prevail has depended on the preponderance of interests affecting the control of affairs at Washington. State rights are freely allowed where they do not come in conflict with the wider interests of the nation; where they do, they are curtailed just so far as the preponderating interest that gets control is against them. The representative Government at the national capital, and not the Constitution, decides in every case. It always has decided, and it always will. Outside the mere framework of the government constructed by the Convention of 1787, our real Constitution has become more and more a matter of legislation and of precedent, springing out of the vague chaos of implied and latent powers. But more and more it has appeared a necessity of national life, regardless of disputed doctrines of constitutional interpretation, that national authority should predominate, and the whole should not only contain but control the parts, just so far as the interests of the whole are involved.

And why, indeed, should not our history be a constitutional his-

tory, our Constitution a matter of growth and development? To a remarkable extent the Anglo-Saxon has prevailed in our national councils, notwithstanding the heterogeneous mixture of nationalities in the people. This mode of building a constitution is essentially English, and the tendency of English genius has been too strong for the rigid limitations of a written document. The instrument of 1787 was imperfect, but it served the purpose of founding a government. It was wonderfully elastic, but it could not fit itself to all the unforeseen exigencies of a nation destined to an amazing growth. It was morally impossible that it should be continually adapted by amendment. In point of fact, in ordinary times any amendment is practically out of the question; but the growth of the nation is not stopped, and the Government refuses to be paralyzed in unyielding swathing-bands. In effect, we have and have long had a parliamentary government, and it will become more and more evident as time goes on. In this fact lies our safety rather than any danger to free institutions. Congress and the President rule the country almost as absolutely as though there were no question of fixed constitutional powers and limitations. Hence our history is eminently constitutional, and our institutions can only be understood from its careful study.

The position here taken is somewhat novel, perhaps heretical, but if space would permit it could be sustained by ample illustrations drawn from our legislation and administrative action. The present purpose, however, has merely been to introduce the subject of American history and biography, and point out some of the defects in the way in which they are generally presented, in consequence of the lack of a clear recognition of some true guiding principle. Our narrative history for the most part lacks that vividness and life which might be imparted to it by a spirited portrayal of the character and deeds of conspicuous men. There has been little impartial analysis and scientific dissection of the actors in our national drama, scarcely more of artistic painting of the various figures in their proper places and true relations, with clear outlines and vivid colors. Books specially devoted to biography are generally one-sided eulogiums or mere accumulations of half-digested material. Constitutional history has been vitiated with the assumption that the Constitution was itself a perfect and explicit embodiment of all fundamental law, and had a controlling force in all public action, whereas it has in fact only been made the cover for whatever the majority wished to do.

Von Holst, as a foreigner and a German, is the first to give us an outside view, which is strictly that of a scholar, and his work* is in many respects the most valuable contribution thus far made to the constitutional and political history of the United States. He is free from an undue reverence for the work of the fathers, and he discusses the character, motives, and aims of our statesmen with a bold and easy hand. He is unsparing in analysis, and displays no other bias than that of a believer in a strong government. He evidently has little faith in the diffusion of sovereignty, or in the practicability of administering the affairs of a nation without the concentration of authority in the hands of those who represent national interests. His comprehension of the place and function, in our complex system, of the separate States, is perhaps not altogether clear. Indeed, he hardly recognizes any chance for coördination between States which are parts and the nation which is the whole. The relation, in his mind, must be one of subordination of the local and the fragmentary to the general and complete. Hence, while he recognizes the defects of the Constitution and the justification it has given to the doctrine of rights and powers in States which are not circumscribed by those of the Union, he sustains the wisdom of that interpretation, or that disregard of the letter, which tends to submerge the States and consolidate and strengthen the nation.

Alexander Hamilton he seems to regard as the great statesman of the formative period of our institutions. He evidently shares that admiration of his powers and his political sagacity which is excited in most conservative minds by the study of this period of our history. Jefferson's character provokes his distrust and dislike. The Adamses he treats as statesmen of a high order. Madison does not receive his undivided approbation, for he regards him as not altogether consistent nor always guided by settled principles. Jackson he looks upon with a sort of abhorrence, as of a self-sufficient autocrat, playing fast and loose with principles of which he has no clear conception. For some of the later men, politicians rather than statesmen, who figured conspicuously in the long controversy preceding the annexation of Texas, he has an unconcealed contempt. His purpose has evidently been to sketch the growth and development of constitutional principles as exemplified in the Government of this country, whether fixed originally in the written instrument

* The Constitutional and Political History of the United States. By H. von Holst. Chicago: Callaghan & Co.

whose authority has been held so sacred, or brought into operation by successive administrations. In performing this task, he has given us his most effective, if not his most instructive work in criticising the public men whose conduct has given shape and direction to parliamentary action. "State Sovereignty and Slavery" was the special subject of his first volume, which was published some time ago, and covered the period from the foundation of the Government to Jackson's Administration; but the same topic is the leading theme of the new volume, which continues the discussion to the annexation of Texas. In fact, it underlies all the contests of our political history from the adoption of the Constitution almost to the present hour.

Hamilton and Jefferson represent the two opposing ideas which prevailed at the time our Government was formed, and which with some variation have been at the basis of our political division into parties ever since, and have been involved in all the contests and controversies of our constitutional career. Hamilton embodied the tendency to a centralization and strengthening of power in the national Government. There is no doubt that he would personally have preferred a monarchy. Having got all he could in the Constitution, he at once took the lead in the interpretation of that instrument which put as much as possible into it of national authority. Jefferson, on the other hand, represented the demand for a complete diffusion of sovereignty among the people, its exercise so far as practicable locally and in States, and the confining of national functions as closely as possible under the most restrictive interpretation of the Constitution.

Albert Gallatin can hardly be called one of the great statesmen of the early period of our constitutional history, in which his active public life was spent. As a financier only was he the peer of Hamilton. As a diplomatist he held a high rank, but he never attained a commanding position as a master in political philosophy or a leader of men. He was a follower of Jefferson, *haud passibus æquis*, and accepted his ideas of government with scarcely any assertion of originality on his own part. Still, he was intimately associated with the political movements of his time, and took by no means a reticent part. His biography ought to be the source of some new light. As prepared by Mr. Adams,* from the papers and records

* The Life of Albert Gallatin. By Henry Adams. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

preserved by his family, and from the public archives, it is too voluminous, and has too much of the character of a digest of material, to be attractive to the general reader. But it is a valuable repository of information for the real student of history. The three bulky volumes of "Writings,"* made up chiefly of letters, hardly serve any other useful purpose than to bring together a mass of material that ought not to be lost in a convenient shape for preservation.

Judge Shea's book on "The Life and Epoch of Hamilton"† is not a biography. So far as it narrates the events of the great statesman's life, it is confined to his very youthful years, of which least has been heretofore known. Though descending somewhat to insignificant details, in so far as it is new it can not be set down as unimportant or uninteresting. The most attractive portion, however, is to be found in the preliminary discussion of the man's character and the part he played in establishing the national Government. The fault to be found with it is a lack of close analysis, and a tone of indiscriminating panegyric that pervades it, fitted rather for a funeral oration than a sober contribution to historical discussion. A too enthusiastic admirer is not the most instructive biographer. He gives one side somewhat too vividly to present a rigidly truthful picture.

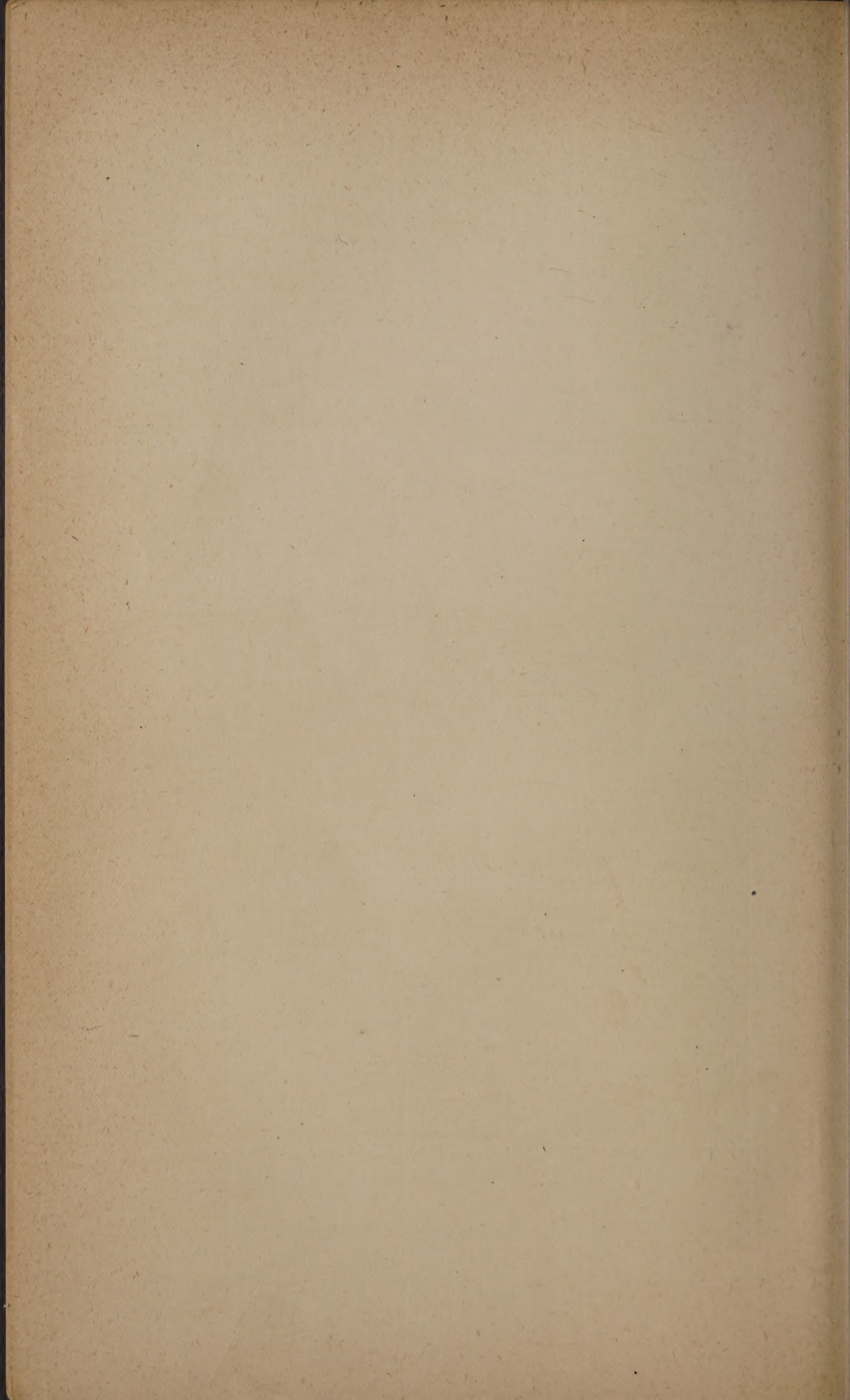
The war of 1812 is an episode in our history in which we can take little pride, but which may be studied with profit. General Cullum's review of its military campaigns and sketches of the engineers employed in its field operations,‡ have properly nothing to do with its political causes or the constitutional questions involved in its conduct. His criticisms are chiefly those of a military expert, and they display the freedom that belongs to that character. The chief value of the work—and it is not a slight one—consists in the faithful collection and lucid presentation of materials not easily accessible, and in danger of being lost altogether.

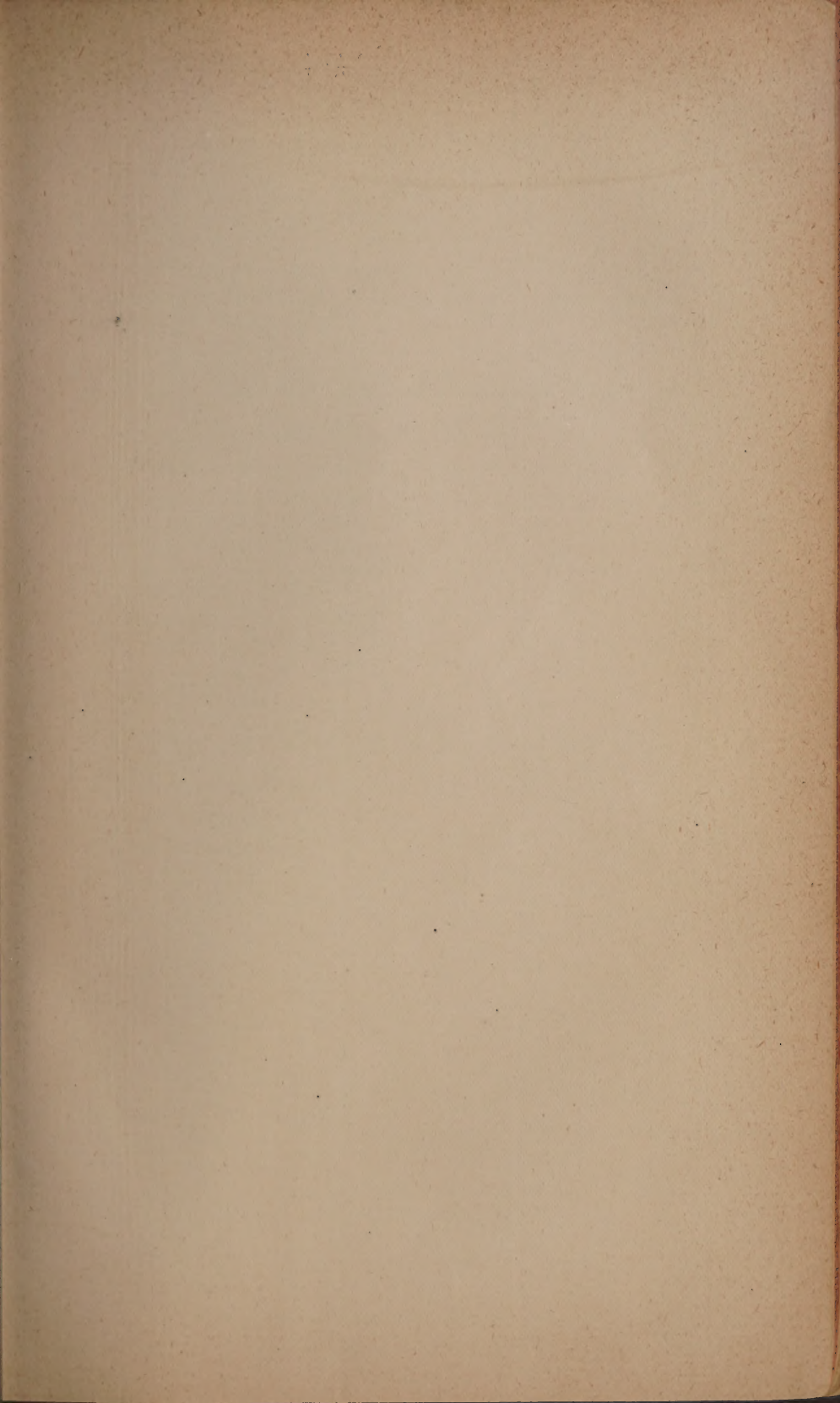
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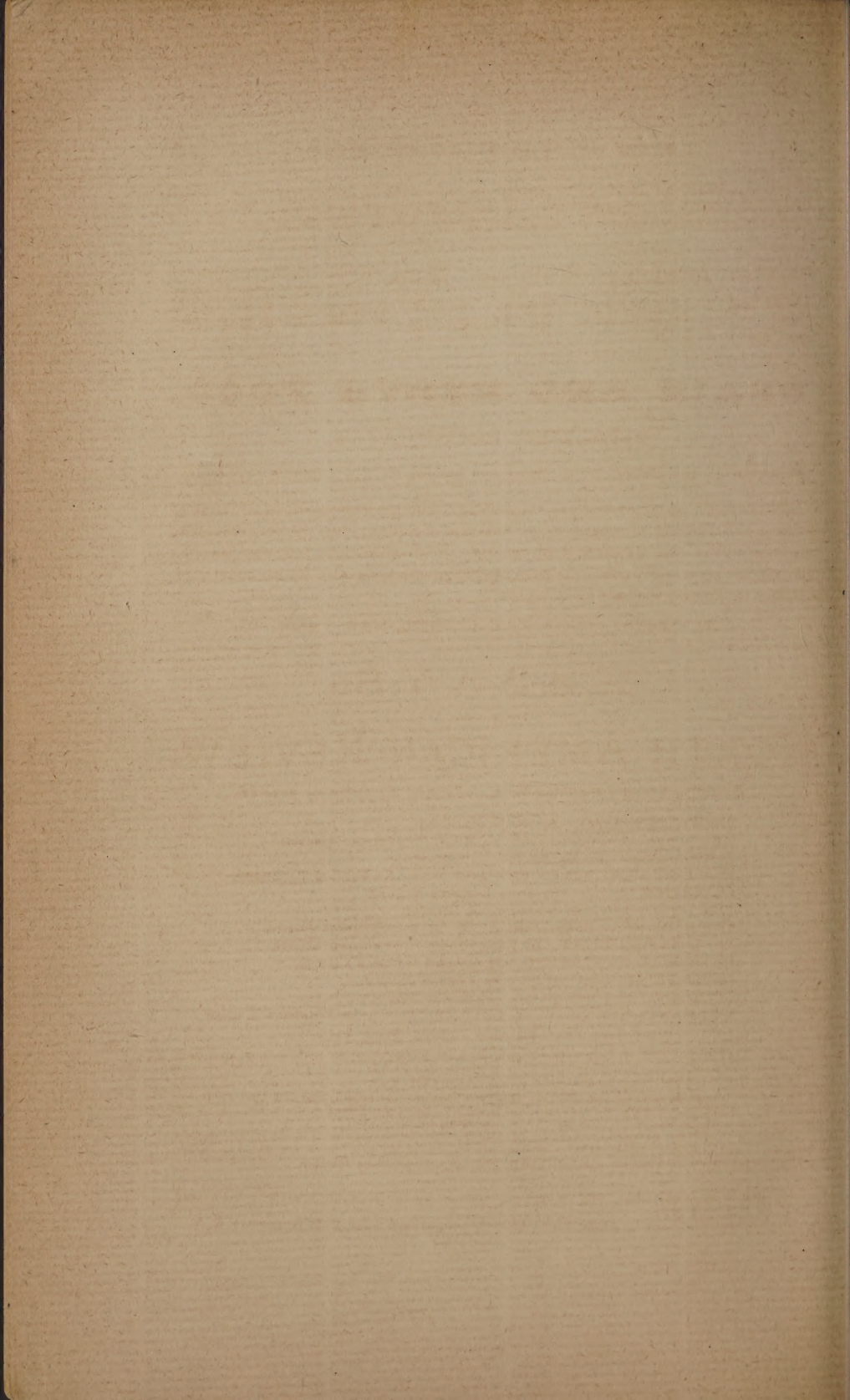
* The Writings of Albert Gallatin. Edited by Henry Adams. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 3 vols. 8vo.

† The Life and Epoch of Alexander Hamilton. A Historical Study. By the Honorable George Shea. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co.

‡ Campaigns of the War of 1812-'15, with Brief Biographies of the American Engineers. By Brevet Major-General George W. Cullum. New York: James Miller.







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NORTH AMERICAN
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EDITED BY ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

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NOVEMBER, 1879.

No. 276.

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NOVEMBER, 1879.

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anonymous.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCLXXVI.

NOVEMBER, 1879.

I.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE WOMAN QUESTION.

JULIA WARD HOWE.

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

LUCY STONE.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

JULIA WARD HOWE.

THE woman question, from the man's point of view, is very apt to be only the man question, after all. And the man, according to Mr. Parkman, questions thus: "Do we wish our women to vote? and, if we do not, what arguments can we find against their voting?" Starting from this point, with a zeal which can scarcely be mistaken for a candid spirit of inquiry, it is not surprising that very eloquent papers can be written, and a very plausible statement made, by individuals of one sex against the political enfranchisement of the other. Argument of this sort is no novelty nor rarity. The white man reasoned on this wise against the political enfranchisement of the black man. In fact, against every enlargement of representation many reasons have always been, and may always be, found.

"Those who vote already," it is said, "vote so badly. Why should we increase the number of fools who go to the polls?"

The danger of trusting mankind at large with the care of their own interests appears, and is, very great. The wise, among men as among women, are few. Culture, which quadruples the mental

power of either sex, is not possessed by any majority in the known world. Ignorance may be deluded and misled, may even be bought and sold. Volumes of argument are written and spoken in this sense. And yet, representative government in time always makes good its position and right to exist. One reason of this is that it not only founds itself upon popular education, but is in itself an education. Under its dominion, men are educated to their duties by the exercise of their rights. The greatest truths, moreover, in politics as in religion, are often hidden from the wise and prudent and revealed to the simple multitude. It soon appears that the dangers foreseen in the enlargement of representation are dangers to the exceptional privileges of a class, not to the community.

Representation is what the friends of woman suffrage demand for one half of the community from which it has hitherto been withheld. The slaveholder was formerly supposed, by a legal fiction, to represent his slaves. By a similar fiction, men are held to represent women at the polls. The slaveholders represented their own interests, and men, in voting, do the same. It might be said in both instances that the true interest of the two parties is the same. This is true in a sense so enlarged that few male voters will be found to take it in. The good of each and the good of all are really one and the same. But men, even while professing this as their faith, rarely exemplify it in their voting. In much of their social and political action, they will pursue personal advantage as it presents itself to them, in the form of some immediate gain, and will only in rare instances consult that larger conception of the general good which holds that what is best for the community is also best for the individual. And, even if men in general were disposed to do this, are they so wise that women should be satisfied of their ability to do it? Even from this point of view, Mr. Parkman's statements are not encouraging. He tells us that the best men among us naturally shun politics. All of our women, then, the best included, are subject to the legislation of a set of men whom he characterizes as "practiced tricksters," or as "hungry and rapacious crowds." And their knowledge of this state of things will, he thinks, induce only "the coarse and contentious among women" to draw near to the political arena. It is, to say the least, a singular method of argument to adduce the imperfections of government as actually administered, as so many reasons why good women should be satisfied to keep aloof from participation in any attempt to make it better.

A very short space having been allotted to us for the consideration of a topic which Mr. Parkman has been allowed to treat *in extenso*, we must necessarily be content to pass his arguments in the briefest review, though not with cursory criticism. And we must say, in the first place, that these arguments are already very familiar to the advocates of woman suffrage. In every suffrage convention, and in legislative hearings on this subject, each of the points which he tries to make is taken up and carefully considered, full opportunity being granted to those who think otherwise to bring forward their view of the case. We can not remember any of those occasions in which the advantage has not remained with the friends of the measure. A person who wished to be rude to an eminent literary man told him that her own father had always advised her to avoid a schoolmaster. The gentleman replied, "It is evident that you have." The tenor of Mr. Parkman's remarks makes it very evident to us that, in his study of the woman-suffrage question, he has avoided the opportunities of enlightenment which its friends would gladly afford him. When he accuses them of occupying the platform with "frothy declamation" and the press with sensational stories; when he avers that, instead of claiming for women what is theirs, "a nature of their own, with laws of its own, and a high capacity of independent development, they propose, as the aim of their ambition, the imitation of men"—the friends of woman suffrage may be sure that Mr. Parkman has neither attended their meetings, nor read the journals and pamphlets in which their views are set forth. He can not have heard William Lloyd Garrison and Lucy Stone—he can not have read George William Curtis and Mary Eastman.

Why should one sex assume to legislate for both? Because it always has done so? That is no reason. All the innovations which have blest mankind might have been excluded from use on the same ground. Because the sex which claims the right to do this has the stronger muscles? It does not use these in the act of voting. Because the sexes differ from each other in certain moral and mental characteristics? This would seem to make it important that the necessities of each should have equal representation in a fair government. Because there is, on the whole, a substantial agreement between them in feeling and in interest? This fact, if granted, would merely make it very safe for women to represent their own side in their own way. Because the political enfranchisement of the hitherto non-voting sex would overthrow the family? In this view it

is strange that the male advocates of woman suffrage are oftenest found among married men. Because one sex is military and militant, the other pacific and unmilitant? Do the fighting men of a community govern it? Woe to it if they do! Military rule is armed despotism. The solid sense of mankind to-day is against it. Because women have already possessed political power, and have abused it? This argument can be used with triple force against the other sex, whose abuse of political power is in large proportion to their use of it.

† We have now breathlessly rehearsed the greater part of Mr. Parkman's objections to woman, or, as he calls it, female suffrage. Despite the narrow limits here assigned us, we will take time to reconsider one or two of them. The argument that women should not vote because they can not fight is a very threadbare one. It is an instance of that imaginary relation between two circumstances which leads the incautious thinker to link them together as cause and effect. What real connection is there between the act of fighting and the act of voting? A certain proportion only of the men of this or of any community are able to bear arms. Of these, a still smaller number will be called upon to do so, and that during a certain term of years only. Will those fighting men show any characteristics which shall make the ballot safer in their hands than in those of their non-fighting fellow citizens? The contrary impression seems generally to prevail among thoughtful people. The blind, unreasoning obedience of an army to its chiefs is felt to be at variance with the spirit of inquiry in which a voter should study the claims and merits of his candidate. Shall we say that the military are the guardians of the public peace? That office, in our day, seems to belong more clearly to the mother and the school-teacher. Justice claims the right to govern. Education enforces the recognition of law, the respect of right, the claim of duty. The agencies which moralize society are its true defense, its real bulwark. The merciful and patient work of women can spare more bloodshed to any generation than can the whole military order.

What Mr. Parkman says about sex makes us feel that the masculine view of this attribute, too often reflected in the feminine mind, is liable to great exaggeration. Like every leading attribute of human nature, it is either a weakness or a power, according as it is intelligently trained or blindly followed. When men intentionally use it as a power, they naturally desire that it should become a weakness in those upon whom they wish to exert that power. Sex

is certainly an important agent in human affairs, but not the most important. Its influence is easily exaggerated and lost. Men and women may have too much sexuality as well as too little. Society, if impoverished by the insufficiency of this quality, is also degraded by its excess. In men or in women sex is a power only when it is made subservient to reason, when thought and duty common to both sexes are brought forward and dwelt upon, uplifting both alike to self-forgetfulness and self-sacrifice.

It is a great mistake to state the career of either sex as if its boundaries were necessarily definite and predetermined. Men are forced to undertake many things which are abhorrent to the ease which human nature covets. It is not their sex which leads them to do this, but some inner or outer necessity. Women are subject to these same necessities, and must again and again sacrifice personal convenience and inclination in view of offices whose performance becomes imperative. The farmer's wife digs potatoes in the field when he is too busy to do it. The farmer's daughter rides the mowing-machine when the men of the family are away with the army. The wife and mother, for whom domestic seclusion is made by theorists such a *sine qua non*, must feed helpless children by her labor, and support an invalid or profligate husband. Daughters keep aged fathers out of the almshouse. Sisters work at the loom to send a brother through his college course. In these cases the convenience of sex has to be set aside. The woman is obliged to ask, not "What is my sex?" but "What is my necessity, and how can I meet it?" The opponents of woman suffrage find nothing unfeminine in these acts, which tax the *physique* of the more tender sex far more severely than does the twofold effort of considering the merits of a candidate and recording one's conclusion by dropping a ballot in a box.

The liberties of women are necessarily abridged, in Mr. Parkman's view, by the dangers to which the unbridled passions of men give rise. He says, "A man in lonely places has nothing to lose but life and property, and he has nerve and muscle to defend them." In another place he speaks of the common theory that chastity is a virtue only in women, as one to which society holds to-day as firmly as it ever did. In both of these respects we think that a change may be not only looked for, but recognized, in the cruel manners of the world. Let us look at the first. The greatest danger of woman lies in the brutal sexuality of man. Her defense is supposed to lie in the chivalry of man. How shall she be assured, in trusting to

the other sex the defense of her honor, that ferocious passion shall not get the better of chivalrous compassion?

Existing provisions fail to give to woman this promised protection. Violence may dog her harmless footsteps in her own garden, may cross the threshold of her home, and find her there, as elsewhere, defenseless. Restriction of the woman's movements does not, then, prove an availing defense. The restriction must be sought and enforced elsewhere. The man can be taught as effectually to subordinate this part of his nature to reason and conscience as any other. If, as is claimed, he is the stronger party, let him be trained to show his strength in self-restraint, since self-indulgence shows only his weakness.

But chivalry is not limited to the domain of men. Its heroic compassion is also at home in the hearts of women. The growing concern of the best women for the welfare of their sex has latterly led, in many countries, to studies and efforts which tend to its true protection. The labors of Mrs. Butler (of Liverpool) and her fellow workers, culminating in such events as the Congress of Public Morality, held in Geneva, in September, 1877, have associated many noble men and women in a crusade against the low standard of sexual morality, hitherto held to be binding upon the male sex. When such men as M. Pressensé, of the French Parliament, and Mr. Sternfeld, of the English House of Commons, take part in the proceedings of such a Congress, we may perceive that a new theory and influence are already making themselves felt in the administration of public morals.

Touching the justice of the claim of women to the elective franchise, Mr. Parkman says that "government by doctrines of abstract right, of which the French Revolution set the example, and bore the fruits, involves enormous danger and injustice."

We answer that government which opposes abstract right is fraught with far greater danger and injustice. Granted that while the recognition of a principle of right may be immediate, its embodiment in practice will remain a matter of slow and difficult endeavor. When, nevertheless, the principle has attained recognition, the policy which looks away from it, and excuses the neglect of a sacred duty by the inconvenience of its fulfillment, is short-sighted in its wisdom and short-lived in its success. But a sentence a little further on puzzles us extremely. Mr. Parkman says: "It is in the concrete, and not in the abstract, that rights prevail in every sound and wholesome society." Is right in the concrete, then, opposed to

right in the abstract, and, where rights are enforced in the concrete, are they necessarily violated or neglected in the abstract? The woman-suffragists ask that an abstract right should be embodied in a concrete form, and Mr. Parkman replies to this by postulating a contradiction between abstract right and its concrete expression, which is valuable if viewed as a *reductio ad absurdum*.

To what authority can the concrete institutions of government appeal, if not to the principles of abstract right? The work which the French Revolution and our own essayed to do was to rectify concrete abuses by a return to the principles of ideal justice. While neither of these great efforts can be said to have been entirely successful, the measure of success which they did achieve is the most important attainment of the century which came to an end three years ago.

Mr. Parkman, like others of his creed, attempts to aid his reasoning by an analogy borrowed from the vegetable kingdom. "The palm," he says, "will not grow in the soil and climate of the pine." This metaphor seems to us peculiarly unfortunate, since man and woman, his pine and palm, necessarily grow in the same soil and climate. The question is, whether the pine shall make up his mind to allow the palm as much of the common soil and climate as he finds necessary for his own well-being. Or, rather, we should say that man and woman correspond to the male and female palms, for which every circumstance, except that of sex, is identical.

Mr. Parkman has no valid ground for assuring his readers that the granting of suffrage to women would bring into political efficiency women of the worst and most undesirable class, and leave "those of finer sensibilities and more delicate scruples" in what he would consider a masterly inactivity. In these remarks, and many others, Mr. Parkman shows a want of acquaintance with the character of the women engaged in the suffrage cause, which is singular, even in an antagonist. The question whether, in the case supposed, the vicious and ignorant would go to the polls, and the intelligent and virtuous stay away from them, is one often brought before a legislative hearing. At one of these, in which arguments on both sides had been heard, Mr. Garrison rose and said: "It seems to me that the present occasion is in itself an answer to this question. Here on the one side are character, intelligence, education petitioning for suffrage; and on the other are ignorance and vulgarity petitioning against it."

In his portrayal of the female politician of the future, Mr. Park-

man shows an unusual power of conjuring up, from the abyss of the unknown, unlovely female phantoms with which to electrify the minds of his readers. Let them not mistake this, as he obviously does, for a true spirit of prophecy. Imagination can create such forms at will, and can easily set imaginary female voters to destroy an imaginary state. But this is not its noblest use. The future, like the past, can be read from an adequate or inadequate point of view. He who fails to seize the sense of the present can give no true account either of what has been or of what shall be. The true prophet discerns the signs of the times, the deep, normal tendencies of human nature, which are ever more and more toward amelioration, and the greater good of the greater number. That the future of human society is to be more and more dedicated to the peaceful development of human resources, that the reign of justice is gradually and permanently to supplant the reign of violence—these are prophecies far more ancient and weighty than are Mr. Parkman's predictions about "the bad time coming." This reign of peace and justice will be greatly promoted by the influence and action of women, who have everything to gain from it. While it can efface no substantial feature of either sex, it will secure fair play to both. To borrow one of Mr. Parkman's antitheses, it will bring us the concrete embodiment of the abstract truth uttered by St. Paul, that in the Christian harmony there is neither male nor female, but equal freedom for either sex to bear its burdens and perform its duties according to its own best wisdom and highest resolve.

JULIA WARD HOWE.

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

WE read in Boswell's Johnson that when Boswell was drawing up, in 1776, a legal document which excluded all heirs female from the inheritance of a certain landed property, Dr. Johnson opposed the proceeding; and, when Boswell pleaded ancient Scottish traditions, Johnson said: "Women have natural and equitable claims, as well as men; and those claims are not to be lightly superseded or infringed. When fiefs implied military service, it is easily discerned why females could not inherit them, but that reason is at an end. As manners make laws, manners likewise repeal them."

It is the weakness of the stock arguments against woman suffrage that they are mainly based, like those of Boswell, on the sur-

vival of a tradition after social facts are changed. Reforms are not so often carried by pitched battles as by an unconscious change of habits, an insensible abandonment of prejudices, a new atmosphere of thought. You can no more replace the American woman in the position occupied by the Turkish or Hindoo woman than you can put the bird back into the egg : all that you can do is, to recognize the altered position and accept the consequences. From the Boswell point of view, each step is to be resisted, no matter how logically it follows. It was thought an innovation, in 1776, that a woman should be permitted to hold real estate in her own right. It may seem quite as great an innovation, in 1879, to let a married woman control her own earnings or to let any woman vote for anything. The same reply is always pertinent : in the words of Dr. Johnson, "As manners make laws, manners likewise repeal them."

It is not now the question whether woman suffrage would have been a project worth urging in the days of Charlemagne or Scott's *Ivanhoe*. Any form of popular government would in those days have seemed absurd enough ; and woman suffrage simply incredible. But the novel measure wears quite a different light when proposed in a republic already a hundred years old, and avowedly deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed. It becomes quite transformed when we consider it as applied to a race of women who go unveiled and unguarded in the public streets ; who study or teach in high-schools and colleges ; who practice law and medicine ; who serve on boards of education and charity ; who publish books and deliver lectures ; who hold real estate by a tenure as secure as that of men ; who, even if married, control their own earnings and make their own wills. Grant that the woman of the feudal period would not have known what a ballot meant, if placed in her hands ; that does not prevent the modern, civilized, Christianized woman from both knowing and using it.

The strength of the woman-suffrage movement in the United States of America lies in this, that every axiom, every position, claimed originally as applicable to American men, proves on reflection to be applicable to women also. Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, once pointed out, in a speech, as a point which had greatly influenced his mind in behalf of this reform, that he had never heard a man argue against it for ten minutes without abandoning all the fundamental principles of republican government. These principles have never, perhaps, had a better statement than in Dr. Franklin's celebrated exposition : "That liberty or freedom con-

sists in having an actual share in the appointment of those who frame the laws, and who are to be the guardians of every man's life, property, and peace; for the *all* of one man is as dear to him as the *all* of another; and the poor man has an equal right, but more need to have representatives in the Legislature than the rich one. That they who have no voice nor vote in the electing of representatives do not enjoy liberty, but are absolutely enslaved to those who have votes and to their representatives; for to be enslaved is to have governors whom other men have set over us, and be subject to laws made by the representatives of others, without having had representatives of our own to give consent in our behalf."

Had Franklin, with his usual astute wisdom, designedly drawn his charter of political rights so wide that it should inevitably, after another century, come to include women also, he could hardly have succeeded better. Those who deny these propositions for men, or believe their practical working to have been a failure, will of course deny them for women also. The appeal must be taken from this minority to the great body of the American people, who still believe in a republicanism such as Franklin described. If there is any principle on which all our institutions rest, in the popular mind, it is that of the right of every adult person, not laboring under special natural disqualification, to take part in the government of the country. How valuable or influential a part the individual will take may depend on a thousand things—education, wealth, energy, industry, worth; but no constitution can discriminate as to these things, and the effort to create inequality of rights on account of them has, when attempted on any considerable scale, always led to practical injustice. Nor has this injustice ever been more obvious than in the cruel laws in respect to women, now being gradually swept from the statute-books of our American States, but never seriously modified until, within less than fifty years, women themselves took up the discussion.

Either one must wholly take issue with Franklin's plain proposition, in which case one practically ceases to believe in republican government; or else one must maintain that the fact of sex is a special and hopeless natural disqualification for suffrage. If so, where does the disqualification lie? Not in character, because it is generally admitted that women are at least the equals of men in moral rectitude. Not in occupations, for those of women are not more absorbing, or more incompatible with the knowledge of pub-

lie affairs, than those of men. Not in inability to urge their opinions or carry their points, for their critics usually concede to women an almost unreasonable tenacity of will. Not in inability to form opinions, wise or unwise; and be it observed that it is the habit of forming opinions, and not necessarily their wisdom when formed, on which enlightened conservatives have always based the arguments for extending the franchise. For instance, Dr. Arnold, in England, said admirably: "It is in vain to say that questions of religion and politics are above the understanding of the poorer classes; they are not above their misunderstanding, and they will think and talk about them." For "the poorer classes" read "women," and you have the exact statement of the present demand. As public questions—war, slavery, free trade, civil service reform, temperance, socialism—are all at least within the misunderstanding of women, it is of absolute importance to the community that women should understand them, and all experience shows that there is, on these questions, no educational discipline like the ballot.

When we seek the historic evidence for or against the capacity of women for public affairs, it is curious to see that those who doubt it are apt to look away from contemporary facts, and draw all their arguments from the nation where women have been most systematically excluded from direct power. The keen satirist Churchill has written the verdict on the French "Salique law," in words which are of unsurpassed keenness, and still full of instruction:

"Women ruled all, and counselors of state
Were at the doors of women forced to wait;
Women, who've oft as sovereigns graced the land,
But never governed well at second-hand."

Women can no more govern well at second-hand in Washington than in Paris; but, fortunately, the fitness of many a woman for the direct guidance of thought and action makes itself felt through the press and through benevolent organizations. Those of us who are in middle life received our first lessons in political economy from the tales of Harriet Martineau; and Mrs. Fawcett's little manual on the same subject is training the students of our high-schools and colleges. Garrison learned from Elizabeth Heyrick his motto "Immediate, unconditional emancipation," and Mrs. Stowe reënforced it with an influence such as no man brought to bear. In the age that has produced Florence Nightingale and Mary Carpenter, it

is quite needless to go for examples of feminine influence to the period of Montespan and Pompadour.

There apparently remains no hopeless disqualification that can be urged against women, except the inability to bear arms. The fatal defect of this argument lies in the fact that it proves far too much. If women are to be disfranchised for want of military ability, it seems logically clear that all other classes should be enfranchised only in proportion as their military ability is shown. The records of our medical department during the civil war, as tabulated by Dr. J. H. Baxter, show where this standard of enfranchisement would lead us. It was found that of 1,000 clergymen, 954 were physically disqualified from military duty; of the same number of journalists, 740; of physicians, 670; of lawyers, 544. On the other hand, of 1,000 iron-workers, only 189 were disqualified; of tanners, 216; of farmers 350. Even of the despised tailors, long the by-word of effeminacy, the majority were fit for military duty; but of the lawyers only a minority, of "able editors" only a quarter, of "sound divines" next to none. It is fair to ask, of those who apply this standard to women, whether they are prepared to accept its consequences—the virtual disfranchisement of the more educated classes, and the distribution of suffrage according to physical ability alone? The nation, it would seem, never quite appreciated the value of John Morrissey's position in Congress: tried by this new standard, he was perhaps the only representative who had the logical right to be in his seat.

And surely it is not so long since our great civil war that we have forgotten its memories, and lost sight of the military service rendered by women—service which generals and statesmen once so gladly recognized. To begin with, as Lucy Stone once said, "The soldier risked his life for his country, but in every instance some woman risked her life that the soldier might be born." Then, in the early days of recruiting, who can forget the courage, the patience, the patriotism shown by women? And, as the war went on, the vast hospital service, the immense labors of the Sanitary Commission, gave at each step a fresh vindication of women's usefulness in war. Mary Livermore, organizing in the Western cities her magnificent series of fairs for the Sanitary Commission, and then visiting camp and gunboat to distribute aid; Clara Barton, driving her wagon of hospital supplies upon half the battle-fields of Virginia—were they not serving their country in war-time as effectually as the bounty-jumpers and the deserters? The truth is,

that all this basis of disqualification is as obsolete, in these days, as was Boswell's theory that women could not hold real estate because they did not fight. As society grows more civilized, "that reason is at an end." Walter Bagehot has well said that, "in these days, mind without muscle has greater power than muscle without mind."

It was said of the American Federalists that they had too much of the wisdom of experience and too little of the wisdom of hope. It is too common, I think, for our educated men to share this distrustful solicitude; and we may well turn from it to the more manly hopefulness of Frederick Douglass, born and bred a slave. "I am willing" he said, "to trust all the virtue of the community to take care of all the vice of the community; all its knowledge to take care of all its ignorance. Therefore I am in favor of universal suffrage, and therefore I am in favor of extending that suffrage to women."

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

LUCY STONE.

FROM the ripened harvests of the last half century there have been garnered many priceless sheaves for women—the right to be heard in their own defense; the right to higher education; the right to the medical profession; the right to the pulpit; the right to the bar; and the right to the wide fields of industrial activity. Odious and unjust discriminations against women have also been blotted from the statute-book, and wrested from the common law. In many States the old sin and shame which gave to any father, whether he was of age or not, the right to "will" or "deed" his unborn child, without the knowledge or consent of its mother and against her wish, has disappeared, and she may now be guardian of her own children. A wife is not now legally deprived of her personal property by marriage. She can own what she earns outside of her family. She can will a part of the property which she may have inherited or acquired. She can make valid contracts. She can carry on business and have the profit of it, if she make a legal record of the fact of her business—not else. In all these cases women have recognized legal rights which were unknown fifty years ago. These rights have all been won peacefully by argument and appeal to the conscience and good sense of the people.

Unjust and detestable legal inequalities remain, but their foundations are taken out and they must also vanish. Compared with the helplessness and humiliation of the former position, the gain of the present is immense.

The next point to win will be the right to the ballot. In any other country it would be necessary to show that political power naturally vests in the people. But here the whole ground is granted in advance. When our fathers came out of the war of the Revolution, made wiser by those seven years of suffering, they affirmed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident"; "Governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed"; "Taxation without representation is tyranny."

The Declaration of Independence was adopted unanimously by the representatives of the then United States, and the descendants of those representatives have held the same principles in theory ever since. It has been called the "Immortal Declaration." It has been read in every State on every Fourth of July since 1776. We have honored its authors, and the day that gave it utterance, as we honor no other day and no other men. Not only we, but in all the wide world round, men suffering under hoary despotisms, by a quick instinct turn their longing eyes to this country, and know that in the realization of our self-evident truths lies the charm by which their own bonds will be broken.

Article II. in the Declaration affirms: "All political power is inherent in the people. Government is instituted for the protection and benefit of the people, and they have a right at all times to alter or reform the same whenever the public good may require it."

The claim for the suffrage of women is, therefore, not "a new-fangled notion," but a demand for the practical application of admitted self-evident truths. Naturally, women ask, if "all political power is inherent in the people," why they, who are more than half the entire population, have no political existence? Is it because they are not people? Only a madman would say of a congregation of women, No people were there. They are counted as people in the census, and also in the ratio of representation of every State, to increase the political power of men. They are even held to be citizens, without the rights of citizenship, indeed, but to bear the burdens of "taxation without representation," which is "tyranny." They are only not people where political rights are involved.

"Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the

governed"—not of the governed property-holders, nor of the governed fighting men, nor of the governed married men, but of the governed. Women are governed, and by the very theory of our government should give their consent: suffrage is the only form through which consent can be given.

What is suffrage? It is the prescribed method whereby, at a certain time and place, the will of the citizen is registered. It is the form in which the popular assent or dissent is indicated in reference to principles, measures, and men.

The essence of suffrage is rational choice. It follows, therefore, under our theory of government, that every individual capable of independent rational choice is rightfully entitled to vote.

The alien who is temporarily a resident is excepted. He is still a citizen of his native country, from which he may demand protection, and to which he owes allegiance. But, when he becomes a naturalized citizen, he is admitted to all the rights of citizenship, suffrage included.

The minor is excepted. The law holds him an infant. He is under guardianship as being incapable of rational choice until he arrives at years of discretion. Then he may vote. Idiots and lunatics are excepted because they are incapable of rational choice, and so can not vote. None of these cases conflict with the principle. But, when a woman is disfranchised because she is a woman, the principle is violated. She possesses every human faculty. No man would admit even to himself that his mother is not capable of rational choice. And, if the woman he has chosen for his wife is a fool, that fact lies at least as much against his ability to make a rational choice as against hers, and should put them both in the category of excepted persons.

But it is said the "consent of the governed" is only a theory, a "glittering generality"—that in fact the governed do not consent, and never have consented.

Yet this theory is the golden rule of political justice. The right of the citizen to participate in making the laws is the sole foundation of political morality. Deny this, and you justify despotism. On the principle of limited suffrage, aristocracy is blameless and republican institutions are impossible. Men who deny political rights to women can show no title to their own.

As there can be no argument against a self-evident truth, so none has ever been attempted. Instead of arguments, tradition, usage, habit, the dread of change, are all summoned to hold fast the

old ways. The love of power, of leadership, and of domination urges men to resist any encroachment upon the field they have so long held, not to say usurped. A Massachusetts Senator said in his place in the Senate, opposing the petition of women for the ballot, "We men have the power, and we will not give it up until we are compelled to." With less offensiveness of statement and of manner, this sentiment underlies and overlies much masculine expression in regard to the political rights of women.

Fine feminine qualities are quoted with masterly skill. The benign influence of these qualities is set forth in glowing colors: "It can not be denied that the instincts of women are preëminently delicate and true; that in them the moral nature and the better emotions are more apt to rule than in the other sex; that their conscience is more sensitive, and their religious susceptibilities quicker and more controlling. . . . They can, if they will, create and maintain higher standards of thought and purpose, raise the whole tone of national life, and give our civilization the fullness that it lacks; for, if they raise themselves, they will infallibly raise the men with them." All this, and more, is accorded to women by men who affirm that women who are indispensable and beneficent in the home and in the family, beneficent and priceless as teachers in the schools, and invaluable in the Church, will, if they share political life, make its turbid pool still darker, and at the same time all their own fine qualities will become sources of crime and vice. "Many women will sell themselves; many more will sell their votes. Three fourths of them, when not urged by some pressing need or contagious passion, would be moved, not by principles, but by personal predilections." The reign of queens who have brought immeasurable good to their subjects is quoted, with their faults of temper or their positive vices, as proofs that women should not have political power. But the reigns of dissolute, cruel, tyrannical, and incompetent kings, who greatly outnumber any similar class of queens, are not admitted to subtract from or militate in the least against the masculine right and fitness to rule. So much do custom and prejudice blind the judgment of some of the best men.

Samson powerless before Delilah is quoted. Is it as an added proof of his special fitness to hold the reins of government, and another proof that women should continue to be governed without their consent? But the great mass of women are not Delilahs; and, if men go prone before those who are, it shows which is really the "weaker sex," and ought to abate somewhat from the arrogant

claim that "man is governed by reason and not by emotion," and therefore better adapted to be the ruling power.

But all this may be left aside, and as much or as little weight added to it as one pleases. The facts to be considered are these: Women and men are in the world about an equal number—masculine qualities belonging to men and feminine qualities to women. These distinctive traits are a part of the eternal order and can not be manipulated by human hands. The interests of men and women are so involved that the good or evil of which either is the cause is inevitably shared by both. Government is indispensable to civilized society. Up to this time, the formation and administration of government have been mainly in the hands of men. What has been the result of this total separation of feminine qualities and power from the sphere of government? The nations of the earth have been engaged in almost ceaseless warfare. Bloodshed and murder, waste of life and treasure, have covered the whole field of masculine administration and sovereignty. National debts everywhere exist. Whole States are bankrupt and repudiate their debts. Men speak of the politics they have made as "a dirty pool"; an "ignoble scramble for place and power"; "a scene of bribery and corruption."

That this is so, lies patent to the most careless observer. But, when we look to see the effect of masculine legislation for women, we find that the common law, by a single sweep, blotted out the legal existence of every wife. It gave the "custody of her person" to her husband, and also the right to give her "moderate correction." It gave all that a wife could earn to her husband, whether it was the dollar the poor washer-woman received for her day's toil, or the price of the copyright of the books of Mrs. Sarah Norton. A wife could neither buy, nor sell, nor deed, nor will. The children she bore belonged absolutely to her husband. Every State in this Union has seen mothers fleeing with their children before infuriated and brutal husbands who were empowered by law to retake and dispose of both!

Most of these cruel laws have disappeared from the States where the demand and petition of woman suffragists have urged their removal; but they were made by men. Women have always been involved in all the consequences of wicked or foolish masculine legislation.

If men made war, the homes of women were pillaged and burned, their sons slaughtered, themselves and their daughters outraged

✱ and murdered, and the natural toil of men imposed upon them in addition to their own. From the wreck of nations and the ruin of governments there has been no escape for women.

This subjugation of women, on the one hand, wrought endless mischief to women ; first, by leading them to assume, from the unequal and inferior position given them by the law, where they rank with idiots and felons, that they were themselves inferior. As a result of this came the tendency to be satisfied with trifles, and all the more so because it was manifestly more pleasing to those on whom they were made dependent.

On the other hand, the very position of law-makers and rulers increased the self-conceit of men.

“ Woman is the lesser man, and all her passions, matched with mine,
Are as moonlight unto sunlight, and as water unto wine.”

This stanza expresses an idea still common among men. It has shaped itself in all our institutions—the college, the industries, the professions. Even in the home it created for woman humiliation and dependence.

The sense of superiority led men to establish a different standard of morality for themselves. They still hold that the same sin committed together by a man and a woman at the same time is less bad and less a sin on the part of the man, and that it “ would be a far greater hardship to impose the same penalties on him that are now imposed on her for the same crime.” This idea pervades society like an atmosphere.

A little boy, whose mother told him he should behave as well as girls do, said : “ Are you quite sure you mean what you say ? Don't you know boys can't be as good as girls, but they know the most ? ” So early had he learned the lesson set by the practice of daily life, by the idea which blunts and blinds the moral sense and scatters mildew and blight over all life's choicest things, and which furnishes one of the most cogent reasons for heeding the prayer of women for equal rights.

An undue sense of his own superiority, a contempt for the intellect of women, a lower moral standard for men, and a world devastated by wars, are among the results of masculine domination. They furnish abundant proof that something more and different is needed for the best good of individuals, of states, and of nations. But the only remaining things which have not been tried are

feminine influence and character clothed with legal power, and the responsibility which attaches to such power.

The case may be stated thus : Shall the men and women who are to obey the laws have a right to make them, or shall only men have this right? Shall men and women who are to pay the taxes have a common right to decide the amount and the use of these taxes, or shall only men have this right? What can be more natural than the answer that parties alike involved should, when of mature age, sound mind, and not convicted of crime, have a common share in a common interest? What is more reasonable to suppose than that the great mass of women who now bless the home, who are the life of the Church, who are the main educators of the rising generation, would bring good to the state if they had the opportunity? What can be more just than that the consent of the governed men and women should be given to the laws that govern them?

When any causes make women less than their best, society feels it to its very core and is less than its best. The woman who sits by her baby's cradle, having learned no lessons of responsibility and self-reliance, whose mind is narrow, whose arm weak, and whose heart is timid, can impart to that child only what she herself possesses. What is so important to the public good as that women, who are the mothers, should have the benefit of that self-respect and self-reliance which come with and are inseparable from the possession of equal rights?

Say that women are different from men. It is for that very reason that suffragists have always urged this different being must be represented by herself. Her feminine qualities should have expression and binding influence in a government where she and her children are invested.

Say that women are excitable. Weight them with responsibility. Say that they are busy with the care of home and children. It is by that very fact they are safe as law-makers. Men scramble for place and power. The strife may involve bloodshed and war; may cause the wreck of nations, and the ruin of every home tie; father, mother, wife, child, all go down before this absorbing love of power. But with women is the permanent factor of motherhood. There is not one mother in millions who does not think ten times of what will be best for her child where she thinks once of what is best for herself. Her care is of the baby at her breast, of the child tugging at her finger, of her young sons and daughters. She longs

to make smooth and safe ways for their feet. By a law which was not made by men, and can not be abrogated, the mother is bound to her child by ties which neither distance, nor absence, nor time can change. Every man knows that, however far or wide he wanders, or however he may cover himself with sin and shame, if his mother live her heart beats warm for him, and her arms will open wide with welcome. By so much the more as all others shut him out, by so much the more will she take him in.

This permanent relation must for ever, in the main, make the influence of women in the government a conservative one—conserving the interest of the family and the home, on the integrity of which depend both the safety and the permanence of society and of government.

The problem of American statesmanship to-day is how to embody in our institutions a guarantee of the rights of every citizen. There is only one way. Base government on the consent of the governed, and each class will protect itself.

Put this great principle of universal suffrage, irrespective of sex, race, or color, into the foundations of our temple of liberty, and it will rise in fair and beautiful proportions, "without the sound of a hammer, or the noise of any instrument," to stand at last perfect and entire, wanting nothing. Omit it, and only "He who sees the end from the beginning" knows by what lessons of losses the nation must learn that the path of justice is the only path of peace and safety.

LUCY STONE.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

THE first half of Mr. Francis Parkman's essay is devoted to a consideration of the difference of sex, in which he asserts—1. That the advocates of woman's rights deny that sex is based on differences rather than resemblances; 2. That these differences set well-defined limitations to woman's activities, and make her inferior to man.

1. The advocates of woman's rights do not deny a difference in sex, but, on the contrary, base their strongest arguments for equal rights on this very principle, because of its mutually protecting, elevating, invigorating power over the sexes. But sex does not necessarily compel so broad a difference in the capacities and employments of men and women as some of Mr. Parkman's positions

would indicate, for the resemblances of sex are as great as their differences.

Darwin says that, in every female, all the secondary male characteristics, and, in every male, all the secondary female characteristics, exist in a latent form, ready to be evolved under certain conditions. Galton and Ribot, in their works on heredity, show that daughters more frequently inherit the characteristics of the father, and sons the characteristics of the mother. Since, then, physiological and psychological forces move in continuous circles, men and women can not be so absolutely different in their feelings and capacities as to require entirely separate spheres of action.

On this point Mr. Parkman himself says: "Whatever qualities of a woman are transmissible by inheritance, may descend to all her offspring alike. The male infant would be as apt to receive them as the female. The reciprocity between the two separate halves of human nature extends over a wide field, not only in passions and emotions, but in the regions of moral and intellectual life. Most intelligent men have felt the stimulus and refreshment of the faculties that spring from the companionship of an intelligent and congenial woman, and which is unlike anything resulting from the contact of a male mind. It is a fructifying power, with which neither the world of thought nor the world of action could well dispense. Many men of the higher sort recall as an epoch in their lives that wonderful awakening of energies, ambitions, and aspirations which comes with the first consciousness of the influence of the other sex."

And woman feels the same inspiring, invigorating power in the society of superior men: under such influence she is conscious of a clearer vision of great truths, before but dimly seen; for, as there is just that physical difference in man and woman necessary for the preservation of the race, so there is just that psychical difference necessary to the vitalization of thought.

Why not, then, avail ourselves of these natural forces for the best development of men and women by closer association in the higher departments of thought and action? The old idea of different spheres should now give place to the higher idea of different responsibilities in the same sphere. Wherever duty summons man, woman has a corresponding duty in the same place. If to war, man fights the battles, woman does good service in the hospitals. If to the home, the mother guides the household, the father supplements his home duties with some profitable occupation outside. When he

is inefficient, disabled, or dead, the mother fills both offices, as house-keeper and provider, and the facts of life show that this is no uncommon experience. And Mr. Parkman himself admits that, "between the life for which women alone are fit and that for which men alone are fit, there lies a region where both may prosper." As physicians, lawyers, pastors, teachers, laborers in many forms of industry, they now occupy the same positions as men, and as legislators there is no reason why they might not do equally good work for the state.

As women have ably filled all offices in life, "Nature's limitations" are yet to be discovered, unless we accept Mr. Parkman's physical encounters in "lonely places" with the lowest orders of manhood. And even here a right public sentiment would do much to insure woman's safety everywhere. You can not go so low down in the scale of being as to find a class of men who would desecrate our churches, profane the altars, and toss about the symbols of the sacrament, because they have been taught from their earliest infancy a holy reverence for the priesthood and their temples. But where are taught lessons of respect for woman? And yet, as mother of the race, she is more than churches, altars, symbols, priests, and, in her highest development, will do more to draw man from the hells to heaven than all other powers combined. I hold men in high places responsible for the outrages of the lower orders. The contemptuous phrases and unjust statutes for women learned in our law schools; the allegory of the creation of woman, the curse, the injunctions for her subjection studied in our theological schools; and the general tone of literature and the daily press, all tend to degrade woman in the mind of the masses. If all these influences were turned in the direction of justice, equality, and honor for woman, the moral atmosphere would soon be purified. The compass is not a surer guide for the mariner amid darkness and danger than the opinions of leading minds for the multitude. If our best men with pen and word would do for woman now what with their swords brave knights did in the age of chivalry, our daughters would soon be safe everywhere, alike in "lonely places" and the crowded marts of trade. Mrs. Chisholm's narrative shows too well that in the trying emergencies of life, prepared or unprepared, woman must learn to stand alone, and bravely meet danger and death. Chance insults from the lower orders are light indeed compared with those that are coined into laws and constitutions by our husbands, fathers, brothers, sons. No rude jest from an ignorant ruffian could so stir

a proud woman's blood as a well-written travesty on her sex from the pen of a man of learning and position.

2. Mr. Parkman clearly makes a difference of sex involve a general inferiority for woman. In the whole range of government, the most exalted of all sciences, he considers her incapable. When we contemplate the wide field thus covered—all our political, religious, educational, commercial, and social interests; the sanitary condition and the discipline of our cities, schools, asylums, jails, prisons, and homes—the question arises, Where is woman capable and where is her sphere of action, if she is to have no voice in the legislation on all these vital subjects? By quoting the opinions of two cultivated women on a given point where right is as clear as the sunlight, from their obtuseness Mr. Parkman argues a general deficiency in woman's moral perceptive faculties.

Again, though Mr. Parkman asserts that "women and not men are of necessity the guardians of the integrity of the family and the truth of succession," yet, even here, he makes "the family unit" man, who is to vote on all questions concerning the home. True, in his analysis of woman, Mr. Parkman refers to some "high and priceless qualities," but seems to take more delight in casting slurs at the ideal enfranchised woman. She is governed by "emotion" rather than by "reason," he informs us; that she is "impetuous," her will is "intractable," she is "impulsive," "excitable," full of "artfulness, effrontery, insensibility"; endowed with "a pushing self-assertion, and a glib tongue"; moved by "motives of love, predilection, jealousy, or schemes of alliance"; she would possess "the cowardly courage of the virago," a "tongue more terrible than the sword," and would give vent to "shrill-tongued discussions," etc.

If this is the idea that the sons of the Pilgrims have of us, no wonder they are afraid to take the word "male" out of the Constitution and admit us to the political arena. But Mr. Parkman tells us that "a man's tongue is strong only as the organ of reason and eloquence." I would his pen were always strong in the same direction! But, had man's tongue through the ages been his only weapon of defense, it might also have come to be "more terrible than the sword." The honest testimony from one hundred families as to the self-control, sound reason, and lofty eloquence with which men use their tongues in domestic life—especially when asked for money—would afford some interesting statistics by which to estimate the comparative merits of the sexes in their general tone of conversation.

It may be confidently asserted, however, that woman has proved herself man's equal in all the great struggles of humanity. Always at a disadvantage on account of artificial burdens and restraints, she has, nevertheless, shown herself possessed of the same courage, intelligence, and moral elevation in all the varied trials she has been called upon to suffer. Brute force should be thrown out of this question, especially as among men our scholars, heroes, statesmen, and orators are so frequently small, delicately organized, and of the same sensitive, nervous temperament as the majority of women. The organism of woman is as complete as that of man. Because a man-of-war could sink one of our magnificent ocean-steamers, does not prove the former superior except for the one purpose of destruction. In the every-day uses of life the steamer has the advantage. The experiment of co-education has proved girls equal to boys in every department of learning.

"This nineteenth century," says Victor Hugo, "belongs to woman." She is stretching forth her hand, as never before, to grasp new power in all directions, and is close in the wake of man in the whole realm of thought and action. With telescopic vision she explores the starry firmament and brings back the history of the planetary world; with chart and compass she pilots ships across the sea; and with skillful fingers sends electric messages around the world. By her the virtues of humanity are immortalized on canvas, and dull blocks of marble are transformed into angels of light. In music she speaks again the language of Mendelssohn and Beethoven, and is a worthy interpreter of their great thoughts; in poetry and romance she holds an equal place; and has touched the key-note of reform in politics, religion, and social life. She fills the editor's and professor's chair, pleads at the bar of justice, and speaks from the pulpit and platform. Such is the type of womanhood the world welcomes to-day.

But a difference in sex has no more to do with the civil and political rights of a citizen than a difference in race; and this brings us to the second part of Mr. Parkman's essay, in which he discusses woman suffrage *per se*. His objections may be summed up as follows: 1. Women do not want to vote; the best would not, the worst would. 2. Women would debase politics rather than elevate it. 3. Woman suffrage would destroy the unity of the family. 4. If women vote, they must do military duty. 5. Woman suffrage would strengthen the Roman Catholic Church. 6. Woman

suffrage based on taxation is opposed to the genius of our Government. 7. Suffrage is not a natural right.

The first three points are answered by the fact, that though women are voting in England and Canada on municipal questions, in Wyoming Territory on the same conditions as men, in some of our States on school affairs, and are filling many offices under Government, the testimony of able and distinguished gentlemen as to the real results are, in all cases, favorable. These facts should outweigh Mr. Parkman's speculations. In Wyoming, where women have voted for nine years, the evidence shows that the best women do go to the polls, the worst do not; that the women are governed by the highest moral considerations in discharging the great responsibilities of citizenship; that family life has not been disturbed; that the women have not become "nervous," "excitable," or "impulsive," but more calm, dignified, and sedate in assuming their new duties. On all these points the printed opinions of three successive Governors of the Territory, a Judge who sat on the Wyoming bench four years, the leading editors of the Territory, and prominent citizens of both sexes and of both parties, agree. The Hon. John W. Kingman, late Judge of the Wyoming Supreme Court, testified as follows before the Joint Special Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature on woman suffrage in 1876: "At our last election a larger proportion of women voted than of men. We have had no trouble from the presence of bad women at the polls. It has been said that the delicate and cultured women would shrink away, and the bold and indelicate come to the front in public affairs. This we feared; but certainly nothing of the kind has happened. The women manifest a great deal of independence in their preference of candidates, and have frequently defeated bad nominations. They are becoming every year more and more interested in public affairs; they are less under the influence of private interest, friendship, and party feeling, and are less subject to the temptations which bias the political action of men. As jurors women have done excellent service. They are less subject to the distracting influences which sometimes sway the action of men in the jury-box. With a stronger tension on the conscience, they seem more anxious to do right. On petit juries the women held the men up to a higher tone of morality and stricter sense of honesty than they would have exercised if left to themselves."

As regards the number of women who vote in England, the London "Examiner" says: "In sixty-six municipal elections, out

of every 1,000 women who enjoy equal rights with men on the register, 516 went to the poll, which is but forty-eight less than the proportionate number of men. And out of 27,949 women registered, where a contest occurred, 14,416 voted. Of men there were 166,781 on the register, and 90,080 at the poll."

3. To say that it would destroy the unity of the family to educate our daughters like our sons with a knowledge of the principles of political economy and constitutional law, and give them an equal right to express their opinions at the ballot-box, is a very serious reflection on the men of our households, and justifies John Stuart Mill's remark that "the generality of the male sex can not yet tolerate the idea of living with an equal." "The family unit" assumption is opposed to our republican idea of individual rights, to our Protestant tenet of private judgment and conscience. We might as well say that the family is a religious unit, as to assert that it is a political unit, and claim that the head must do the family repenting, praying, and confessing, and represent the family in the courts of heaven as well as at the polling-booth. The doctrine that the head of the family is alone destined for the joys of heaven and the woes of hell would relieve the minds of women and children from many gloomy forebodings. Fortunately for the honor of manhood, the experiment in Wyoming proves that woman suffrage does not destroy the peace of home. The editor of the *Laramie* (Wyoming) "*Sentinel*," in the number for December 16, 1878, says: "While women in this Territory frequently vote contrary to their husbands, we have never heard of a case where the family ties or domestic relations were disturbed by it; and we believe that among the pioneers of the West there is more honor and manhood than to abuse a wife because she does not think as we do about politics or religion."

4. As none of our constitutions make military capacity a qualification for suffrage, this point has no significance. The weakness of this trite objection can be easily shown by a glance at the large class of men who vote but never fight. All the office-holders under Government—and their name is legion—are exempt from military duty. So are the clergy, paupers, the Quakers, the lame, the halt and the blind; but each and all have the right to vote.

5. We are warned against the women of the Romish Church, so absolutely under the power of the priests, as a dangerous element in our free institutions if permitted to vote. The same fear is sometimes expressed in regard to Protestant women: they would destroy

the secular nature of our Government if given the ballot. If women were enfranchised, they would not be priest-ridden. Too much of their activity is now confined to the churches. Throw politics open to woman, and you weaken the hold of the Church upon her.

6. If suffrage based on taxation is opposed to the genius of our Government, is not taxation without representation equally opposed to it?

7. Suffrage is a natural right. The right of self-government, of self-protection, the right to defend one's person and property, to secure life, liberty, and happiness, not a natural right? It is the key-stone of the arch on which rests our temple of liberty. In a warm debate on the Fourteenth Amendment in the Senate a member said, "Suffrage is a political right, that the few may give or withhold at their pleasure." "Let that idea," replied Sumner, "crystallize in the minds of our people and we have rung the death-knell of American liberties." To deny this principle takes all significance from the grand debates of the century on human rights that culminated in our civil war! In the most celebrated document which has been put forth on this side of the Atlantic, our ancestors declare that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." This principle, oftentimes repeated by distinguished statesmen and eminent jurists, in varied forms and language, as far back as Blackstone, should find a ready response in the mind of every American citizen.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

"MR. WENDELL PHILLIPS" never claimed that the question of the rights of women "should be treated without regard to sex," as an article in the last "North American" avers. I never knew any one who made such a claim; and certainly no one who could fairly be considered a representative advocate of woman suffrage ever was guilty of such absurdity. Any one has, of course, the right to discuss the plan of woman's suffrage. But no one should state or discuss the views or arguments of those who claim that right for her without first acquainting himself with the literature of the subject—with the arguments actually urged by such claimants. It is a singular circumstance, one not very suggestive of the honesty of our opponents, or of any great trust in their cause, that they seldom

consider themselves bound to know what we really say or urge. Like the worthy German with his camel, they hold themselves at liberty to "evolve our arguments from the depths of their own consciousness." No wonder, therefore, that the result is absurd, or that the absurdity is not our fault. The paper I have quoted is an elaborate picture, and a not very exaggerated one, of the vast difference between the nature of men and that of women. I have known that difference just as forcibly presented in Woman's Rights Conventions and the pages of woman's suffrage advocates. It is, indeed, one of the chief grounds of our claim for woman suffrage. Supported by Plato and most of the great intellects of the race, we affirm that woman is man's equal, though unlike him. This, second to the right of every human being to be governed by laws which he has agreed to, is our main argument for woman suffrage.

Abraham Lincoln said, "No man is good enough to govern another man without that other man's consent." When we include wisdom in the idea of goodness, the proposition is clearly true. But, if some should doubt its truth, hardly any American would deny that no *class* of men is wise or good enough to govern another class. Each class knows its own rights, strength, weakness, interests, and needs as no other class can know them. Hence the laws needed to unfold and protect those rights and interests are best known by that class, and its actual presence in the political arena is the best, if not the only, means of securing proper legislation. This is one of the grounds for universal manhood suffrage. Very few Americans have the impertinence to affirm that students could legislate for merchants better than they themselves can; that traders know best what is good and necessary for farmers; and that capitalists are just the men to make laws for workingmen.

But when we come to women—one half of the human race—men insist that women are wholly different from themselves in qualities, capacity, and nature; and then go on to claim that *therefore* they, the men, are the best fitted to legislate for women, and indeed the only persons to do it. Man undertakes to affirm, not only that woman can not understand man, but that he—man—understands woman and man equally well; which is certainly modest. Woman is a wholly different being from man, is she? Then man can not know how to vote for her. One of two things is true: either woman is like man—and if she is, then a ballot based on brains belongs to her as well as to him; or she is different, and then man does not know how to vote for her as well as she herself does. She

is a human being, for she earns wages and holds property; and you tax both. She can transgress laws, and you fine and imprison her when she does. She is not so intellectually feeble but that you trust her with forming the first seven or ten years—the most important ones—of her child's life; and you commit to her two thirds of all the schools.

Holding these facts in view I ask, What is suffrage? It is an opinion, or judgment, touching the best course to be pursued, in particular circumstances, by the state. This opinion is collected, by votes, from all the elements which make up the state. Civilization in this country believes, and it everywhere else tends to the belief, that the greater the number of elements consulted, the wiser such opinion is likely to be. Hence we consult wealth and poverty, book-learning and practical life, youth and age, leisure and toil. We have come to the conclusion not only that the broader the base of the structure, the securer it stands—the more content there will be among the masses, and the more hearty rallying to support the laws—but we have found that the laws themselves are wiser and more just, and the conduct of the state better and nobler.

Why should this experience of the last three centuries be put aside when we come to woman—a tax-payer; amenable to penal law; and the teacher of the race? Grant that man is judgment, and woman impulse; man is justice, and woman sentiment; that man is logic, and woman instinct.

What of it? Woman does, nevertheless, after all, make just one half of the state. It is conformity and fit relation to her "impulse, sentiment, and instinct" that make the laws just or unjust, foolish or wise. Shall we succeed better in securing such conformity by consulting women, or by ignoring them? There can be but one answer to such a question by any fair man who really believes in the American doctrine of universal manhood suffrage. Some men object to woman suffrage from caprice, superstition, or narrow prejudice. From such we do not, of course, expect argument. But no fair, hearty advocate of universal manhood suffrage has ever urged against us anything that deserves the name of an argument. Every such attempt betrays, as does the plea we are considering, that the real objection is to the American doctrine of universal suffrage itself. "High civilization, ancient or modern, has hitherto rested on the family. . . . To give the suffrage to women would be to reject the principle that has thus far formed the basis of civilized government." And it is an American who writes this!

affirming that there has been neither "high civilization" nor "civilized government" in this country, where everything in civil affairs has always rested, not on the family, but on the individual !

"There are those who think that the suffrage would act as a safety-valve to political passions ; but it has not so acted in the case of men." And this, too, is written by an American, in a land where universal suffrage, speaking generally, has prevailed for a century ; and where, in consequence of it, the quiet submission of millions of disappointed voters, in their angriest mood, to the decision of the ballot, has been the wonder of the world !—submission the rule in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases, and resistance the exception in the thousandth. Of course, one might as well cite Bedlam as claim the South for an exception.

If such be his feeling toward manhood suffrage, no wonder our friend dreads extending it to women. But this surely does not justify misstating history.

Says Disraeli, in "Vivian Grey," "The people are not often wrong"—one may add, the people are always just. History is one unvarying record of the plots of the few to wrong the many. How very rare on its pages is any note of an attempt by the many to wrong the few ! I might almost challenge the production of one such ; even the French Revolution, fairly interpreted, does not offer one. The precedent of our fathers, in 1776, confiscating Tory estates, covers and sanctions every act of "mob law," so called, in Paris.

"The right of voting," says our critic, "and the duty of fighting should never be divorced." Since "law with no power to enforce it is futile and sometimes ridiculous." Just in the same way and with the same truth, some say the right of voting and the possession of wealth should never be divorced, because law with no power to enforce it is ridiculous, and in these days neither can war be made nor government sustained without money. Hence wealthy men are the only ones entitled to vote on a question of going to war !—a conclusion to which this fighting objection to woman suffrage irresistibly brings one. If you say this is not fair, and does not cover the case, since poor men must do the actual fighting—grant that, and still the cases are exactly parallel. For in the creation of that public opinion which sustains law and makes war hearty and vigorous, in all the sacrifices war necessitates and all the burdens it entails, woman shares with man, more than equally in many cases. Hence, if the capitalist furnishes the means for war and government, and the masses furnish the men, woman contributes

largely to the inspiration that upholds both, and shares more than equally in the burdens they entail. In the days of barbarism and of feudalism—its eldest born—when every man was especially trained to fight and only to fight, and when the chief business of government was to conduct wars, this argument might have had weight. But now when the great questions are tariffs, capital and labor, penal laws, posts, education, sanitary methods, telegraphs and railways, movement of harvests and means of communication—in one word, social science—how does a fitness to judge on such questions depend on the ability to fight? Can not an educated woman judge them as wisely as the man who digs your sewer or shovels your sidewalk? And as for the wives of such laborers, they are, every one knows, generally by far the superiors, intellectually, of their husbands. The tie between voting and fighting broke the moment nations became civilized and hired armies to do their fighting.

Our critic is so little familiar with the literature of the subject as to fancy us maintaining that women are better than men. We never dreamed of such folly. We do not care to deny that in the royal instances he cites the queens would have been as bad as the kings actually were, had those queens had the opportunity. Women are neither better nor worse than men. The sexes incline to different vices, but yield about equally, each to its special temptations. We do not expect that woman suffrage will purify politics because woman is better than man. Our expectation of improvement from her sharing political action rests on a different ground.

If we look at the history of the race, its customs and institutions, we shall see one thread running through all its warp and woof. It is this rule or principle: whatsoever has been ever done or attempted by one separate sex has always, in some degree, failed, and in the effort the sex itself has deteriorated. The best work mankind has ever done has come from the sexes working together and in company. Not because either one is better than the other, but God seems to have appointed that the mutual action and reaction of the two on each other shall always give the best result.

I need not refer to the separate religious training of nun and monk—but take art in Greece. It was in the hands of men only, and its productions, set in the streets where Greek decorum forbade women to appear, were never meant to be judged by women. Perfect as art was in the hands of Phidias, some of its rare pieces are hidden to-day from general sight in the locked chambers of the mu-

seums ; and through the streets of some Greek cities no woman of modern modesty could walk. Thorwaldsen, Canova, Chantrey, or Flaxman, never carves marble that might not stand in parlor or church. They carve, as did not the Greek, with the ever-present, unconscious thought that mothers, wives, and sisters will judge their works. This is the secret of art's purification. Take literature. From the Greek down through Chaucer to Shakespeare, we expurgate before we read the old drama and novel in our parlors. But Sophocles was as white a soul as Tennyson, and Chaucer lived on a higher plane than Dickens. Why can you read every line of the two moderns to your daughter, while you expurgate the Greek and the old poet of "pure English undefiled"? In those earlier days woman was no reader ; at the play she was rarely a spectator. Poet and playwright never contemplated her as critic or judge ; and they sank, as those always do who minister to the pleasure of one sex.

Take *society*, the only field where the sexes have ever met on terms of equality, the arena where character is formed and studied, the cradle and the realm of public opinion, the crucible of ideas, the world's university, at once a school and a theatre, the spur and the crown of ambition, the tribunal which unmasks pretension and stamps real merit, the power that gives government leave to be, and outruns the lazy Church in fixing the moral sense of the age. Who shall fitly describe the lofty place of this element in the history of the last three centuries? And yet this is the realm of woman—the throne which, like a conqueror, she first founded and then filled.

There was nothing like it—no parlor—in Greece. Woman was ornament and drudge ; never but once companion—and Aspasia, by only being such, lost her good name. There was no parlor in the middle ages. Woman was toy, plaything, idol, and slave ; but never companion. The castle had no parlor.

Why are men *fêted* in politics whom you would never invite to your parlor, never ask to associate with your daughters? Why are men tolerated, ay, honored, in parties, and on 'Change, whom society sends to Coventry? If one said to you, "I have done nothing to deserve the State Prison, why don't you invite me to your house?" how contemptuously you would answer : "Don't you know that you may be a thousand miles above the State Prison, and yet a thousand miles below my parlor ; since law works on a very different plane from that of society !" Men whom the Church dares

not excommunicate, society spews out of its mouth, and stamps base metal.

Why is all this? Because in society men and women act and live together in the very finest possible relations. And hence it outruns the statute-book and leads the Church; judging its ranks by no rude, coarse law which a male majority puts on the statute-book, by no obsolete and routine morality, but by the invisible essence and spirit of honor, delicate, high-toned, fearless; obeying always the last, highest conception or aspiration of human nature.

Society is a broader family, which is the model and example God gives us; where brothers and sisters live and work, grow and unfold together in the very best of circumstances and relations.

How, then, do I plan to purify politics? I will lift it to the level of the home and the parlor, always the highest level of the age. What revenge could a defeated candidate take on his successful rival more bitter or cruel than to explain, in that rival's parlor, to his humbled wife and daughters, the exact trick by which he succeeded, and for which the caucus rang with his praise?

Woman is no better than man; but man and woman together are the perfect human being, the highest moral and intellectual force. Hence we do not only claim her right to vote, but exact it of her as her duty to civilization and society. Indeed, our opponents gave up the whole argument when they cut loose from Constantinople and the harem; when they let woman go to church and choose her creed. The American woman will meet at the ballot-box the same men she sees in the lecture-room, the church, the theatre, the cars, and the public streets. We have outgrown Jewish, Greek, and Turkish barbarism; and hence, long used to respect woman's presence in those places, the vast majority of men obey there the laws of decency and good manners. No husband, this side of Turkey, objects to his wife's presence in theatre, car, church, or street, because some rare miscreant may possibly insult or offend her there. Indeed, I may go further: the very bully who knocks your hat over your eyes at the polls would turn you out of his house if you uttered there a word disrespectful to his wife. He knows what is due to woman: let his wife go to the polls, and the rudest man will learn to carry his good manners there.

None so simple as to dream that we are increasing the influence of woman. That is already omnipotent. I would rather lessen it. I am interested in this question because I wish to put recognized and responsible power where there already exists unrecognized influence.

Unrecognized influence is always dangerous ; it is unheeded and unwatched, uneducated and irresponsible. I want it dragged to the light of day, measured, criticised, and held to its full responsibility. "It is the mothers and daughters of France," says Tocqueville, "who have wrecked some of our noblest movements to help the millions," and he traces it to their hidden and almost resistless influence acting unwatched, behind the scenes, under no sense of responsibility, open to no argument or appeal as to the forces they are setting in motion.

"Measures," says Demosthenes, "which the statesman has meditated a whole year may be overturned in a day by a woman." You can not abolish wives, nor sisters, nor mothers; hence you can not destroy woman's influence. In self-defense, therefore, add open responsibility where there exists unobserved and irresponsible power.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

II.

MALTHUSIANISM, DARWINISM, AND PESSIMISM.

THE doctrine of the perfectibility of the human race was first systematically taught by a school of philosophical radicals toward the close of the last century. It was a natural outgrowth of the extravagant hopes that were created by the earlier stages of the French Revolution. Condorcet, while he was in hiding in order to escape the fate of the Girondists, showed the firmness of a philosopher by writing his "Sketch of the Progress of the Human Mind," in which he predicted the removal of all social and political evils, and the establishment of peace, virtue, and happiness over the whole earth. He was arrested before the work was completed, and escaped the guillotine only by a self-inflicted death. In England, William Godwin published, in 1793, his "Political Justice," in which he advocated the same doctrines that Condorcet had taught, and almost with equal peril to himself; since the Government and the populace at that period, as Dr. Priestley found to his cost, showed little mercy to those who were accused of holding revolutionary opinions. Godwin attributed nearly all the vices and misery with which society is afflicted to bad government and bad laws. Reform these, he said; do away with the institutions of property and marriage, which are based on monopoly and fraud, establish the equality of all men, and all wars and contentions will cease, and the spirit of benevolence, guided by justice, will distribute equitably the bounteous fruits of the earth among all persons according to their several needs.

In 1798, as an answer to Godwin's "Political Justice," the Rev. T. R. Malthus published his "Essay on the Principle of Population, or a View of its Past and Present Effects on Human Happiness." This work had early and great success; it formed the basis on which, in great part, during the first half of the present century, the English science of political economy was constructed. Of

course, it was deeply imbued with pessimist opinions. The author's purpose was to show that the principal evils with which human society is afflicted are ineradicable, having their root in human nature itself, so that they are sure to break out anew, and with increased virulence, after any temporary alleviation. Misery and crime, he argued, are not produced to any considerable extent by laws and institutions of man's device, and certainly are not curable by them. Poverty and want are their chief source, and these are the inevitable results of over-population and the consequent struggle for existence. A blind and insatiable craving urges man to multiply his kind, and the necessary consequence of gratifying this impulse is, that the increase of the population has a constant tendency to outrun the means of subsistence. At present, some restraint is put upon this increase by prudential considerations, since most persons consider the irremediableness of marriage, and fear to create an obstacle to their success in life by burdening themselves with the support of a family. Let us suppose, then, that this restraint is taken away by a removal of all the causes which now render it an act of imprudence for either sex to gratify their natural inclinations. Let us suppose that property is equally distributed; that marriage is no longer an indissoluble tie; that wars and contentions have ceased; that unwholesome occupations and habits of life no longer prevail; that medical skill and foresight have stamped out all preventable diseases; that the people no longer congregate in great cities, those nurseries of vice and disease, but are distributed over the face of the country, and are engaged chiefly in healthful agricultural operations; and that the community, as Plato recommended, undertake the whole care and support of all the children that are born, instead of allowing them to become a particular burden to their parents. Is it not evident that, under such circumstances, population would multiply more rapidly than ever, and that there would soon be, not only a lack of food, with a swift return of all the evils consequent upon poverty and famine, but even a want of standing-room for the multitudes claiming place upon the surface of the earth?

"How small, of all that human hearts endure,
That part which kings and laws can cause or cure!"

For the law is common to the vegetable and animal kingdoms, the human race included, that the rate of increase, however slow or rapid it may be, must operate in the way of a geometrical ratio. The same causes which double a population of one thousand will

double a population of one thousand millions. For example: a given rate of increase between 1790 and 1800 added only 1,200,000 to the white population of this country; between 1830 and 1840 *the same rate* of increase added 3,600,000. Our population was more than doubled between 1790 and 1820; it was again more than doubled between 1820 and 1850. But the former doubling added less than five millions to our numbers, while the latter one added over ten millions; and the next doubling, in 1880, will have added considerably more than twenty millions. Inevitably then, if the population increase at all, it must increase in the way of a geometrical progression—that is, as the numbers 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, etc.

But the means of subsistence, at best, can not possibly be made to increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio—that is, as the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc. The surface of the earth affords only a limited extent of ground, and this is of various degrees of fertility, large portions of it being hardly cultivable at all. By putting more ground in cultivation and improving the modes of agriculture, it is conceivable that, within twenty-five years, the quantity of food should be doubled. But it is not conceivable that *more* than this should be accomplished; that is, that the second twenty-five years should make a *larger* addition to the existing stock than was obtained during the former period. Hence, under the most favorable supposition that can be made, beginning with an annual product equal to one million bushels of wheat, at the end of the first quarter of a century this might be raised to two millions, at the end of the second quarter to three millions, and at the close of the third period to four millions.

Of course, the population can not actually outrun the supply of food, though it is constantly, as it were, striving to do so and battling for the ground. It is restrained, first, by what Malthus calls the *preventive* check, which consists in the exercise of moral restraint, whereby some persons repress their natural inclinations, and either do not marry at all, or postpone the time of marriage till comparatively late in life. This check keeps down the increase of numbers through diminishing the proportion of births. Where this fails to operate to a sufficient extent, the second, or *positive*, check *must* come into play, by increasing the number of deaths, through insufficient nourishment, overcrowding, disease, and crime. Vainly does private munificence or public liberality seek to remove the proximate causes of these evils. Interference only does harm. Leave the poor alone, then, say the Malthusians, to be chastised by fever,

hunger, and misery into a sense of their obligation to society to refrain from increasing their own numbers. The more numerous the family of the pauper, the less claim he has to relief; his own suffering and that of his family must be his punishment, for thus only can his neighbors be taught prudence. Sanitary measures are equally inefficient. Check the ravages of the small-pox by vaccination; then typhus fever, the Asiatic cholera, or a famine must supervene in order to keep down the superfluity of life. Hence McCulloch, a leading economist of this school, talked of "the irretrievable helotism" of the English working-classes, and advised his countrymen, in view of it, "to fold their arms and leave the *dénouement* to time and Providence."

The theory of Malthus at once became popular in England, not only because it refuted the revolutionary doctrines of men like Godwin and the French Jacobins, but because it seemed to relieve the rich from any responsibility for the sufferings of the poor, and from any obligation to contribute to their support. "If my conclusions are adopted," said Malthus in his preface, "we shall be compelled to acknowledge that the poverty and misery which prevail among the lower classes of society are absolutely irremediable." And these conclusions seemed incontrovertible, for they rested upon a basis of mathematical calculation, and were supported by an appeal to the obvious facts, that the poor man is made still poorer by the possession of a large family, and that destitution and suffering are most prevalent in localities where the population is most dense. Consequently, pauperism should be regarded as a crime, and should be stamped out, like the cattle-disease, by harsh legislative measures. These opinions led to the enactment, in 1834, of the New Poor Law, the avowed purpose of which was to prevent what is called "outdoor relief," and to collect the destitute and starving in Union workhouses, where, as in jails, the separation of the sexes, the lowness of the diet, and the general severity of the regimen should be a terror to the evil-doers who had presumed to burden society with their superfluous progeny. If the crime was not literally theirs, it was at any rate their parents' fault, and the sins of the fathers must be visited upon the children in order to deter others from like offenses. "Go to the workhouse, or starve," was henceforth to be the answer to all applicants for parochial relief; and the reader of Dickens need not be reminded that many of them preferred the latter alternative.

It seems strange that Malthusianism should become an accepted

doctrine not only with the Tories and the landed gentry, but with the Whig *doctrinaires* generally, the wealthy manufacturers, and especially the philosophical radicals of the Benthamite school, whose leaders were the elder and the younger Mill. The "Edinburgh Review" advocated it strenuously. Miss Martineau, of whom, as well as of Jeremy Bentham, it must be confessed that the practice was in strict conformity with the principles, inculcated it in a pathetic love-story, which formed one of her "Illustrations of Political Economy." The Benthamites did not allow any morality of sentiment or delicacy upon this subject to conflict with their principles of thoroughgoing utilitarianism ; for it was openly charged against some of their leaders, about 1830, that they caused placards to be posted in the most crowded districts of the great manufacturing towns, in order to teach the laboring poor the same detestable opinions and practices for disseminating which Besant and Bradlaugh have recently been convicted and punished. John S. Mill was so provoked with the people of the United States for multiplying rapidly that he pointed his censure of our folly with this coarse sneer, directed against the Northern and Middle States : "They have the six points of Chartism, and they have no poverty ; and all that these advantages do for them is, that the life of the whole of one sex is devoted to dollar-hunting, and of the other to breeding dollar-hunters."

But the triumph of Malthusianism lasted only for about half a century, and its decline and fall have been even more rapid than its rise. The tide turned about the time of the famine in Ireland in 1846-'47, and the consequent fearful exodus from that unhappy island, which, in less than ten years, deprived it of full one fourth of its population. In 1845 the number of persons in that country was estimated at 8,295,000, and they were increasing with considerable rapidity. In 1851 the population was only 6,574,278 ; and in 1871 it was less than five and one half millions, being a diminution of nearly thirty-five per cent. The Malthusians themselves were appalled at such a result. For the evil did not stop with the immediate diminution of numbers ; as usual in such cases, it was chiefly those who were in the flower of life, the healthy and the strong, who emigrated, leaving behind them the aged, the feeble, and the diseased. Hence the people at home deteriorated in vitality and working power even in a higher ratio than their decrease in numbers. At the same period there was also a great emigration, though by no means to an equivalent extent, from England, and especially from

Scotland, where the great land-owners had acted on Malthusian principles by depopulating their vast estates, unroofing the cottages over their tenants' heads, and thus compelling them to ship themselves beyond sea. Then came the great trials of the Crimean war and the Indian mutiny, with the attendant difficulty of recruiting the army, so that the country awoke to a knowledge of the sad truth that, in banishing their people, they were drying up the sources of their productive power and their military strength.

These events procured a hearing for the arguments with which Mr. Samuel Laing, the noted traveler and social economist, Mr. W. T. Thornton, the author of "*Over-Population and its Remedy*," Colonel P. Thompson, and others, had already vigorously assailed the doctrine of Malthus. In the pages of this Review also (October, 1847, July and October, 1848), this pessimistic theory of population was impugned on general grounds and with facts drawn from American experience. At present, a mere glance at the considerations drawn from these various sources which afford a decisive refutation of Malthusianism must suffice.

The actual limit to the growth of the population in any country is not the quantity of food which it alone is capable of producing from its own soil, but the quantity which it is able and willing to purchase from other lands. Practically, then, the only limit for it is the number, which the surface of the whole earth is capable of feeding. The world is far from being over-peopled yet, and the amount of food which it can produce is so immensely in excess of the present demand that any deficit in the supply can not reasonably be anticipated for thousands of years to come. Europe alone is able to feed, from its own resources, a population five times as great as its present number, before it will be as thickly peopled and as fully cultivated as Belgium is now; and the additional supplies which it might obtain, if needed, from our own Mississippi Valley, from South America, South Africa, Australia, California, and Mexico, are so vast that they can not be computed. Savage tribes do not multiply at all, but rapidly become extinct as soon as they are brought in contact with civilization; and even half-civilized races, like the Turks, Arabs, Tartars, Hindoos, and Chinese, are either stationary or diminishing in number. Turkey in Europe, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Turkistan were probably more populous two thousand years ago than they are now. In every way, therefore, man, not Providence, is in fault. The bounties of nature are practically inexhaustible; but men are too ignorant, indolent, and

self-indulgent, too much the slaves of their lower appetites and passions, to profit by them.

At present, therefore, and for an indefinite period still to come, the only limit to the quantity of sustenance which any nation is able to procure, either by cultivating its own soil or by importation from other countries, is the amount of wealth which it is capable of producing. Hence, civilized nations, let them multiply as fast as they may, do not direct their energies chiefly to the raising of food, but to the acquisition of wealth. And, for the attainment of this end, any increase of their numbers, far from being an obstacle, is a help; for, if there are more mouths to be fed, there are more hands to feed them with. An increase of the population is *pro tanto* an increase of productive power, and it makes no difference whether the article produced is food or a commodity immediately exchangeable for food. One pair of hands, if allowed fair play, can more than satisfy the demands of one stomach, so that there will always remain a surplus for the gradual accumulation of wealth. Less than one fifth of the people of England now devote themselves directly to agriculture, because the other four fifths find that, in the various pursuits of manufactures and commerce, they can equally well obtain the means of satisfying their hunger, and gradually become rich by having a larger surplus. The increase of their numbers does not compel them to cultivate inferior soils near home, but enables them to purchase grain and beef raised on the fat prairies of Illinois or the fertile plains of southeastern Europe. London taxes all the counties of England for sustenance; England taxes all the countries of the earth for sustenance. Is there any greater hardship or difficulty in the latter case than in the former one?

In these modern days, with our improved means of communication by steam and telegraph, extreme poverty is the only possible cause of a famine; and even this poverty is attributable not to the absolute lack of wealth, but solely to its unequal distribution. It was so in the Irish famine of 1846-'47 and in the Indian famine two years ago. When the suffering was at its height, ship-loads of corn and meal were turned away from the Irish ports, and of rice from Madras and Calcutta, solely from the want of a market. In either case, also, great wealth was near at hand; but it belonged exclusively to the few, and was accessible by the many only in the hard form of charity. The fate both of the Irish and the Hindoos was the more terrible because they starved in the midst of plenty.

On examining the facts in the case more closely, it will always be found that it is not the excess of population which causes the misery, but the misery which causes the excess of population. Hopeless poverty makes men imprudent and reckless, and leads them to burden themselves with a family because they can not be worse off, and there is no possibility of improving their condition. In Switzerland, where the land is parceled out among small proprietors, the peasantry obtain a comfortable livelihood, and therefore increase so slowly that the population will not double itself in less than two hundred and twenty-seven years. In France, where also the land is cut up into very small estates, and the peasantry are vastly better off than in England, the rate of increase for the population for ten years is only five per cent. In England, for the same period, it was fifteen per cent. ; and in Connaught, the sink of Irish misery and degradation, between 1821 and 1831, it was as high as twenty-two per cent. In Galway and Mayo, notoriously two of the most destitute counties, during the same period, there was an increase in the one case of twenty-seven and in the other of twenty-five per cent.—nearly as great as in the United States. Thus the two extremes of general misery and general well-being produce very nearly the same effect on the movement of the population.

In all old countries, which have long since outgrown what may be called the colonial period, during which, as in Australia and the western portion of the United States, the abundance and cheapness of new land waiting to be taken into cultivation tempt most of the people to engage in agriculture—in all old countries, I say, that is, throughout Europe and the most populous parts of Asia, the true law determining the increase of the population is the very opposite of that which the Malthusians sought to establish. They would have us believe that, in proportion as people are well off and have abundance of food, they multiply all the faster ; while the poorer classes, kept down by the *positive* check—that is, by the privations, famines, and diseases generated by over-population—do not multiply at all. But the facts prove beyond all question that the increase of any class of the people is in inverse proportion to its wealth and social rank—that is, to the amount of sustenance which it can easily command. Universally the law is, that the numbers of the poor increase most rapidly, of the middle classes more slowly, and of the upper or wealthier ones either not at all, or so slowly as hardly to be perceptible. “By a singular anomaly,” says Ali-

son, a well-informed English writer upon the subject, "the rapidity of increase is in the inverse ratio of the means which are afforded of maintaining a family in comfort and independence. It is greatest when these means are least, and least when they are the greatest."

Thus, in Sweden, the official returns from the census and the registration of births, deaths, and marriages show that the rate of increase for the peasantry is nearly six times greater than that of the middle class, and over fourteen times greater than that of the nobles. In England it is a matter of common observation that the families of the nobility and landed gentry constantly tend to die out, and, if they were not recruited by promotions from the middle classes, the upper orders of society would gradually disappear. Of the barons who sat in the English House of Lords in 1854, the peerage of considerably more than one half does not date back beyond 1800; and not more than thirty of them can boast that their ancestors were ennobled before 1711. The continued and increasing opulence of the landed gentry of England is chiefly attributable to this cause; since the diminution of their numbers tends, of course, to the concentration of their estates. Celibate or childless lives are common among the younger sons of the nobility and gentry, while they are very infrequent in the classes of artisans and laborers. Even here, in the eastern part of the United States, the sons in educated and wealthy families marry later in life, and have fewer children, than those in the classes who live by handiwork; while the Irish laborers are the most prolific of all. No further back than the beginning of this century, families containing from ten to fifteen children each were not infrequent here in New England; now, one that has more than six is seldom found except among the very poor.

Since 1850, therefore, English writers upon political economy have generally ceased to advocate Malthusianism and its subsidiary doctrines. Many, like Doubleday and Macdonell, besides those already mentioned, renounce it altogether; others pass over it in silence, or, like Fawcett, lend it only a half-hearted support. Even J. S. Mill, who inculcated it like a fanatic in his great work published in 1847, seems to have changed his opinions entirely before his death. In his discussions with Mr. Thornton, he gave up "the wage-fund" doctrine, one of the principal corollaries from Malthusianism; and in his posthumous papers upon Socialism, published in the "Fortnightly Review" during the present year, he expressly teaches that misery causes an increase of the population, instead of

the converse proposition, that over-population produces the misery, which is the essence of the Malthusian theory.

Singularly enough, in 1860, at the very time when this gloomy doctrine of "a battle for life" had nearly died out in political economy, most of the authorities upon the subject having quietly abandoned it as an indefensible speculation, it was revived in biology, and made the basis in that science of a theory still more comprehensive and appalling than that which had been founded upon it by Malthus. Among the countless forms of vegetable and animal life which are developed through the heritability of casual variations from the ancestral type, "a struggle for existence" is constantly going on; and it is a necessary consequence of this struggle that the fittest forms—that is, those whose organs are best adapted to their surroundings—should survive, and that the others, the comparatively unfit, should perish. "The struggle for existence among all organic beings throughout the world," says Mr. Darwin, "inevitably follows from their high geometrical powers of increase"; and he adds, "This is the doctrine of Malthus applied to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms." Hence, every improvement, however slight, in the adaptation of any species to its environment tends inevitably and mechanically, as it were, to make that species a victor in the battle with all its competitors not possessing such improvement. The accumulation of these improvements upon each other to an unlimited extent fully accounts for the marvelous adaptations of means to ends in organic life which were formerly supposed to have been contrived and brought about by a designing mind. Every one admits that such adaptations exist; Darwinism denies that they are purposed and intended adaptations. And this denial is based upon the Malthusian theory of over-population, and must stand or fall with that theory.

Then we have only to recur to the facts which have disproved Malthusianism as a principle in political economy in order to find in them also a complete refutation of Darwinism. In the struggle for existence between the different classes of human beings, it is the lower classes which survive, because they are more prolific than those above them; while the upper classes, just in proportion to the degree of their elevation, either increase very slowly, or tend to die out altogether. And this victory of the lower classes in the battle for life is a survival, not of the fittest, but of the unfittest, so that it constantly tends to a deterioration of the race instead of contributing to its improvement. Of course, the upper classes enter

into the contest seemingly with all the advantages on their side. According to Darwinism, the odds are altogether in their favor: for they have more developed, because better educated, intellects; they are free from the many peculiar temptations to vice and crime, and the countless liabilities to disease, which beset the poorer classes. On account of their wealth, they have nothing to dread from a famine, and very little from a pestilence, since by removal they can generally get out of its range. They are not early broken down by excessive toil; they are not crowded together in unhealthy habitations; they are protected against the extremes of heat and cold; they have abundant opportunities, by which they profit more or less, for healthful exercise in the open air. Hence they have sound constitutions and transmit sound constitutions to their children, being aided thereto, also, by a wider range of sexual selection in marriage. On account of all these favorable circumstances, the death-rate among them is very low—much lower than among those who are far beneath them in the social scale.

But all these advantages, and the improved organization which is founded upon them, if considered as means and helps toward a victory of the upper classes in the battle for life, are as nothing when compared with the one signal disadvantage under which these classes labor, that the birth-rate among them, through their own fault, is very low, so that they increase slowly, or not at all. Nature is just: those who seem to be her pets are, for the very reason that they are more pampered than the others, in greater peril of extinction. Among the combatants in the great struggle, those who triumph are almost always the more prolific, and those who are satisfied with food which, though coarser, is more abundant and accessible. Those who are rich and are high in the social scale are too dainty in their appetites. They prize too highly the luxuries, the social advantages, on which they have been fed. They will not imperil their position by contracting a hasty or otherwise imprudent marriage, or by cumbering themselves with an inconveniently large family. In countries where the distinctions of rank are so strongly defined and deeply rooted as to appear insurmountable, many are contented to lead lives of licentious celibacy, because they dread social more than moral death. And everywhere, the men of affluence and culture, the highly born and highly bred—the Brahmins of society, as Dr. Holmes calls them—prize the refinements of life, and the gratification of their social and artistic tastes, more than the homely comforts and enjoyments which any one may have

who can induce some good-natured woman to share them with him. Of course, their society soon becomes very select through becoming exceedingly small. "Old families," as they are called, have a trick of rapidly dying out, as if to make room for a race of pretenders and *parvenus*. The Faubourg St.-Germain is not the only place in the world which is tenanted by the ghosts of a departed aristocracy. It is quite unnecessary to cite statistics in order to corroborate these statements. Any one may convince himself of the truth of them who will look round among the families of his acquaintance, ascertain how many they consist of, and compare them with the families of the artisans and laborers in the next street. The poor have a much narrower range of enjoyments open to them than the rich ; the comforts of domestic life are about the only ones that are easily accessible to the lowly ; and who can wonder that these are early sought and highly prized ?

This law respecting the relative increase of the several classes of the population is confirmed by the very fact, already mentioned, which seems at first to point to a different conclusion. When a new country is colonized, the indigenous barbarous tribes waste away before the advancing wave of civilization like snow under a July sun ; and this is certainly a victory of the superior race over the inferior. But here, again, the issue is determined in the main by the comparative fecundity of the competitors, and is but little affected by the other advantages of organization on either side. The individual savage, as a general rule, has greater tenacity of life than his civilized rival ; his wants are fewer, he is satisfied with little and poor food, he can withstand greater hardships ; he can live in a desert where the white colonist would starve. But no matter ; he is less prolific, and therefore invariably goes down in the struggle. Even before they are invaded by a civilized race, barbarous tribes produce so few children who come to maturity, and are so wasted by petty wars and disease, that it is doubtful whether, in the long run, they ever increase in number. The North American Indians whom our forefathers found here on their first arrival were certainly inferior, both in numbers and in the mechanic arts, to the races which had preceded them. Witness the structures reared by the mound-builders, and the implements found in them. The colonists, on the other hand, are drafted chiefly from the working-classes, who are the more prolific even before they leave their old home ; and, in their new one, the cheapness of land and food, together with the scarcity of labor, causes them to multiply like rabbits. There is

something almost marvelous in the rapid growth of the population in the early times in New England. Farmers, fishermen, and clergymen not infrequently seemed to vie with each other in the increasing size of their families. What wonder that the already dwindling tribes of the savages melted away before them !

When we extend our survey beyond the human race, we find the same law hold good for the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms, that the relative increase of numbers is mainly determined by the comparative fecundity of the species, irrespective of slight differences of external organization. The causes of success in the battle for life seem to be physiological rather than morphological. Whether a given plant or animal shall be more or less prolific seems to depend in main part upon physiological processes internal to its constitution, and hardly at all upon the adaptation of its external organs to its environment. Hence, as its chance of survivorship is not increased by any morphological improvement which may happen to be induced upon it by casual variations, that improvement is useless in the struggle and must soon disappear.

Always the lower forms, which are more prolific, tend to be perpetuated at the expense of the higher ones, which are comparatively sterile. Hence, the most remarkable cases of fecundity are found very low down in the scale—among the insects, for instance, and among the fishes, rather than the mammals. Thus it is that some of the lowest genera of vegetable and animal life have come down to us almost unchanged from the earlier geologic ages ; while a multitude of higher types, far more recent in their introduction, have already died out.

This conclusion will appear still more probable in view of a fact which Mr. Darwin himself, with his usual admirable candor in setting forth all the circumstances which make against his theory, as well as those which tend to corroborate it, mentions, that in proportion as a species varies from its original type, it tends to become sterile. The cultivated races which have been much changed by domestication seem to be cursed with barrenness. "Sterility has been said to be the bane of our horticulture" ; and Mr. Darwin adds that, on his view, "we owe variability to the same cause which produces sterility ; and variability is the source of all the choicest productions of the garden."

An experienced breeder of domestic animals, who wrote in 1849, eleven years before Darwinism was invented, gives an amusing account of his endeavors to improve the breed of pigs. Beginning

with a poor brute of the native stock, a typical specimen of all that a well-bred pig ought not to be or to do, except that it regularly produced twice a year a litter of sixteen, eighteen, or even twenty little grunTERS—"reduplications of mamma"—he endeavored, by a process of judicious selection and crossing, to develop a fatter and handsomer type. And he succeeded; after not many years, the aristocratic tenants of his sties became miracles of fatness and models of symmetry. But alas! when one attempts to improve upon nature's handiwork, "things will somehow go alee," as the Scotch say. Now that his pigs were promoted into the upper classes of society, they seemed, like other aristocrats, to think that they had nothing to do but to eat, drink, and grunt; they waxed fat and kicked against the old command to increase and multiply. The litters dwindled to six, four, and at length to one; "and we are inclined to think that our experience was a sort of epitome of high breeding." For he declares that the same law holds good in respect to artificial breeds of cattle; the marvelously "improved shorthorns" show an unmistakable tendency to become sterile and to revert into the mongrels that were the elements out of which they were concocted.

So far, then, as either the various species of vegetable or animal life, or the different classes of human society, come into competition with each other at all, the balance of their respective numbers seems to be determined by the counteraction of two opposing forces, namely, by their relative fecundity and by any peculiarities of their organization and situation which enable them to contend successfully against superior numbers. Chief among these peculiarities is the comparatively abundant supply of their appropriate food; slight morphological differences of organization either do not come into play at all, or exert little influence on the result of the contest. Since each of these forces operates as a check on the other, there is no tendency to an extreme result in either direction; neither of the competing races is pressed to utter extinction, or is capable of multiplying beyond a definite limit. Take the family of pachyderms, for instance. On Darwinian principles, the elephant must be considered as a highly developed species of pig, and therefore as having competed in a struggle for existence with its ancestral type during the immense interval of time which must have elapsed while the development was proceeding. But even now, when the superiority of organization is greater than ever, what chance has the higher animal, which produces only about six young in a century,

of crowding out of existence the lower type, which multiplies from ten to twenty fold in the course of a single year? Or, on the other hand, what likelihood is there that prolific piggy will eat up all the food, and thus finally starve out his gigantic antagonist, whose size and strength enable him easily to defend his own feeding-grounds and watering-places against all intruders? Go back, then, to the supposed beginning of the contest, and ask what advantage in it would be acquired by a particular class of pigs through the very gradual elongation of their snouts, say, at the rate of half an inch in a century; or how the long noses could have been perpetuated, on Darwinian principles, if they continued to be useless till they had nearly attained the length and flexibility of an elephant's trunk.

A similar instance may be taken from the order of the quadrumana. The anthropoid apes are assumed to be highly developed species of monkeys, but they certainly seem to have gained no advantage in the battle for life over their lower competitors through their superior organization, but rather to have lost ground in the struggle, since they are relatively so inferior in numbers that they appear to be in some danger of extinction. Through being more prolific, less dainty in feeding, and abler to support changes of climate and other altered conditions of life, the monkeys evidently have the better chance of survival. But the higher apes certainly will not be crowded out of life merely by the greater numbers of those below them, since they are abundantly able to protect themselves against such encroachment. Here, again, the balance of opposing tendencies seems to keep the relative numbers in the competing species within definite limits, without permitting the complete triumph of either party. In many cases the existence and the greater fecundity of the inferior races is a condition of the survival of those above them, who are thus supplied with their necessary food. Thus the carnivora of Central Africa are more developed and more tenacious of life than the herbivorous animals on which they prey; the latter are thus prevented from multiplying unduly, though their entire extinction, of course, would be fatal even to their antagonists. In all these cases, and an indefinite number of others that might be cited, slight morphological differences, induced and perpetuated in the manner supposed by Mr. Darwin, would evidently be of no account whatever in determining the issue of the contest.

Malthusianism, then, is as completely disproved in biology as it previously had been in political economy; and with it disappears

all that is peculiar to Darwinism. There is no such struggle for existence as is supposed to be induced by the tendency of every species to an undue multiplication of its numbers. No one species or form of life has any more reason to dread being killed out in such a contest than we human beings have to fear being starved through the over-population of the earth. And, even if a battle of this sort were possible, victory in it would not depend on superiority of organization. The existence not of the lower races, but of the higher ones, would be imperiled. We can foresee this result in our own case, whether we compare the different classes of human society with each other, or man himself, the order primates, with the inferior animals. In the grand "struggle," which will occur about the time of the Greek Kalends, the primitive stocks, such as Irish bog-trotters and Welsh peasants, would certainly "survive" the nobility and gentry, though the latter profit by the accumulated advantages of high breeding transmitted by direct inheritance through a pedigree extending back to William the Conqueror. And, in the final stage of the conflict, even these original poor representatives of humanity must die out long before some of the animals far below them. Those pests of our summer, the insect tribes, would sing the requiem of man, and feast on his remains. Accordingly, the only original and distinctive feature of Darwinism—its attempt to explain away the argument from design for the being of a God by showing that the supposed adaptations of means to ends, and the admirably complex arrangements by which every portion of a living organism is fitted to do its proper work, may all be accounted for by the blind and unconscious action of mechanical principles and physical laws, without calling in anywhere a Divine purpose or a contriving Mind—must be regarded as a baseless hypothesis. A careful study of the successive development of the higher forms of life upon the earth does not invalidate, but fully confirms, the doctrine which has been held by every great thinker, from Socrates down to the present day, that no organism could have been produced without an organizing mind.

The doctrine of the ascending successive development of the higher forms of life from the types immediately below them, each improved species first appearing in a germ transmitted from unimproved parents, far from constituting a portion of Darwinism properly so called, has been for centuries a favorite speculation, an accepted theory, taught by some of the greatest thinkers in theology and philosophy that the world has ever known. It is merely the

doctrine of derivative creation, or, in other words, of creation in the germ, to be subsequently developed after a longer or shorter interval. St. Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, and Malebranche inculcated this theory without offense to the Church; it was elaborately worked out and defended by Leibnitz as an essential part of his system of monadology; and Charles Bonnet, a follower of Leibnitz, built upon this foundation his ingenious hypothesis of the *emboîtement* of germs. Certainly, as Christian theists, holding fast our belief not only that every new species, but that each individual living organism, originated in a special act of creation, we have no quarrel with the doctrine of the successive evolution from ancestral germs of higher and higher forms of life and mind. The record of such evolution is only the story of God's providence and incessant creative action throughout the long roll of the geologic ages of this earth, and extending back, perhaps, to the successive generation of new planetary and stellar systems out of primitive chaos. Who shall tell us either when God's creation began or when it was finished? The sole innovation of Darwinism upon this doctrine of evolution consisted in attempting to strip from it all proof of the incessant creative action of a designing mind, by reducing it to a blind mechanical process, necessarily resulting from inherent mud-born energies and productive power. And this attempt, resting solely upon the two unfounded assumptions of a battle for life and of the necessary survival of the higher organisms over the lower ones in that contest, it has now been shown, must be regarded as an ignominious failure. Yet the very making of this attempt contributed much to the speedy and joyful acceptance of the Darwinian hypothesis in certain quarters. It was the pepper which made the dish palatable to Huxley, Haeckel & Co.—that is, to those English and German naturalists whose previous bias in favor of materialism and fatalism indisposed them to recognize anywhere any proofs of the being of a God.

But we have not yet witnessed the last or the worst consequences of the Malthusian theory of over-population. After inducing economical science to regard with hard-hearted indifference the misery of the poor, and to teach positive cruelty as the only means of diminishing the amount of their suffering, and after instructing biology to deny the validity of the principal argument for the being of a God, we have still to consider the results of the adoption of this ill-omened hypothesis into what may well be called the philosophy of despair. The atheists of Germany, where alone the infidel

doctrine is openly avowed and systematically taught in all its appalling consequences, have at last convinced themselves that atheism leads by necessary inference to pessimism. In their own sad experience and their reasoned reflections upon life, they have been compelled to acknowledge the fidelity of the picture which Jean Paul Richter presented only as an appalling "dream"—that of a world without a God. A miserable world they find it to be, destitute alike of happiness, dignity, or hope; and they passionately declare that man's life in it is merely a confused noise between two silences, and is not only not worth living, but is an intolerable burden, so that the sooner it can be shaken off the better. An orphan universe, dust-born, generated and controlled only by the pitiless action of blind mechanical forces, allowing no sense of responsibility and no sanction for morality, void of any belief in the fatherhood of God or in the brotherhood of man, is a source only of misery and despair, and the best course for the conscious beings now doomed to inhabit it is to lead it to speedy painless extinction. It is overpeopled so far as it is peopled at all. Apply "the preventive check" of Malthus, therefore, in its full extent and with the utmost rigor. Let man cease to propagate his kind. We have no right to inflict the misery of existence upon a future generation, who have not been asked whether they were willing to endure the burden, and who, as they are not yet in being, certainly can not suffer wrong in not being called into existence, even if they should be foolish enough hereafter to regard their life as a blessing rather than a curse. The suicide of individuals is faintly condemned, not on the ground of its being in itself an immoral act, but because it would be partial and limited in its consequences, not accomplishing soon enough, if at all, the great purpose of bringing the whole world to an end through an act of cosmic suicide. It would be awkward, it is true, openly to counsel self-murder, since those who gave such advice might be called upon to act consistently with their principles; and they confess the difficulty of ridding themselves altogether of a hankering after life and a fear to go down into the dark. Better allow the human race to die out quietly, as it would do were there no more births. Schopenhauer does not take so lenient a view of the case, for he coarsely says, "The truth is, men ought to be miserable, and they are so"; for they have committed the unpardonable crime of being born.

These are not merely the morbid fancies of a few misanthropes and eccentric thinkers, intent only upon startling the world with

their paradoxes. If they were so, it would be idle to call attention to them here, and to give them the notoriety which they covet. An isolated poet here or there, like Byron or Leopardi, can do little harm with his pessimistic imaginings; as in Dante's case, we can pardon some bad philosophy for much good poetry; and we listen with only a silent protest to the ringing lines of the noble Englishman, not fearing that any one will be made a convert by them:

"Count o'er the joys thine hours have seen,
Count o'er thy days from anguish free,
And know, whatever thou hast been,
'Tis something better not to be."

But these German atheists and pessimists have multiplied till they have become a sect formidable alike from their numbers, their ability, the fanatical zeal and persistency with which they preach their doctrines, and the extent to which they are already influencing opinion and conduct, not only in their own land, but in neighboring countries. The popularity of their writings indicates a peril with which civilization itself is menaced, through the corruption and recklessness of those who should be its safeguards—the upper classes of society. Of course their theory is not directly upheld or advocated in any seminary of learning which is under the immediate control of the government, but is zealously controverted, I believe, by all the official teachers of philosophy. Outside of the universities, however, it has become as prevalent and as popular as Hegelianism was forty years ago. It has emboldened the anarchists, and made the men who are avowedly endeavoring to subvert all the institutions of society more daring and reckless than ever. The most dangerous of all heresies is that which inculcates a contemptuous disregard of human life, since he who does not value his own safety will be most prompt and fearless in attacking the safety of others. Society can protect itself against the secret assassin, who has still some fear left of the scaffold and the axe as the punishment of his crime. Neither has it much reason to fear homicidal insanity, since madmen can not act in concert with each other, and an individual is easily overpowered and disarmed. But educated men, who have come to regard their own lives as only a burden to them, though they have been driven to despair, not by the privations and miseries which afflict the hopelessly poor, but by an insensate theory which teaches them to consider the existence of the human race itself as an intolerable evil, that can be abated most effectually by

reducing society to anarchy and ruin, and who have prepared themselves for the admission of this theory by getting rid of all the restraints of morality and religion—these are foes truly formidable, against whom all the precautions and means of defense which governments can institute seem to be of little avail. This is the real ground of the terror recently inspired by the Nihilists in Russia and by the leaders of what is called “the social democracy” in Germany. These men have made themselves *hostes humani generis*. In the former case, the numerous adherents of the sect appear to be drawn exclusively from the upper classes of society, the populace being not only not with them, but against them, since the lower ranks believe both in religion and the Czar. In Germany, where infidel opinions have filtrated lower down through the strata of society, the laboring class have joined to some extent in the movement; but the leadership of the party, both in theory and action, seems to be entirely in the hands of reckless educated men. These are the persons who recently attempted to assassinate both the Emperor William and the Czar, and it is against them that the energetic proceedings of the Government in both cases have been directed. In each instance, the assassin seems to have attempted murder chiefly as a means of committing suicide, but with some hope also, through the turmoil and possible anarchy thus produced, to have accomplished something toward bringing the universe itself nearer to its termination.

This lamentable state of things in respect to the opinions and the conduct of those who should be the better classes of society is not without a parallel at an earlier stage of the world's history. We find a near approximation to it, if not its perfect counterpart, in the character and behavior of the Roman patriciate under the empire; and a striking portraiture of its leading features might be drawn from the gloomy writings of Tacitus, Juvenal, and Suetonius. Most of the emperors were bad enough, but they were no worse than the classes whence the emperors were drawn, the patricians, the senators, and the high officers of the army and the administration. The old polytheistic religion had died out with these men, and a new system of faith had not yet found access to their minds. They had ceased to believe in anything except a debased form of Epicureanism and the fatalism of the Stoics, which pointed directly to suicide whenever the means of sensual pleasure were exhausted. They were not cowardly or feeble in character, or uninstructed; they had all the refinement and culture which belonged to their age, possess-

ing either immediately or by direct inheritance the brilliant accomplishments, the learning, literature, and art of the Augustan period. They were not void of ambition and energy, since the only things which in their eyes still gave any zest to life were wealth, pomp, and power. They played for high stakes in any desperate project for amassing these prizes ; and if the game turned against them, and a brief intimation of the Emperor's will arrived, they assembled their friends for a final joyous banquet, and then cheerfully swallowed poison or opened their veins in a bath. Life's poor play was over, and they deemed themselves well rid of it. As they were men of utterly profligate lives, and there was almost a general license of divorce, they had no family attachments ; either they did not marry at all, or they took good care not to cumber themselves with children. Juvenal indignantly reproaches them for the means employed to this end .

"Sed jacet aurato vix ulla puerpera lecto,
Tantum artes hujus, tantum medicamina possunt."

For those who had great wealth, the surest mode of increasing their power and influence was to remain childless, and hold out hopes to legacy-hunters and those who sought to become their adopted heirs ; thus they surrounded themselves with a stronger crew of adherents and dependents. Even the emperors, most of whom were childless, endeavored in this way to fortify their hold upon power ; and the adopted Caesar, by taking immediately an active share in the government, was allowed to taste by anticipation the joys of being the absolute master of the civilized world. The wiser heads among them, Augustus and Trajan, saw the extent of the evil ; they perceived that the interests of civilization were at stake, and that the state was in peril through the rapid dying out of the very classes which should have been its ornament and defense. They endeavored to apply a remedy, by multiplying laws in favor of marriage, and offering bounties and privileges to the heads of families containing children. The *jus trium liberorum*, by which the parent having at least three children was freed from all personal charges, was but one of a large number of enactments having the same end in view. But the plague had spread too far and struck too deep to be arrested by any process of legislation. The upper classes of society continued to dwindle away and vanish from the stage, as if not only their morals and their civilization, but their very blood, had become corrupt ; and Rome at last fell because there were no longer any proper Romans left to defend her against barbarian inroads.

German pessimism as a system of philosophy is of very recent origin, though it has been rapidly developed into a complete theory of metaphysics, æsthetics, and ethics, and is already practically applied as a body of principles to the regulation of the thoughts and the conduct of man. It is not older than Schopenhauer's principal work, "The World as Will and Presentation," which was nominally published in 1818, though it hardly became known or exerted any appreciable influence before about 1850. Since that date the discussion of the subject has been active, and the doctrine has rapidly gained ground, its adherents constituting a numerous and zealous sect, so that the literature devoted to it is already of considerable dimensions. Besides Edward von Hartmann, who in learning and ability has certainly the chief place among them, and in popularity and influence is not second to any of his philosophical contemporaries, a host of others have published works of more or less note in exposition and defense of the system. Among them may be mentioned Frauenstädt, Bahnsen, Taubert, Mainländer, Venetianer, and Du Prel. The two works bearing immediately upon that portion of the subject with which we are here specially concerned are, first, Philip Mainländer's "Philosophy of Redemption," a thick octavo, written with much literary skill and a fervid eloquence, which was published at Berlin in 1876, and, secondly, Von Hartmann's "Phenomenology of the Moral Consciousness," a very elaborate work, which first appeared in the same city only at the beginning of the present year. Each of these books particularly considers the duty and the means of effecting what they call "the salvation of the world"—that is, of redeeming the universe from the burden of its miserable existence.

There is a wide difference of opinion among the doctors of pessimism in respect to the course of action to be pursued and the conduct which is to be enjoined upon their disciples. While they are all agreed as to the end in view, as to the expediency and the duty of bringing the world to an end as soon as possible, they differ in respect to the means to be employed, and the practicability of effecting their purpose at an earlier or a later day. None of them directly and openly counsel suicide, as it would be inconvenient for them to be called upon to "reck their own rede," and as the advice at best would be followed only by the proselytes of the sect. As yet, these are to be found only among the educated classes in Russia and Germany, and their disappearance from the stage would stop the dissemination of their principles, while the rest of mankind

would then multiply all the faster. Only Schopenhauer, whose suspicious and gloomy temperament made him familiar with the darkest possible aspects of life, indirectly favors self-murder, by advising men no longer to have any volitions whatsoever, and thereby, through mere passivity and inanition, to fall back into the comparatively happy realm of nothingness whence they came. Hartmann justly objects that this amounts to a recommendation of the most painful form of death, by voluntary starvation, and would merely induce those who as yet are not converted to pessimism to increase in number more rapidly than ever, in order to fill the opening thus created. The disappearance of the enlightened few would thus tend to a permanent deterioration of the race, though not to its annihilation, nor to a permanent diminution of its numbers ; since the indolent, the reckless, and the base would soon occupy the ground which better men had foolishly abandoned.

The bitter spirit in which Mainländer writes is well indicated in a quotation which he makes from the posthumous memoirs of Alexander von Humboldt. "I was not born," says Humboldt, "in order to be the father of a family. Moreover, I regard marriage as a sin, and the propagation of children as a crime. It is my conviction also that he is a fool, and still more a sinner, who takes upon himself the yoke of marriage—a fool, because he thereby throws away his freedom, without gaining a corresponding recompense ; a sinner, because he gives life to children, without being able to give them the certainty of happiness. I despise humanity in all its strata ; I foresee that our posterity will be far more unhappy than we are ; and should not I be a sinner, if, in spite of this insight, I should take care to leave a posterity of unhappy beings behind me ? The whole of life is the greatest insanity. And if for eighty years one strives and inquires, still one is obliged finally to confess that he has striven for nothing and has found out nothing. Did we at least only know why we are in this world ! But to the thinker, everything is and remains a riddle ; and the greatest good luck is that of being born a flathead."

And to arrive at this conviction, we should add, is the natural consequence, even for the largest intellect, of having lived for eighty years in the world without any belief in the being of a God, and without any nobler purpose than that of self-aggrandizement. What Mainländer immediately adds to this extract, though intended as a eulogy, is in truth a bitter satire upon Humboldt's words and his conduct : " 'Did we at least only know why we are in this world !'

Then in the whole rich life of this highly endowed man, there was nothing, absolutely nothing, which he could have apprehended as the ultimate end and aim of life. Not the joy of creating ; not the priceless steps of genius advancing in knowledge ; absolutely nothing."

Very true ! Without any consciousness of a higher purpose as our being's end and aim than the mere gratification of curiosity, though this be dignified with the sounding name of "the advancement of knowledge," life would be destitute of either dignity, grace, or importance. It would not be worth living.

In fact, this quotation from Humboldt contains the gist of Mainländer's whole Philosophy of Salvation. He has but one lesson to teach, and but one duty to inculcate : it is that of celibacy and perfect chastity. In his preface, he boasts that he has not allowed atheism any longer, like religion, to rest upon a foundation of faith, but that its truth has been by him for the first time scientifically demonstrated. In his view of coming death, therefore, the wise man will no longer be troubled by any apprehension of a hereafter. Undisturbed by the thought either of a heaven or a hell, he will welcome the death-stroke as his introduction to a haven of rest, as the end of a life which has been only a prolongation of turmoil, labor, suffering, and anxiety. Nothing could sadden his last moments of consciousness, except the reflection that he was to live again in his children ; that, in order to procure for himself a brief enjoyment, he had inflicted upon others the burden of an intolerable life, and thereby in so far had prolonged the sufferings of the universe.

On the other hand, Hartmann earnestly protests against following such advice, on the ground that it would only intensify the action of causes already at work by which the highest interests of civilization are imperiled. His philosophy, like that of Hegel, prides itself on the reconciliation of contradictory principles, and is probably indebted to this its Janus-faced aspect for much of its present popularity. Thus he is an optimist, because he holds, like Leibnitz, that this is the best possible universe ; but he is also a pessimist, on the ground that the best is bad enough, and the present universe is so bad that it would be far better if it did not exist at all. In every respect, non-being is preferable to being, for it is incapable of the suffering which is inseparable from the very nature of existence. The only question left concerns the proper choice of means for bringing the world to a speedy and effectual termination ; and Hartmann maintains that, far from checking the growth of the population, the best course is to increase and multiply as fast as

possible. In proportion as the human race becomes more numerous, the struggle for existence will be fiercer and more desperate, the misery so produced will be greater, and the combatants will be the sooner reconciled to the idea of giving up the fruitless contest altogether, and sinking back into the comparatively blissful repose of nothingness. Our duty, then, is not only to favor the growth of population, but in every way to promote the progress of enlightenment and the spread of civilization. Mankind must be educated up to pessimism ; all classes, all tribes and nations, must become convinced of the folly and misery of existence, before a concerted and vigorous effort can be made to get rid of the burden altogether. Meanwhile, not by a cowardly and selfish withdrawal from the conflict, as Schopenhauer and Mainländer recommend, leaving the ignorant multitude behind, deprived of their leaders and teachers, to multiply and suffer more than ever, but by entering heartily into the battle for life, bearing its sorrows and teaching others to bear them, may we hope to promote the final redemption of mankind from the woes which now afflict them.

Three illusions must be entirely overcome, according to Hartmann, before this consummation can be reached. The first consists in supposing that positive happiness is attainable by individuals in this life, at the present stage of development of the world's history ; and he argues at great length that this doctrine is confuted by experience. The second illusion is the belief that such happiness may be acquired hereafter, in a transcendent and immortal life beyond the grave ; and this belief is rejected, of course, as it conflicts at every point with the tenets of pessimism. The third stage of the illusion is that dream of the future perfectibility of the human race in which Condorcet and Godwin indulged, which is to be realized when the philosophical radicals shall have so far reformed all laws and political institutions as to establish upon this earth the perfect reign of liberty, equality, and fraternity ; to have finally dissipated this dream, as we have seen, is the glory of Malthusianism. Aid, then, in every way the advancement and diffusion of knowledge ; for "he that increases knowledge increases sorrow," and men will thus the sooner outgrow these three forms of illusion. Favor the increase of numbers also, as civilization will thus be more rapidly diffused over all lands, and the evils caused by over-population will tend more and more to convince mankind of the misery of existence and the expediency of bringing the universe to an end. Positive happiness is unattainable ; but negative happiness, the painlessness

of non-existence, is a goal within our reach. There will be at least a rest from sorrow in the grave of all things.

If the advice of Mainländer were followed, Hartmann argues, the only consequence would be to degrade and brutalize humanity, to give ignorance, feebleness, and stupidity the victory over intellect and character, and to make the world more populous than ever with a debased type of inhabitants. Unhappily, many causes are even now at work to bring about this very undesirable issue. The tendency, already noticed, of the educated classes to die out altogether, while those far below them in the scale are multiplying with ominous rapidity, is the plague-spot of our modern civilization. I have pointed out its deplorable results in the case of the Roman Empire; and the speedy decline and corruption, after the age of Demosthenes, of Athenian culture and refinement, are probably attributable, in a considerable degree, to the action of the same cause. It is the inherent vice of an aristocracy of wealth and intellect, who are intent upon nothing so much as the adoption of any efficient means for preserving the superiority of their class above the vulgar. But it is a suicidal policy; for, while it has a deceptive semblance of strengthening the position and influence of individual families, through preventing these advantages from being parceled out among too many heirs, it is destructive of the best interests of the class as a whole, and must soon lead to its entire extinction. Civilization can not be kept alive and transmitted undiminished to posterity, if the members of the educated classes think it a burden to have large families, and if even the women prefer to find some other vocation in life than that of bearing children and educating them. If a process of what the Darwinites would call "negative selection" is to go on, if only the creatures of a lower type are freely to propagate their kind, the average level of the species must be lowered, and a general deterioration of society is inevitable. Persons of wealth, culture, and refinement, instead of adopting the selfish policy of Mainländer, and taking care only for their personal redemption from the ills of life, should seek rather to transmit by inheritance their high qualities of mind and character to a future generation, and teach their children how to use these personal advantages in continuous efforts to promote the civilization and ennoble the type of humanity. If they do not fill the vacant places on the earth's surface, these will soon be occupied by the progeny of the ignorant and the debased, who in this respect are the dangerous classes of society.

FRANCIS BOWEN.

III.

A PAGE OF POLITICAL CORRESPONDENCE.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF MR. STANTON TO MR. BUCHANAN.

[THE editor of the "North American Review" hopes that it is no longer necessary for him to assure his readers that he takes part neither with the Trojans nor with the Tyrians in any of the various controversies which have so far been evoked from time to time by contributors to these pages. It is only by way, therefore, of what the lawyers call "abundant caution," that the editor has thought it well to request his readers to remember this while reading the interesting extracts from the "Diary of a Public Man" in 1861, which he is now laying before them; and that he now reminds them of it in connection with the even more interesting letters of the late Mr. Stanton to the late President Buchanan, which appear below.

These letters were handed to the editor for publication by a distinguished gentleman, who desires that his name may not for the present be made known, and into whose possession they came indirectly from a collection of private papers left by the late President Buchanan. Of their authenticity no more doubt can be entertained than of the importance of the light which they throw upon that twilight period just preceding the outbreak of the civil war, about which so little has ever been definitely and accurately known, and the interest of which grows with every passing day and month and year. As will be seen, these letters of Mr. Stanton bear directly upon the very grave and momentous events treated of in the extracts which we give in the present number from the contemporaneous "Diary of a Public Man." When we remember that Mr. Stanton, at the time when these letters were written, was bitterly opposed to Mr. Seward, and indeed to the whole Administration of Mr. Lincoln, while the diarist, on the contrary, lived in friendly and familiar relations with Mr. Seward, and was evidently more inclined to support than to assail Mr. Lincoln, the corroborative value of the letters to the diary and of the diary to the letters will be evident. Between them they illuminate one of the most trying and important epochs of our own history, and indeed of all

modern history, with a clear and novel light. And, while the editor is in duty bound to make the most formal disclaimer possible of any intention or disposition on his part to accept this light as final, he is sure that he will have the approval of all intelligent and candid readers for transmitting it to them exactly as it comes to him, without assuming in any way either to intensify or to mitigate it. It is tolerably certain that, at the time treated of in these letters and in the *Diary*, neither Mr. Stanton nor the diarist, nor indeed any man, no matter what his opinions or his powers may have been, can have been in possession of all the facts essential to forming a truly just judgment of the men, or a truly wise opinion as to the tendencies of the hour; nor can we flatter ourselves with occupying a better position in regard to either, until we shall have exhausted all possible means of securing all possible information as to both.—EDITOR.]

WASHINGTON, *March 14, 1861.*

DEAR SIR: Your favor was received last evening. I shall take care of it, so that when required it may be returned. There is no doubt of Sumter being evacuated; report says the order has gone, but that I think is doubtful. You will have noticed the resolution introduced yesterday by Mr. Douglas in the Senate. That looks like a comprehensive platform for relinquishing everything in the seceded States, and even those who sympathize with them. To me it seems like the first steps toward a strictly Northern non-slaveholding confederacy. In the last ten days nothing has occurred here, to my knowledge, but what you will see in the newspapers. There has been no further action in respect to the Supreme Judgeship. It is generally understood that Crittendon will not be nominated. Judge Campbell has reconsidered his resignation, and will not resign immediately. The Court adjourns to-day. I am now writing in the Supreme Court-room. If the Court ever reassembles there will be considerable change in its organization. Judge Grier went home sick two days ago. Judge McLean is reported to be quite ill. Lincoln will probably (if his Administration continues four years) make a change that will affect the constitutional doctrines of the Court. The pressure for office continues unabated. Every department is overrun, and by the time that all the patronage is distributed the Republican party will be dissolved. I hope that peace and tranquillity, with cessation from your intense labors, will long preserve you in health and happiness.

Yours truly,

EDWIN M. STANTON.

P. S.—The Supreme Court have just decided Mrs. Gaines's case in her favor, four Judges to three. The Chief Justice, Grier, and Catron *dissenting*. They have also decided that the Federal Government *have no power to coerce* the Governor of a State to return a fugitive from justice, although it is his duty to comply with the demand.

Yours,

E. M. S.

WASHINGTON, April 3, 1861.

DEAR SIR: Although a considerable period has elapsed since the date of my last letter to you, nothing has transpired here of interest but what is fully detailed in the newspapers. Mr. Toucey left here last week; Judge Black is still in the city. General Dix made a short visit at the request of the Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Holt, I think, is still here, but I have not seen him for several days. You of course saw Thompson's answer and Mr. Holt's reply. I have not had any intercourse with any of the present Cabinet, except a few brief interviews with Mr. Bates, the Attorney-General, on business connected with his department. Mr. Lincoln I have not seen. He is said to be very much broken down with the pressure that is upon him in respect to appointments.

The policy of the Administration in respect to the seceding States remains in obscurity. There has been a rumor for the last two or three days that, notwithstanding all that has been said, there will be an effort to reinforce Fort Sumter. But I do not believe a word of it. The special messenger, Colonel Lamon, told me that he was satisfied it could not be done.

The new loan has been bid for at better rates than I anticipated, and I perceive General Dix was one of the largest bidders at the highest rates. The new tariff bill seems to give the Administration great trouble; and luckily it is a measure of their own. The first month of the Administration seems to have furnished an ample vindication of your policy, and to have rendered all occasion of other defense needless. The rumors from Richmond are very threatening; secession is rapidly gaining strength there. Hoping that you are in the enjoyment of good health and happiness,

I remain as ever, yours,

EDWIN M. STANTON.

P. S. 12 o'clock.—The Secretary of the Treasury has determined to reject all the bids for the new loan under \$94. . . . He could have obtained the whole amount at ninety-three and a half. Riggs

thinks the Secretary has made a great mistake in not taking the whole sum, and that he will not get as good terms at ninety-three and a half in future. There are no bids here taken. E. M. S.

WASHINGTON, *April 12, 1861.*

DEAR SIR: We have the war upon us. The telegraphic news of this morning you will have seen before this reaches you. The impression here is held by many—

1. That the effort to reënforce will be a failure.
2. That in less than twenty-four hours from this time Anderson will have surrendered.
3. That in less than thirty days Davis will be in possession of Washington.

Yours truly,

EDWIN M. STANTON.

His Excellency JAMES BUCHANAN.

WASHINGTON, *May 11, 1861.*

DEAR SIR: Your letter by Mr. Magraw was received, and I designed to send an answer by him, but he left here without my knowledge. On the 24th of April, the day after the Baltimore riot, and again on blue Tuesday, the day before the arrival of the New York regiments, I wrote to you.

These letters will probably reach you some time, if they have not already arrived; but I regret their miscarriage, as they kept up a regular chain of Washington events from the date of Lincoln's first proclamation after the capture of Sumter, and since that time incidents have passed so rapidly that I can not recall them in their order.

The fling of Mr. F. W. Seward about "negotiations" would merit a retort if there were an independent press, and the state of the times admitted discussion of such matters. The negotiations carried on by Mr. Seward with the Confederate Commissioners through Judge Campbell and Judge Nelson will some day, perhaps, be brought to light, and, if they were as has been represented to me, Mr. Seward and the Lincoln Administration will not be in a position to make sneering observations respecting any negotiations during your Administration. It was in reference to these that Jefferson Davis, in his message, spoke with so much severity. You no doubt observed his allusion to informal negotiations through a person *holding a high station* in the Government of the United States, and which were participated in by other persons holding

stations equally high. I have understood that Judge Campbell was the person alluded to, and that Judge Nelson, and perhaps Catron, were the other persons cognizant of Mr. Seward's assurances respecting the evacuation of Fort Sumter. Mr. Holt is still here ; Judge Black has been absent some weeks, but returned night before last. Mr. Holt stays at home pretty closely, and I have met him very seldom, though I occasionally hear of his visiting some of the departments. The state of affairs is tolerably well detailed in the public prints. But no description could convey to you the panic that prevailed here for several days after the Baltimore riot, and before communications were reopened. This was increased by reports of the trepidation of Lincoln that were circulated through the streets. Almost every family packed up their effects. Women and children were sent away in great numbers ; provisions advanced to famine prices. In a great measure the alarm has passed away, but there is still a deep apprehension that before long the city is doomed to be the scene of battle and carnage. In respect to the military operations going on or contemplated, little is known until the results are announced in the newspapers. General Scott seems to have *carte blanche*. He is, in fact, the Government, and, if his health continues, vigorous measures are anticipated. For the last few days I have been moving my family, my former residence being made unpleasant by troops and hospitals surrounding me. In the present state of affairs I do not like to leave home, or I would pay you a visit ; but no one knows what may happen any day, or how soon communications may be again interrupted. Marching and drilling are going on all day in every street. The troops that have arrived here are in general fine-looking, able-bodied, active men, well equipped, and apparently ready and willing for the service in which they are engaged. Your cordial concurrence in the disposition to maintain the Government and resist aggression gives great satisfaction, and I am pleased to observe a letter from you in the "Intelligencer" of this morning. I beg you to present my compliments to Miss Lane. There are many stories afloat among the ladies in the city that would amuse her, but, as they are no doubt told her by lady correspondents, it is needless for me to repeat them. I hope you may continue in the enjoyment of good health, and remain with sincere regard,

Yours truly,

EDWIN M. STANTON.

WASHINGTON, May 19, 1861.

DEAR SIR : You will see in the New York papers Judge Campbell's report of the negotiation between himself and Mr. Seward, to which I referred in my letter of last week. They had been related to me by the Judge, about the time they closed. Mr. Seward's silence will not relieve him from the imputation of deceit and double dealing in the minds of many, although I do not believe it can justly be imputed to him. I have no doubt he *believed* that Sumter would be evacuated, as he stated it would be. But the war-party overruled him with Lincoln, and he was forced to give up, but could not give up his office. That is a sacrifice no Republican will be apt to make. But this correspondence shows that Mr. Frederick Seward was not in the line of truth when he said that negotiations ceased on the 4th of March. The "New York Evening Post" is very severe on Judge Campbell, and very unjustly so, for the Judge has been as anxiously and patriotically earnest to preserve the Government as any man in the United States, and he has sacrificed more than any Southern man rather than yield to the secessionists. I regret the treatment he has received from Mr. Seward and the "Post."

Nothing new has transpired here since my last letter. I am perfectly convinced that an attack will be made and a battle fought for this city before long.

With sincere regard, I remain yours truly,

EDWIN M. STANTON.

His Excellency JAMES BUCHANAN.

WASHINGTON, June 8, 1861.

DEAR SIR : Your friends here are very much gratified by Judge Black's report of improvement in your health. The accounts we have had occasioned a great deal of solicitude concerning you ; but I trust that you may now be speedily restored. I have not written to you for some time, because there was nothing to communicate that would cheer or gratify you. While every patriot has rejoiced at the enthusiastic spirit with which the nation has aroused to maintain its existence and honor, the speculation and fraud that immediately spring up, to prey upon the volunteers and grasp the public money as plunder and spoil, have created a strong feeling of loathing and disgust. And no sooner had the appearance of imminent danger passed away, and the Administration recovered from its panic, than a determination became manifest to give a strict party direction, as far as possible, to the great national movement. After a

few Democratic appointments, as Butler and Dix, everything else has been exclusively devoted to black Republican interests. This has already excited a strong reactionary feeling not only in New York, but in the Western States. General Dix informs me that he has been so badly treated by Cameron, and so disgusted by the general course of the Administration, that he intends immediately to resign. This will be followed by a withdrawal of financial confidence and support to a very great extent. Indeed, the course of things for the last four weeks has been such as to excite distrust in every department of the Government. The military movements, or rather inaction, also excite great apprehension. It is believed that Davis and Beauregard are both in this vicinity—one at Harper's Ferry, the other at Manassas Gap—and that they can concentrate over sixty thousand troops. Our whole force does not exceed forty-five thousand. It is also reported that discord exists between the Cabinet and General Scott in respect to important points of strategy.

Our condition, therefore, seems to be one of even greater danger than at any former period, for the consequence of success by the secessionists would be far more extensive and irremediable than if the Capitol had been seized weeks ago. Ould is reported as having gone off and joined the secessionists. Harvey, the new Minister to Spain, it is discovered, was a correspondent with the secessionists, and communicated the designs and operations of the Government to Judge McGrath. It is supposed he will be recalled. Cassius Clay has been playing the fool at London, by writing letters to the "Times," which that paper treats with ridicule and contempt. The impression here is, that the decided and active countenance and support of the British Government will be given to the Southern Confederacy. Mr. Holt is still here, but I seldom see him. Judge Black is also here. I should have visited you, but dare not leave town even for one night. Our troops have slept on their arms nearly every night for a week, anticipating attack.

Hoping to hear of your restoration to good health,

I remain, as ever, truly yours,

EDWIN M. STANTON.

WASHINGTON, June 12, 1861.

DEAR SIR: I had written to you the day before your letter was received, and am very glad to learn that your health is still improving. Shortly after the 4th of March I saw Mr. Weaver, and told him to let me know, in case there should appear any disposition to

interfere with him, and I would exert myself to have him retained. He expressed himself so confidently of his security, that any interposition of mine would have appeared gratuitous, if not impertinent. But, before your last letter reached here, he called and said he had been removed. He said he did not desire to be reinstated in it, preferring to enter the military service, and desiring a captain's commission. While I think his restoration might be accomplished, the other is more doubtful, as it is generally understood that Mr. Cameron has bestowed all the military posts. I shall, however, do all in my power to accomplish what Mr. Weaver desires, on account of the interest you take in his welfare. We have this morning disastrous news from Fortress Monroe. The rumor is that the sacrifice of life at Bethel Bridge was very great, and it is in a great measure attributed to the incompetence of the commanding officer. There is much reason to fear that other disasters from similar cause will occur. The recent appointments in the army are generally spoken of with great disapprobation. General Dix is very much chagrined with the treatment he has received from the War Department, and on Saturday I had a letter declaring his intention to resign immediately. He would in my opinion be a serious loss to the service. The rumored appointment of Cummings of the "Bulletin," as brigadier-general and quartermaster-general, has produced very general dissatisfaction and distrust. The appointment has been announced as having been certainly made, but I do not believe that it has been. I had a letter this week from your friend General Harney. He feels himself very badly treated by the Administration. Last month he was ordered to Washington without any reason but suspicion of his loyalty. Being satisfied on that point, he was restored to his command, and is now again superseded, without any explanation, and is disgraced by being left without any command. Since this letter was commenced, the brother of General Butler has arrived from Fort Monroe, and reports the whole loss of our troops at fourteen killed and forty-four wounded. This is so greatly below the former reports, which set down our loss at over one thousand, that it affords great relief. There is great anxiety to hear from Harper's Ferry. The movement in that direction a few days ago, you have no doubt seen in the papers. Much apprehension is felt here, as to the expedition, and there is some uneasiness lest an attack on this city will be induced by withdrawal of so large a portion of the military force.

Harvey's treachery is much talked of. The foreign indications

by yesterday's steamer are considered more favorable than heretofore.

I beg you to present my compliments to Miss Lane, and with sincere regard,

I remain yours truly,

EDWIN M. STANTON.

WASHINGTON, *July* 16, 1861.

DEAR SIR : Your favor, with the continuation of the historical sketch, was duly received. Last evening Judge Black and General Dix met at my house and consulted together in regard to it. We concur in opinion that a publication at present would accomplish no good. The public mind is too much excited on other topics to give attention to the past, and it would only afford occasion for fresh, malignant attacks upon you. . . . At all events a stronger impression will hereafter be produced when the public feeling is more tranquil. The narration appears to me to be a clear and accurate statement of the events of the period to which it relates, with one exception of no material consequence, in respect to which, the recollection of Judge Black, General Dix, and myself is somewhat different from the statement. Speaking of the order to the Brooklyn not to disembark the forces sent to Pickens, unless that fort were attacked, you mention it as having been made with the entire unanimity of your Cabinet and the approval of General Scott. That he approved it is fully shown by Mr. Holt's note to you; but our recollection is, that in the Cabinet it was opposed by Judge Black, General Dix, and myself. I do not know that there is now any reason to question the wisdom of the measure. It may have saved Pickens from immediate attack at that time; and I have understood that General Scott says that Pickens could not have been successfully defended if it had then been attacked, and that he speaks of this as a blunder of the Confederates. In this view, the wisdom of the measure is fully vindicated; and at the time it was supported by the Secretary of War and Secretary of the Navy, to whose departments the subject appertained. So far, however, as your Administration is concerned, its policy in reference to both Sumter and Pickens is fully vindicated by the course of the present Administration for forty days after the inauguration of Lincoln. No use was made of the means that had been prepared for reënforcing Sumter. A Republican Senator informed me, a short time ago, that General Scott personally urged him to consent to the evacua-

tion of both Sumter and Pickens; and it is a fact of general notoriety, published in all the papers at the time and never contradicted, that not only the General, but other military men who were consulted, were in favor of that measure. Whatever may be said now, I think that the public will be disposed to do full justice to your efforts to avert the calamity of civil war; and every month for a long time to come will, I am afraid, furnish fresh evidence of the magnitude of that calamity. The impression that Mr. Weaver had received an army appointment proved to be a mistake; it was another Weaver who was appointed. General Dix is still here. He has been shamefully treated by the Administration. We are expecting a general battle to be commenced at Fairfax to-day, and conflicting opinions of the result are entertained.

With sincere regard, I remain, as ever,

Truly yours,

EDWIN M. STANTON.

His Excellency JAMES BUCHANAN.

WASHINGTON, *July 26, 1861.*

DEAR SIR: Three days ago I received the inclosed letters under cover addressed to me. Upon reading the first sentence, I perceived there must be some mistake, and, turning over the leaf, saw that the address was to Judge Black, and I therefore return them unread. I should have handed them to him, but have not seen him since they were received, and am informed that he left here some days ago. The dreadful disaster of Sunday can scarcely be mentioned. The imbecility of this Administration culminated in that catastrophe—an irretrievable misfortune and national disgrace never to be forgotten are to be added to the ruin of all peaceful pursuits and national bankruptcy as the result of Lincoln's "running the machine" for five months. You perceive that Bennett is for a change of the Cabinet, and proposes for one of the new Cabinet Mr. Holt. . . . It is not unlikely that some change in the War and Navy Departments may take place, but none beyond these two departments until Jefferson Davis turns out the whole concern. The capture of Washington seems now to be inevitable—during the whole of Monday and Tuesday it might have been taken without any resistance. The rout, overthrow, and utter demoralization of the whole army is complete. Even now I doubt whether any serious opposition to the entrance of the Confeder-

ate forces could be offered. While Lincoln, Scott, and the Cabinet are disputing who is to blame, the city is unguarded and the enemy at hand. General McClellan reached here last evening. But, if he had the ability of Cæsar, Alexander, or Napoleon, what can he accomplish? Will not Scott's jealousy, Cabinet intrigues, Republican interference, thwart him at every step? While hoping for the best, I can not shut my eyes against the dangers that beset the Government, and especially this city. It is certain that Davis was in the field on Sunday, and the Secessionists here assert that he headed in person the last victorious charge. General Dix is in Baltimore. After three weeks' neglect and insult he was sent there. The warm debate between Douglas's friend Richardson and Kentucky Burnett has attracted some interest, but has been attended with no bellicose result. Since this note was commenced, the morning paper has come in, and I see that McClellan did *not* arrive last night, as I was informed he had. General Lee was after him, but will have to wait awhile before they can meet.

Yours truly,

EDWIN M. STANTON.

His Excellency JAMES BUCHANAN.

IV.

THE DIARY OF A PUBLIC MAN.

UNPUBLISHED PASSAGES OF THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE
AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

PART IV.

MAJOR ANDERSON AND FORT SUMTER.

Washington, March 6th.—To-day — came to see me, having come directly through from Montgomery, stopping only a day in Charleston on the way, where he saw and had a long conversation with Major Anderson, who is a connection by marriage of his wife, and with whom he has long been on terms of particular good will. He astonishes me by his statements, which I can not doubt, as to the real status of things at Fort Sumter. That Major Anderson transferred his garrison to Fort Sumter from Fort Moultrie of his own motion, on discretionary instructions received last winter from the War Department, he has no sort of question; and indeed his very particular account given to me of the circumstances attending the act of transfer is most interesting—so interesting that I have asked him and he has promised to write it out for me, as it is too long for me to set down here. He tells me Major Anderson has no expectation whatever of the reëstablishment of the Government over the seceded States, and that he intends to be governed in his own future course (military considerations and the question of subsistence of course apart) by the course of his own State of Kentucky. He does not sympathize at all with the States which have now seceded, but he thinks the provocation given them in the action and attitude of the Northern abolitionists an adequate provocation; and — assures me that in his opinion Major Anderson would unhesitatingly obey the orders of a Confederate Secretary of War were Kentucky to withdraw from the Union and join this new and

menacing organization. Fortunately, there seems no immediate likelihood of this, but it shows how much more perilous the situation is than I own I had allowed myself to think, and how mischievous in its effects has been the leaving open through all these years of the question of States rights, their exact limitations, and their relations to the Federal Government. — is convinced that Major Anderson would never have abandoned Fort Moultrie had he not thought wise to remove himself from a position in which he was liable to be commanded by the authorities of South Carolina, his determination being to retain the control of the position primarily in the interest of his own Commonwealth of Kentucky, so that Kentucky might in no way be committed by his action either for or against the retention of the forts in Charleston Harbor. I asked — to go with me and state these facts to Mr. Lincoln, pointing out to him their grave importance, and the decisive influence which an accurate knowledge of the feelings and disposition of Major Anderson might have upon the President's judgment of what may be expedient to be done in this most dangerous matter. His own conviction as to the quiet and positive character of Major Anderson, of whom he tells me that, though not a man of unusual abilities in any way, he is a very resolute and conscientious man, holding stubbornly to his own ideas of duty, I told him I was sure would weigh much more with the President than any representations on the subject coming through a third party possibly could. He was quite averse to doing this at first, but finally consented, on my urgent representations, to do so, and I have written a note this afternoon to the President, asking his permission to call on him about a public matter at some hour which may suit him to-morrow.

THE SECESSIONISTS AT MONTGOMERY.

Of the proceedings at Montgomery — gives me an account at once grotesque and saddening. He tells me that a sharp division is already showing itself in the councils of the secession leaders. Mr. Toombs has the wildest ideas of the immediate recognition by England and France of the new government, and insists that no concession shall be made to public opinion in those countries or in the North on the question of slavery. "Cotton is king" is in his mouth all the time. Mr. Memminger, the South Carolinian Secretary of the Treasury, — thinks much the ablest man they have there, and he takes a more business-like view of the situation, being of the opinion that, unless something is done to secure the seceded States under

their new nationality a solid basis of credit abroad, they will not be able to carry on the ordinary operations of a government for any great length of time. None of them anticipate hostilities, and I am glad to learn from — that the number of persons of any weight and credit among them, who are disposed so to press matters in any direction as to make hostilities probable, is very small. Even in Charleston — assures me there is a perfect good temper shown in all intercourse between the United States authorities and those who have the present direction of affairs there. At Montgomery — found the women much more violent and disposed to mischief than the men, many ladies almost openly expressing their wish to see the “Confederate flag” planted at Washington. It appears too, that of this same Confederate flag a number of models have been furnished by ladies. Copies of some of these — had brought on, and he exhibited them to me. Nothing can be imagined more childish and grotesque than most of them were. The abler men at Montgomery he tells me are urgent that the seceded States should claim the flag of the United States as their own, a proposition which I should suppose would be quite agreeable to Mr. Sumner and others who have not yet got over their disposition to denounce the Union as a “covenant with death and an agreement with hell.” I asked — what these people really mean to do or to attempt to do about patents, showing him some of my letters from home, which clearly indicate the trouble brewing in our part of the country on that very important subject. He could give me no reassuring views of the matter, but, on the contrary, led me to think that the seceded States will try to raise a revenue by exacting heavy sums of patentees for a recognition of their rights within the territory of those States. Such measures, like the adoption last week by their Congress of an act throwing open the coasting-trade of all the seceded States to the flags of all nations on equal terms, are too clearly aimed at the material interests and prosperity of the country not to arouse extreme and legitimate irritation. They are a sort of legislative war against the rest of the Union, which may lead, before we are well aware of it, into reprisals and warfare of a more sanguinary kind.

MR. SEWARD’S NEGOTIATIONS WITH VIRGINIA.

I asked — what information he brought as to the relations between the people at Montgomery and the border States, especially Virginia. He had no doubt, from what he heard there, that Virginia

will secede, and was apparently very much surprised when I gave him my reasons for believing that nothing of the sort was to be expected. When I told him, as, in view of his position relatively to the well-disposed people of the South and of his intention to see the President to-morrow, I thought it right to tell him, that a messenger—and a messenger enjoying the direct personal confidence of Mr. Seward—left Washington this morning for Richmond with positive assurances as to the intention of the new Administration that no attempt should be made either to reënforce or to hold Fort Sumter, he was greatly surprised, but was forced to admit that such a communication might greatly alter the aspect of things and strengthen the hands of the Union men in Virginia. He thought it would, if made known, produce a great effect even at Montgomery.

AN INTERVIEW WITH MR. LINCOLN. H

March 7th.—Early this morning I received a message from the President, making an appointment for this afternoon. I called for — at his hotel and we drove to the White House. I could not help observing the disorderly appearance of the place, and the slovenly way in which the service was done. We were kept waiting but a few moments, however, and found Mr. Lincoln quite alone. He received us very kindly, but I was struck and pained by the haggard, worn look of his face, which scarcely left it during the whole time of our visit. I told the President, in a few words, why we had asked for this interview, and — then fully explained to him, as he had to me yesterday, the situation at Fort Sumter. It seemed to me that the information did not take the President entirely by surprise, though he asked — two or three times over whether he was quite sure about Major Anderson's ideas as to his duty, in case of any action by Kentucky; and, when — had repeated to him exactly what he had told me as to the language used to himself by Major Anderson, Mr. Lincoln sat quite silent for a little while in a sort of brooding way, and then, looking up, suddenly said: "Well, you say Major Anderson is a good man, and I have no doubt he is; but if he is right it will be a bad job for me if Kentucky secedes. When he goes out of Fort Sumter, I shall have to go out of the White House." We could not resist a laugh at this quaint way of putting the case, but the gloomy, care-worn look settled back very soon on the President's face, and he said little more except to ask — some questions about Montgomery, not I

thought of a very relevant or important kind, and we soon took our leave. He walked into the corridor with us; and, as he bade us goodbye, and thanked — for what he had told him, he again brightened up for a moment and asked him in an abrupt kind of way, laying his hand as he spoke with a queer but not uncivil familiarity on his shoulder, "You haven't such a thing as a postmaster in your pocket, have you?" — stared at him in astonishment, and I thought a little in alarm, as if he suspected a sudden attack of insanity, when Mr. Lincoln went on: "You see it seems to me kind of unnatural that you shouldn't have at least a postmaster in your pocket. Everybody I've seen for days past has had foreign ministers, and collectors, and all kinds, and I thought you couldn't have got in here without having at least a postmaster get into your pocket!" We assured him he need have no concern on that point, and left the house, both of us, I think, feeling, as I certainly felt, more anxious and disturbed than when we entered it. Not one word had Mr. Lincoln said to throw any real light either on his own views of the situation or on the effect of —'s communication upon those views. But it was plain that he is deeply disturbed and puzzled by the problem of this wretched fort, to which circumstances are giving an importance so entirely disproportionate to its real significance, either political or military.

THE INVASION OF THE OFFICE-SEEKERS.

We sent away the carriage and walked home. — called my attention as we passed along to the strange and uncouth appearance of a great proportion of the people whom we encountered on our way or passed lounging about the steps of the Treasury Department and the lobbies of the hotels. I had not noticed it before, but certainly in all my long experience of Washington I have never seen such a swarm of uncouth beings. The clamor for offices is already quite extraordinary, and these poor people undoubtedly belong to the horde which has pressed in here to seek places under the new Administration, which neither has nor can hope to have places enough to satisfy one twentieth part of the number. After dinner I went in to see Mr. Seward, determined, if possible, to get some satisfactory statement as to the outlook of the immediate future from his point of view, and anxious also to ascertain what he knows, if he knows anything, either to confirm or to contradict the story of — as to Major Anderson and Fort Sumter.

MR. SEWARD'S EXPECTATIONS OF A SETTLEMENT.

I found Mr. Seward in a lively, almost in a boisterous mood, but I soon induced him to take a more quiet and reasonable tone. I told him what — had told me of Major Anderson, and that I had taken — to see Mr. Lincoln. At this his countenance lighted up and he exclaimed, "I am so glad you did!" He then went on to assure me in the most positive and earnest terms that he had no doubt whatever that Fort Sumter would be evacuated at a very early day, that there were no military reasons whatever for keeping it, and no more or better reasons for holding it than there had been for holding Fort Brown, which certainly would not be and could not be held. He spoke very severely of what he called Major Anderson's folly in going into Fort Sumter at all—a folly the secret of which, as he said, I had now explained to him, but which was only the greater folly by reason of the motives which led to it, assuming the story of — to be true, as he added with a great deal of emphasis, "As I have no sort of doubt it is." I asked him how the surrender of Fort Sumter could be effected otherwise than by violence if —'s story was true, since Major Anderson certainly would not give up the place on an express order from Washington if he cherished the notion of waiting for the action of his own State of Kentucky. That, he replied evasively, would be a matter for the negotiators, and he then gave me to understand that negotiations were, in fact, at this moment going on, which, in his judgment, would very soon relieve the Government of all anxiety on the score of Charleston Harbor and its forts. I then told him what account — had brought of the state of things at Montgomery, about which, however, he seemed to be himself very fully informed. He could give me no good reason for supposing it, but he seemed to be quite convinced that, as soon as the States of Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri rejected the appeals of the secessionists, as he has positive information they will reject them, the disintegration of the new-born Confederacy will begin. I asked him how, admitting these expectations to be well founded, we were, in the interval during the process, to get on with our postal and business relations, mentioning to him what — had told me, that Mr. Toombs and others were strongly in favor of establishing a passport system by sea and land against all citizens of the United States. This apparently made little or no impression upon him, and I must say that I have come home quite discouraged and depressed. In the Senate no one of the Republi-

cans seems to be just now thinking seriously of anything but the new appointments. I have been besieged for a week past with letters and applications asking me every day to see a score of persons whom I hardly know, in order to oblige a score of other persons whom, in many cases, I know only too well. It is a shameful and humiliating state of things, none the more tolerable that it was to have been expected. Mr. Seward was very anxious to get my views as to the proper treatment of Mr. Forsyth and the other commissioners. He seemed inclined to think that a mode might be found of receiving them and negotiating with them, without in any way committing the Government to a recognition of the Government which they assume to represent.

I found it difficult, indeed I may say impossible, to make him admit the hopelessness of looking for such a thing, but I told him frankly that I saw no earthly reason why he should not informally and in a private way obtain from these gentlemen—all of them, as we knew, honorable and very intelligent men—some practical light on the way out of all this gathering perplexity, if indeed they have any such practical light to give. He then gave me to understand that this was exactly what he had done and meant to do, and he repeated his conviction that the evacuation of Fort Sumter would clear the way for a practical understanding out of which an immediate tranquillization of the country must come, and in the not distant future a return of all the seceding States to their allegiance. I can only hope he is right.

THE PROGRESS OF EVENTS AT RICHMOND.

Washington, March 9th.— — came in to breakfast with me, having just returned from Richmond. He confirmed the story that an agent has been sent thither by Mr. Seward, with a most positive assurance that on no account shall Fort Sumter be reënforced, either with men or with supplies. He says this assurance reached Richmond the day after the confirmation by the Senate of the new Cabinet appointments, and he was told by — at Richmond, who certainly ought to know the facts in the case, that Senator Hunter agreed to press for the immediate confirmation of Mr. Seward in conformity with the precedents, on the express understanding that such a message should be forthwith dispatched to Richmond. Certainly, but for the attitude of Senator Hunter, and one or two other gentlemen of like views, the Chase and Sumner men in the Senate would have pretty surely, I think, given Mr. Seward some

trouble before that body. As things are, — thinks the Union men will control the action of Virginia, and that we shall consequently have no war. Heaven grant it! But in all this I do not see what the Government of the Union is negotiating for, or what we are to get for the Union by all these concessions, beyond the boon—priceless, indeed, no doubt—of a peace which has not yet been seriously disturbed, and which the seceded States have at least as great an interest as we ourselves in seeing preserved. The whole thing seems to me much too onesided a piece of business, and I told — so plumply. Mr. Seward stopped to see me a moment, not long after breakfast, to say, with some appearance of fear, that the President's friends were "pestering" him about sending Mr. Corwin to England, and to intimate that he had put his foot down pretty forcibly in refusing to do anything of the kind. He showed me a note from a common friend of his and of Mr. Forsyth, asking him to receive and give audience to a certain Colonel —, who had a matter to lay before him of great national importance, and asked me if I would object to seeing Colonel — myself, as he did not wish to do so, and yet was anxious to ascertain what Colonel — might have to say. I expressed some perplexity as to how such a thing could be arranged, but he laughed, and said that if I would name an hour there would be no trouble about it at all. I thought this odd, but named an hour for to-morrow morning.

A GLIMPSE OF SENSE FROM THE SOUTH.

A letter from —, at Augusta. She writes in good spirits, but is evidently much impressed with the awkward situation, and with the feverish state of feeling all about her in Georgia. Certainly there is nothing bellicose or savage in her mood, but she tells me that her husband is disturbed and disquieted by what he thinks the imminent peril of great business disasters at the South, and especially in Georgia. He may well feel in this way, with the investments which he has made in factories sure to be ruined by the policy of his "Confederated" brethren at Montgomery.

CERTAIN PLANS OF SOUTHERN LEADERS.

March 10th.—While Mr. Douglas was talking with me this morning on some propositions which he means to offer in the Senate in a day or two, Mr. Seward's Colonel — sent his name in to me. I wished to excuse myself, but Mr. Douglas insisted I should not do so, and went away, promising to come back in the evening. I found

Colonel — a very keen, bright, intelligent person, who was full of a great scheme in which he said that Mr. Davis and Mr. Forsyth both were very deeply interested, and in which he believed the eventual solution of the whole trouble in this country would be found. This was neither more nor less than a plan for the building of a great railway to the Pacific through the southwestern portions of the country, on the surveys made under the direction of Mr. Davis while he was Secretary of War. This, he said, the Confederate States Government would at once undertake. It would unite the Confederacy with California, and make it the interest of the whole North to seek a reunion on proper terms at the earliest possible moment with the Confederate States, which would then stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific, “enveloping Mexico and the Gulf.” I listened to the man in silent amazement for some time, for certainly I never heard such wild and fantastic propositions advanced with so much seriousness and apparent good faith, and, finally interrupting him, ventured to ask him what he wished or expected me to do in the premises, and why he should have been referred to me. He seemed not at all embarrassed, but said quietly that he had wished to see me as being a conservative man and a lover of peace, in order to show me that all we needed at the North was to have a little patience, and we should see the way opened out of all our difficulties by this notable project. Is it possible there can be truth in the old notion that, in times of great national trial and excitement, so many men do go mad, so to speak, in a quiet and private way, that madness becomes a sort of epidemic?

Washington, March 11th.—The debate on the expulsion of Wigfall has gone off to-day into abstractions, which vex and irritate one in the presence of the practical questions now pressing upon us. I could scarcely listen with patience to Mr. Foster’s discussion of the point whether a Senator of the United States ought or ought not to consider his seat vacated upon the passage of an ordinance of secession by his State. Nothing will come of it all, and it only gives occasion to men like Mr. Mason to add fuel to the flame all over the country, by discussing and debating the circumstances in which it will be necessary for them to swell the list of seceders and for their States to go out of the Union.

As for Wigfall himself, his bearing for the last day or two has been rather better than it was on the day of his collision with Mr. Douglas, when he really looked like a tiger, and acted not unlike one. He and all the extreme men seem to be a great deal de-

pressed, I am glad to say, by the intelligence which has crept out of the general agreement of the Cabinet to adopt the course recommended by General Scott on plain military grounds, and order Major Anderson to abandon Fort Sumter.

THE ORDER TO EVACUATE FORT SUMTER.

I had a long conversation on the subject with Senator Douglas to-day. He is entirely of my mind that the fort ought to have been abandoned already, and that much valuable prestige has been lost by the new Administration, which might have been secured had orders been sent at once to Major Anderson to that effect. The delay is attributable, no doubt, in part to the dilatoriness of Mr. Cameron in taking up the reins of the War Department; but I am sure Mr. Douglas is right when he lays a part of the responsibility on the influence of the Blairs, who keep pressing for a war policy. Even from their point of view, nothing can be more childish than to make an issue on the holding of Fort Sumter, which has already been abandoned in regard to Fort Brown, and to make that issue on the holding of an entirely untenable place. Mr. Douglas tells me, too, that a further difficulty has been raised by the friends of Major Anderson here from Kentucky, who insist that he shall not be ordered to leave Fort Sumter unless the order is accompanied by a promotion to one of the vacant brigadierships in the army, certainly under the circumstances a most scandalous and even foolish demand to make.

THE PRESIDENT WISHES THE FORT EVACUATED.

Mr. Lincoln has assured Mr. Douglas positively, he tells me, that he means the fort shall be evacuated as soon as possible, and that all his Cabinet whom he has consulted are of the same mind excepting Mr. Blair, which is precisely what I had expected. Mr. Douglas says that the President sent for him after his speech of Wednesday to assure him that he entirely agreed with all its views, and sympathized with its spirit. All he desired was to get the points of present irritation removed, so that the people might grow cool, and reflect on the general position all over the country, when he felt confident there would be a general demand for a National Convention at which all the existing differences could be radically treated. Meanwhile he did not see why the Executive should attempt to dispossess the seceded States of the forts occupied by them unless Congress insisted that he should, and gave him the means necessary for the work. "I am just as ready," he said to Mr. Douglas,

“to reënforce the garrisons at Sumter and Pickens or to withdraw them as I am to see an amendment adopted protecting slavery in the Territories or prohibiting slavery in the Territories. What I want is to get done what the people desire to have done, and the question for me is how to find that out exactly.”

Meanwhile, as I suggested to Mr. Douglas, no one is taking any steps that I can see to find out exactly or inexactly what the people desire to have done, and the secessionists are doing a good many things which for one I do not believe the people at all desire to have done.

BREAKING UP THE UNION BY LEGISLATION.

I called Mr. Douglas's attention to a letter received by me from Mobile yesterday, in which the opinion is expressed that, if the mission of Mr. Forsyth and his colleagues turns out a failure, the Confederate Congress will certainly adopt a sort of legal non-intercourse bill already in the hands of their Judiciary Committee, dismissing all cases from the courts to which citizens of other than the seceding States are parties. Mr. Douglas agreed with me, of course, that such legislation as this would be equivalent in some degree to a war, so far as its effects alike upon the country and upon individuals are concerned; and he was not less painfully struck by another bill, a copy of which I have just received from Montgomery, prohibiting absolutely the importation of slaves from the United States unless accompanied by their owners, and with an eye to settlement within the Confederate States. The object of this, of course, is to coerce Kentucky and Virginia, and particularly Virginia, into joining the new government. How long will it be possible for us to sit still and see all the conditions of our prosperity and importance thus nibbled at and taken away piecemeal?

It may be true, as Mr. Douglas suggests, that the introduction of such legislation at Montgomery indicates the obstinacy of the Union feeling in the border States, and may so far be taken as a sign rather of hope than of imminent danger. But the spirit and the intent of it all, so far as concerns the rest of the Union, are not the less hostile and mischievous. Certainly such steps can do little to promote the objects had in view by the Southern Commissioners.

THE DIPLOMATIC PERPLEXITIES OF MR. SEWARD.

March 12th.—Mr. Seward is much better to-day, and in unusually good spirits even for him; mainly, I think, because he has succeeded

in getting Mr. Corwin to agree to take the mission to Mexico instead of the mission to England. He has news from Richmond, and I understood him from Mr. Summers, that the prospect of defeating the secessionists in the Convention brightens all the time, and that Virginia, after disposing finally of the importunities of the Southern States, will take the initiative for a great National Convention. Of this he feels as confident as of the complete overthrow of the schemes of the fire-eaters by the quiet evacuation of Fort Sumter, which can not now be long delayed. He is very much pleased with the tone and bearing of the Southern Commissioners, he says, "as reported to him," and certainly nothing can be more reasonable or pacific than the disposition shown by these gentlemen so far. But I do not see that they offer any practicable solution—and I told Mr. Seward so—of the situation; nor, indeed, do I see why it should be expected they could do so. The difficulties are not difficulties of sentiment, but of fact. Mr. Seward intimates to me pretty clearly that he already finds Mr. Sumner making trouble for him in the Senate, and pressing him disagreeably in his own department.

He is annoyed too, I thought, at having to send Mr. Cassius M. Clay to Spain, and said with a good deal of sagacity that if he must give a mission to Kentucky he thought it a pity to "waste it on a Kentuckian he was sure of already."

MR. SEWARD AND THE CONFEDERATES.

He is hopeful of the success of the Convention plan if we can but get the better of our own mischief-makers here, who are much more dangerous to us, he thinks—and I agree with him—than the people at Montgomery. Without precisely saying as much, he gave me very distinctly the impression that the intentions of the Administration to Fort Sumter have been made known at Montgomery, and have there produced a most beneficial effect. When I called his attention to the hostile and mischievous legislation going on there, he reminded me that the direction of the practical action of the seceded States just now rests with the Executive and not with the Legislature at Montgomery, and repeated several times his conviction that no one in the government there desired a collision more than he or I, which indeed I can readily believe.

I thought Mr. Seward seemed a little annoyed at the present attitude of Mr. Douglas; at all events, he showed an evident anxiety to lead me into expressing an opinion, which I positively declined to express, as to the efforts which Mr. Douglas has been

persistently making to drive the Republican Senators into showing their hands, and which of course are not made in the interests of the Republican party. But he had nothing to say when I asked him why none of the Administration Senators were willing to speak for the Administration either one way or the other.

THE SILENCE OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS.

March 15th.—The declaration made yesterday in the Senate, that the seats of Davis, Mallory, Clay, Toombs, and Benjamin are vacant, has envenomed matters a good deal, and the debate of to-day will make them worse. It is a pity Mr. Douglas should have lost his temper, but certainly nothing could have been more irritating than Mr. Fessenden. It was perfectly obvious that the two Republicans who did most of the speaking after Mr. Fessenden—Hale and Wilson—knew Mr. Douglas to be really uttering the sentiments and sketching the policy of the President, and were pretty nearly half willing to admit as much and attack the White House, but they had discretion and self-command enough to forbear, so that Mr. Douglas really threw away his time for the moment. When the news of the evacuation of Fort Sumter comes, though, it will be his turn, and we shall then see collisions which will bring out the innermost truth as to the political chart of the new Administration, and which must pretty certainly lead to the complete reorganization of our political parties, if indeed it stops there.

V.

TARIFF REACTIONS.

My grandfather, who was illiterate but long-headed, sent three of his sons to college. In their vacations at home, he would sometimes amuse himself and discomfit them by putting to them hard questions in arithmetic or mensuration, which he had thought out at his leisure, but which came upon them unprepared. When he had sufficiently puzzled them, he would draw up his chair, chalk in hand, to the immense hearthstone of the old farmhouse, and say, "Now, boys, let us look into the natur' on't." The spirit of this homely direction is nowhere more useful than in tariff discussions, because multitudes of disputants, both in Congress and out of Congress, as well on one side as on the other of the vexed question of "protection," have displayed no clear ideas of what a tariff is in its own nature, and how, from that very nature, it must work out the natural results. This common fault, at least, we hope to avoid in the present discussion.

The origin of the word *tariff*, and the nature of the thing tariff, leave no doubt at all about what its natural action must be. The word has not a very respectable origin, and, unfortunately, the taint attaches also somewhat to the thing. To be sure, the Moors of Tarifa were no hypocrites: they wanted money; their own good swords had won them an opportunity to extort it; and they took it without compunction. They did not pretend that it was a blessing to commerce to pay them black-mail at the straits. They understood perfectly, and so did the shippers of that day, that what was so paid was just so much abstracted from what would otherwise have been the gains of the voyages. Both parties never forgot, what the moderns under false teaching have been so apt to forget, namely, that the tariff-sign is always a minus-sign and never a plus-

sign—from the first to the last just so much *taken out* from the gains of the purposed exchanges.

Now, so far as the fundamental nature of a tariff is concerned—its direct action in the first instance—it makes but little difference what the ostensible purpose is under which tariff-dues are demanded. They may be demanded for simple plunder, as in the case just cited; they may be demanded in the name of “protection,” so called; and they may be demanded as a simple mode of taxation for the support of government. The first, indeed, is worst, the second is worse than the third, and the third at best is bad, because all break in upon the freedom of profitable exchanges and take out a part of the legitimate gains, and because all disturb prices unequally, although the demands of the first are wholly lawless, and those of the second are always higher and affect prices more unjustly than those of the third. The main, direct point is, that the action of a tariff under all circumstances is negative, and not positive. It takes something; it gives back nothing. It demands always; it renders never. One may read any tariff-act that ever was enacted in any country under heaven, from the beginning of it to the end thereof, or he may begin in the middle and read back to title and then onward to *finis*, and all he will ever find is a series of demands. The ten commandments are all reduced in a tariff to one commandment—*Thou shalt pay*.

It is needful to insist on this, because many people think and speak of a tariff as if it were a positively productive agent—a spur and a reward to industry. Any one, however, who will stop to think about the *nature* of a tariff, and especially any one at all familiar with the *origin* and *history* of tariffs, will find no difficulty in coming to his conclusion as to what the direct action of a tariff is and must be. But we are more concerned in this article to find out and to emphasize what are the *reactions* of a tariff, and especially of a so-called protective tariff. Tariffs for mere plunder have passed away under the light of a better civilization; tariffs with low rates of duty, laid on comparatively few things for the sole purpose of obtaining revenue, are still under discussion as one of the honest modes of taxation; while protective tariffs, having necessarily high rates on comparatively many things—owing both to the purpose in view and to the coöperation of many interests needed to secure and maintain the high duties—afford the best opportunity of studying as well the direct action as the several reactions natural to all tariffs. It will be seen, accordingly, that the reactions of the protective system

are in the same line as the direct action of the same, and intensify many fold, without ever counteracting them at all, the evils of a direct assault upon the gains of international exchanges.

First Reaction.

It is always the purpose of protective duties to lessen the competition experienced in the sale of home commodities. The foreign commodities, therefore, which are subject to the duties, will either be kept out of the country by them altogether, or will be so raised in price by them as to be able to compete less effectually with the corresponding home commodities. In either case, less foreign goods of that class are imported than would be imported but for the duties; and the price of the corresponding home goods is raised somewhat in accordance with what the duty-paid price of the foreign goods is, or would be if imported. This is at once the avowed purpose, and the direct effect, at least for a time, of protective duties. Otherwise, they would not be "protective." Otherwise, we should still be "flooded," as before, "with cheap goods." Otherwise, we should still be employing, as before, "the pauper-labor of foreigners." No terror can be greater than that of a genuine protectionist in the presence of "cheap goods," unless it be the terror of another genuine protectionist in prospect of the "pauper-labor of foreigners." Tariff-duties, then, lessen importations, the protectionists themselves being the judges. As protective, they are *designed* to do this, and as a matter of fact they *do* do it, for a time. This is their direct and intended action.

But if importations are lessened by the duties, exportations are necessarily lessened also. By refusing to buy, any nation loses thereby an opportunity to sell. In just the degree that foreigners fail to find a market in any country does that country fail to find a market for its own products among foreigners. Buying and selling are reciprocal acts. Each nation pays for its imports by its exports. Whatever, then, artificially and forcefully lessens the imports into any country, destroys a market for the exports of that country. Whoever will not buy can not sell. Tariffs, indeed, act directly, and most men confine their attention to this action; but the reaction is quite as important and far-reaching. If the makers of some manufactured goods realize for a while a higher price for their wares under a tariff-duty imposed for their benefit, the makers of some other manufactured goods, or the growers of agricultural goods, as the case may be, which would naturally go abroad in pay-

ment for what would be imported but for the tariff-duty, realize a lower price for *their* wares in consequence of the duty. They lose a part, or the whole, of their market.

A great country like the United States affords indeed a large market for home products, but it is not wide enough ; there is a surplus production in all the great branches of industry ; the great industrial want of our time in this land is *markets* ; and a world is far wider, and more varied, and more constant, as a market than any one country, however large, can be. But protective duties shut out from the markets of the world a part of the surplus products of this country ; and these, in consequence, fall in price below their natural level, just as dutied goods rise in price above their natural level. It is a two-edged sword ; and it smites, for the most part, one great class of the people, namely, the agricultural class. That class, to say nothing of others, under the direct action of the tariff, are compelled to pay more than is natural and just for many manufactured goods that they have to *buy*, and at the same time, under this reaction of the tariff, to *sell* a part of what they have to sell for a price less than is natural and just.

The correctness of this reasoning has been illustrated a hundred times, when new or higher duties have been put on foreign goods, in the lessened amount of those goods imported, in their higher price and the higher price of the corresponding home goods, and the consequent falling off of exports to those countries from which the imports are thus curtailed. A lessened demand for such exports of course carries down their price at home. A neat illustration of these truths, on their opposite side, has lately been brought out by Mr. J. S. Moore* in connection with the trade of the United States with the Republic of Venezuela. In 1870 this entire trade amounted to but \$3,345,145, of which \$2,037,312 were imports hither, and \$1,307,833 were exports thither. At that time both coffee and hides, almost the sole imports from Venezuela, were heavily dutied in our custom-houses. But in 1870 coffee was made free, and in 1872 hides were made free, in the United States. Four years after—that is, in 1876—the imports from Venezuela were \$5,875,715, or nearly three times more than in 1870, and the exports thither \$3,424,278, or more than two and one half times greater than in 1870. American shipping in the Venezuela trade increased in the same time from 15 vessels to 134, and from 2,571 tons capacity to

* Paper read before the Social Science Association, September 7, 1877.

43,459 tons, and from 109 hands to 1,255 hands. Also, the United States export of tanned leather increased in four years under free hides, 1872-'76, from \$2,864,800 to \$7,940,010. As tariff-duties clog exports, so their remission frees and multiplies them.

Second Reaction.

Protectionists usually confine their attention to the one country whose legislation they seek to control. Their argument is, If foreign goods are kept out by the tariff, domestic producers will soon furnish us that class of goods, and the country will be benefited by the process. But this is very short-sighted, to say the least of it. It looks only at the action, and neglects a reaction pretty certain to follow, and certain to be disastrous. The nation whose goods are shut out by the duty loses a good market, and does not like it. It regards the action of the other nation as a semi-hostile one, and looks around to see how it may best retaliate. The question is asked angrily, Why should we open our ports freely to the goods of that nation which has just excluded by tariff-legislation a portion of our own goods? It is not in human nature, except as enlightened by a long and bitter experience of the losses even of retaliation, to keep ports open to nations which deliberately shut up their own ports. Accordingly, tariff-duties in one nation naturally lead to duties in other nations, with which the first nation was wont to trade; and retaliation, once begun, works back and forth, until neighboring nations, whose whole interest is in free commercial intercourse, stand to each other in such relations of commercial bitterness and hate as characterized the relations of Great Britain and France only one hundred years ago. We have it on the highest authority, namely, that of Adam Smith, a contemporary, that the largest bulk of the trade between England and France one hundred years ago was in the hands of smugglers. Indeed, it was in this way practically that the nations were led along into the absurdities of the protective system. Retaliation is the actual mother of protection.

So it was at the first. In 1651 England passed her first navigation act, designed especially as a blow at the carrying-trade of the Dutch, but also affecting unfavorably the commerce of France, and all other intermediary carriers: in 1659 France retaliated by imposing a new duty of fifty sous per ton on foreign vessels loading or discharging merchandise in France. The English, nettled at this, reenacted the following year (1660) their navigation law, with

additional clauses, one of which imposed a double duty of six shillings per ton on French vessels in the ports of England and Ireland; while the Dutch retaliated on the English and French both, by a duty on tonnage equal to that laid by France. The very next year (1661) France struck back on England by a duty of fifty sous per ton applied by way of discrimination to all vessels of *foreign build*, crews of which were more than half foreign.* The English navigation acts, to which the American colonies were rigorously subjected, led to the enactment, in 1789 and 1816, of the navigation laws which disgrace the civilization of this country at the present moment. These laws are the perfection of "protection": they do not burden merely the introduction of foreign ships, they prohibit it utterly—and they sprang from retaliation. They are a good specimen of the reaction of which we are speaking.

The same principles are just as true and just as obvious historically, whether we examine protective or prohibitive duties on *ships* or on *goods*. More than any other one man a good deal, Colbert was the originator of the protective system as applied to ordinary goods. Henri Martin, with whom Colbert is a hero, in the volume already cited, a hundred pages further on, tells the whole story in detail. In 1664 the King Louis XIV., that is to say, Colbert, announced the intention of putting the kingdom "in a state to dispense with having recourse to foreign nations for things necessary for the use and convenience of his subjects." This was only three years after the second French navigation law referred to above. Tentative and moderate at first, protection, as usual, was greatly increased a few years later. Colbert aspired to get along without any of the products manufactured in England and Holland, as well as to get along without the help of their ships as carriers. In 1667, therefore, a new French tariff doubled, or nearly doubled, the import-duties on cloth, hosiery, carpets, manufactured leather, linens, sugars, fish-oils, laces, plate-glass, and tin! Oh, yes! the astute Colbert thought he could steal a march upon England and Holland, could encourage domestic manufactures by excluding their products, and at the same time sell to them as many French products as before. But he found, and the French nation found, to their cost, that a tariff has *reactions* as well as a direct action. Let Martin himself describe in his own words the reaction in this case:

"England and Holland showed themselves equally irritated at

* Martin's "History of France" (age of Louis XIV.), vol. i., pp. 12, *et seq.*

the blow which fell upon them. England, with her usual violence, did not content herself by increasing the duties on our wines and brandies ; she made these duties retroactive for several years ! Colbert had thought that the English, whatever we might do, could not dispense with our wines. The event did not prove him wrong during his lifetime, and the English, despite the increase of duties, continued for a considerable time longer to procure our wines and brandies from Gironde and Charente ; finally, however, they substituted for them the wines of Portugal and the Canaries. . . .

“The Dutch, still more seriously affected than the English, since their commerce was much more extensive, complained with no less warmth, and the sharpness of their ambassador Van Beuningen’s remonstrances contributed not a little to increase the unfriendly feelings of Louis XIV. toward their republic. Nevertheless, they hesitated three whole years before using reprisals, fearing to injure themselves as much as France by burdening with heavy duties French wines and brandies.”

As it was in the beginning, so it is now, and ever will be. Protective duties in one nation stir up the ill-will of other nations, even when they do not lead to direct retaliation in kind. Much of the manifested ill-will of Great Britain toward the United States during the late civil war had its seat in the tariff of 1861, and in the subsequent repeated increase of duties, all of which was hostile to the commerce of Great Britain as well as to the real interests of the commerce and revenue of the United States. Great Britain alone of all the nations has learned practically that retaliation harms the nation resorting to it, as well as the nation against which it is aimed, and increases on both sides the ill effects of the original restrictive legislation.

But there is no need that we go to distant nations or far-off times for illustrations under this head. The action of Canada this very year and toward our very selves is the best, because the freshest, illustration of this second form of reaction. Canada has frequently offered the United States reciprocity of trade. She has even pressed the acceptance of it on more than one of our national Administrations. She tired at last of being refused, and of being ill-treated besides ; and who can blame her ? Notwithstanding the fact that Canada has been for years the largest consumer of our manufactured goods of all foreign countries, we have steadily refused to admit her products into our ports on anything like the liberal terms on which she admitted our goods into her ports ; and at

last she has turned and offered us a dose of our own medicine, and our people are already making wry faces over what we ourselves have held up to the nations as a panacea. If "protection" is good for the United States, it must be good for Canada also; they are only taking us at our word; they are retaliating in kind, if not in kindness; they are just holding up a mirror in which we can see ourselves as others see us. They are indeed taking a wrong course for themselves, as well as striking a blow at us; but our mouths are shut, for they are only following out our example, and illustrating our own precepts. They are also illustrating, on a scale and with a point which are likely to help us realize our own consummate folly, that protective tariffs have indeed an action—and a reaction.

The miserable notion that one nation must put on or keep up protective duties because another nation puts them on or keeps them up, is at war with every true view of the reciprocal benefits of international trade. The enlightened world, it is to be hoped, will soon outgrow the mediæval doctrine that the prosperity of one nation is a menace to the prosperity of others, and that retaliation in the same line is any remedy for original losses.

Third Reaction.

Short-sightedness characterizes the protective policy in every stage of its development to the end. Colbert was short-sighted in putting on his protective duties in France, because he might easily have foreseen, what actually and naturally followed, that England and Holland would retaliate by corresponding burdens on French goods. If protection were a good thing for France, why would it not be an equally good thing for the Low Countries? If a capable statesman, like Colbert, supposed he had found the philosopher's stone in the trick of restriction, why should not some quick-witted Englishman think to turn all things to gold by the same cunning touch in his own country? Protectionists always think that *they* are going to steal a march on this wide-awake world; that they are bright, while the rest are stupid; that they may gather soft beds for themselves by plucking the stupid geese, who do not in the mean time find out what the new process is. This has been ludicrously noticeable in the whole book of "Protection" from preface to finis, but in no chapter so plain as in that which describes the relations of the protectionists to each other within the same country.

When a protective duty is obtained upon a single article, say

woolens, by the well-known arguments, it never seems to occur to the successful gentlemen that they have furnished to other industries not only a taking precedent, but also a form of argumentation, by which *they* may succeed in turn. The argument for the woolen manufacturers sounds well : but why may not the growers of the native wool talk in the same logical strain ? Pretty soon they learn to talk in the same strain. They can argue equal to the others. The Committee of Ways and Means listened attentively and responded affirmatively to the representatives of the mill-streams : can they shut their ears to similar arguments from the representatives of the pasture-lands and shearing-places ? No ! the wool-growers have just as good a case as the spinners and weavers. Theirs is a "domestic industry" too. The argument is the same. Besides, these plain country people, who tend the flocks upon the hillsides, know the roads well that lead to the polling-places, and watch the almanac sharp to find out when the election-days come around ; and their votes are just as important for the "party" as those of the mill-people, toward whom, as better off and richer dressed, there is already some prejudice in the breasts of the sheep-raisers. What wonder that a duty in behalf of native wool is the pledged work of the next session ?

Yes, but this second duty goes far toward neutralizing the first. A duty on foreign woolens raises the price of domestic woolens, and to that extent "encourages" the producer at home ; but, alas ! a duty on foreign wool raises the price of domestic wool (and was laid for that very purpose), and to that extent "discourages" the home producer of woolens ! The encouragement and discouragement probably about balance each other, since there is no reason why the wool-grower should not be as much "protected" against foreign competition as the wool-spinner. The latter stands about where he did to start with, only new uncertainties have been brought into his business, another industry stands in semi-hostile relations to his own, consumers of woolens begin angrily to inquire to what their extra price is due, and at what point they may curtail their consumption, while a new lesson has been taught to still other affiliated industries : how to increase artificially the price of their wares.

Iron products and steel products are essential to the mill, and constitute the bulk of its machinery. Machinery has constantly to be repaired, and has frequently to be replaced altogether. Woolen factories are necessarily large buyers of iron and steel in their manifold

forms. But the iron men, too, have noticed the facility with which the cloth-makers have secured Congressional aid in the form of a protective duty, and have noted also the arguments employed ; and it seems to them that the same reasoning is applicable to native products of iron and steel, and as a matter of fact it is equally applicable. And so the iron and steel men go to Congress—why not ?—and ask for and get a protective duty on their special products also. All machinery now rises in price ; iron goods of every name are lifted by this magic lever of protection ; everything goes on according to programme. But somehow or other the cloth-makers do not seem to relish the process : they see no flaw in the successive arguments, but the result as a whole is not pleasing. They have now to pay more for their wool, which is their raw material, and more for their machinery and iron goods, which are their means of manufacture ; and, somehow, the price of their own finished product, though protected, is not as remunerative as it was. Protection was good when applied to them alone, but the extension does not seem to work so well. They begin to see that a tariff has action, and also, unfortunately, *reactions*.

Their conclusions in this direction are strengthened when the lumbermen get a duty placed on foreign lumber to stiffen the price of the domestic article, which is very necessary in building, enlarging, and repairing factories ; and when the dealers in dyestuffs, their estimable fellow citizens, get a heavy duty on foreign dyes, in order to supply the home market at their own prices ; and when various other venders of subordinate supplies, needful in the manufacture of woollens, come with their enhanced prices, secured under the beautiful system of protection. Woolen manufactures of almost every kind have been at a uniformly low ebb in this country for more than ten years, under almost precisely the circumstances here supposed. Hypothesis has hardened into actual history.

The simple truth is, that many men are just as much entitled to rob the public as any one man is, and no one man will be allowed to do it, except he come to an understanding with the many others who wish to do it ; and when the permission is freely given to the many, as it must be if it be given at all, some of the many will be sure to find that they have purchased the privilege of plucking the geese at too large a price for themselves, namely, at the price of being plucked in turn by a number of the other privileged plunderers. Never was a truer word than that given lately to an interviewer by the much-experienced Secretary Fish : “ All our tariff systems have

been mere log-rollings. The understanding was, 'You tickle me, and I'll tickle you.' Although I have been in the Administration eight years, and something of a politician all my life, I do not pretend to understand the present tariff. It is abominable."

Fourth Reaction.

From the very nature of protective duties, as they have been explained and illustrated in this paper, they are subject to another series of reactions, with a presentation of which the present discussion will be concluded. Such duties are obviously and historically purely selfish in their origin. They are intended for the private and personal profit of the persons who get them put on. When challenged, and put on their defense, there may be, and often has been, a pretense that they exert a certain subtile creative power, that there is something substantive about them, that they have a power *to give* something new as well as *to distribute* something already existing. This subtile power has never indeed been explained; these substantive gifts have never been demonstrated; and it is therefore to be fairly presumed that they do not exist. But, at any rate, whether they exist or not, they form no part of the practical motive under which protective duties are actually put upon the statute-book. This motive is tangible and definite. It is perfectly understood in all Ways and Means Committees, in all legislative bodies, that have had to do with these things. The industries knocking at legislative doors for the privilege of "protection" have thought of nothing further, and have cared about nothing more, than *the extra price* they expected for their wares from their fellow citizens as consumers of the same. The sole aim of the duties was a redistribution of existing values in such a way that the protected industries could secure more, and the non-protected retain less.

Of course, human nature being what it is, and a sense of justice being somewhat diffused in the breasts of mankind, the non-protected industries—that is to say, the masses of the people in any country—have never really relished this bait held out to ensnare them. They have nibbled at it, they have gotten a taste of it, but they have never liked it. Sooner or later they have become very hostile to the whole scheme. Just so far as they have come to understand it, they have denounced it; and, just so far as they could bring legislative action to bear on it, they have menaced or overthrown it. Not alone as between nations has this infernal

apple of discord stirred up strife and war ; it does the same thing as between neighbors and fellow citizens.

The celebrated French economist, M. Say, grandfather of the present able Minister of Finance, says that during the two hundred and fifty years preceding his time, fifty years were spent in European wars directly originating out of the Mercantile System, which is both a form and father of the Protective System. Speaking on the same topic, another French economist of note, M. Storch, has said : "It has made each nation regard the welfare of its neighbors as incompatible with its own ; hence their reciprocal desire of injuring or impoverishing one another ; and hence that spirit of commercial rivalry which has been the immediate or remote cause of the greater number of modern wars. In short, where it has been least injurious, it has retarded the progress of national prosperity ; everywhere else it has deluged the earth in blood, and has depopulated and ruined some of those countries whose power and opulence it was supposed it would carry to the highest pitch."

Such being the acknowledged feelings of the nations toward each other in the presence of this selfish principle embodied in law, it is no wonder that the same principle similarly embodied kindles ill-blood as between citizens of the same country. The tariff of 1828 brought the United States to the very verge of civil war. It is not too much to say that the late civil war could never have come as it did had it not been for the feelings engendered between North and South by that tariff, and the doctrines drawn out by Mr. Calhoun in direct consequence of it. The tendency of the present tariff may not be to array section against section as that tariff did, but its tendency to array class against class, namely, the manufacturing class against the far more numerous and important agricultural class, is more conspicuous than anything which that tariff can display. It is a matter of easy demonstration that the farmers of this country have to pay more for what they buy, and take less for what they sell, in direct consequence of the present tariff. The indirect consequence, in short the reaction, is, that the farmers do not like this legislation, and, when they have become a little better educated as to its bearings and results, *they will not have it.*

The signs of an approaching conflict on this point are unmistakable, and, in an ultimate view, though not in an immediate one, are by no means to be regretted. The very fallacy of inflation, which had its chief hold on the farmers, has its root and nursing-

ground in the tariff. The farmers know that *something* is smiting them, and that the blow seems to come from the Eastward and Northward : when they have found out a little better than they know now *what* it is that is smiting them, in the judgment of the present writer, they will smite *it* with a vengeance. God help them to aim the return-blow just where it ought to fall !

In the mean time it is refreshing to read the noble words of John Bright in his letter to the editor of this "Review," which words, as published in the June number, sound like a clarion across the water : "There is no danger of our going back to protection." England has tried it through and through ; she knows its every action and its every reaction ; she has found it, as Bright says, a "barbarism" and an "humiliation" ; she has paid the fine and penalty for long adherence to folly ; after experience and suffering, she has discarded it all and for ever ; she has come to "a more civilized system" ; she has thrown down the "barriers" ; she has embraced "freedom" ; and, after a fair trial of more than thirty years, sends over the cheering word through the mouth of a man trusted on all the continents, "*There is no danger of our going back to protection.*"

ARTHUR L. PERRY.

VI.

SOME RECENT WORKS OF FICTION.

George Eliot's *The Impressions of Theophrastus Such*.
Frances Hodgson-Burnett's *Haworth's*.
George W. Cable's *Old Creole Days*.

IN no period previous to our own could it be said that the greatest living writer of English prose was a woman. This distinction fairly belongs to-day to George Eliot, whether we consider only her admirable style, or take into the account also her wide knowledge of human nature, and her equal powers of artistic combination and philosophic analysis. It is no doubt the equation of learning with observation, of philosophy with art, of thought with emotion, and of fineness with power, that gives to her style its characteristic qualities so difficult to describe by epithets. "*The Impressions of Theophrastus Such*," which we have classed as fiction, is a series of studies of character by an hypothetical bachelor; there is no thread of narrative, and no possibility of dramatic situation. It is by no means a slight work; George Eliot can hardly be said ever to have done anything that was slight. The book reveals all her fine qualities of acute observation and delicate analysis; but, because it does not tempt one to debate the handling of a plot, or the justness of a *dénouement*, it offers the best opportunity to examine, without distraction, the author's style.

The affluent dignity and long-drawn-out-ness of George Eliot's periods are more manifest, no doubt, to an American than to an English reader, for the manner of using the mother-tongue is, in this respect, very different on the two sides of the Atlantic. There is a rolling and long-linked continuity, turning ever back upon itself, in the sentences of an English newspaper leader, that is tedious to nervous Americans, while the English reader in turn is wearied with what seems a too eager vivacity and jerkiness in many of our writers. All Americans are fond of writing epigrams, said an English critic recently. Our prevailing method in the newspaper is to rush up

to a climax and fire off a salute ; the English writer is apt to move on with the stately tread of an archbishop in full canonicals, preceded by a procession of vergers. In the hands of weaker writers this resonant fullness of dignified period tends to run into no little involvement of meaning : one must keep one's wits about him in sailing through the eddying clauses and dangerous semicolons of the "Saturday Review." Even in the hands of Emerson the crisp and epigrammatic style in vogue in this country lacks something of dignity, but it is almost invariably clear and emphatic ; while in the prevalent mode of writing in England the contour of the idea is often concealed in the ample folds of the verbal drapery.

But this long and interdependent sentence is no obstacle to George Eliot's genius. If it had not been in vogue, she would perhaps have made it fashionable. She has a passion for enriching her periods, as she has of over-freighting her novels. As the loves of Adam and Dinah, of Daniel and Myra, had to be laden with a superabundant weight of admirable philosophy, description, analysis of character, and outshinings on conduct, so every separate period as it floats away has, in addition to its straightforward meaning, some new beauty of phrase, epithet, or digressive remark. Her finest things, instead of being brought out with emphasis as the climax of a sentence, are thrown in, like spools of cotton at a country store, as gratuities not accounted for in the price. There is a sentence on pages 76 and 77, just one hundred words long, with a dozen clauses, describing the matter-of-course lives that most people lead. In the middle of its specifications is dropped among the rest the saying that they "spend money on tedious observances called pleasures." Many a smaller writer would have set such a bit of irony by itself and cackled over it with a mark of exclamation.

The English amplitude of phrase is often cumbrous, even in George Eliot. An American is somewhat stunned by the hooking of adverb to adjective until the preposition or article is at such a distance from its noun that a mental grouping of the words is difficult, and pronunciation exhausting. Says Theophrastus Such, on page 76 : "Few lives are shaped, few characters formed, by the contemplation of definite consequences seen from a distance and made the goal of continuous effort or the beacon of a constantly avoided danger." One wants some such device as the algebraists' $x(a - ab + xy^2)$ to keep in mind the fact that all the heavily-laden phrases of the last three quarters of this sentence swing mediately or immediately upon the little pivot of the preposition "by," and

the adverb and participle make a breathless separation between the article and its noun at the close of the sentence. Such locutions as "a constantly avoided danger" would be recognized as bad in any writer of less intrinsic greatness than George Eliot. If the order of words in a sentence makes it unpleasant to enunciate, something of the phonetic roughness is felt in reading silently. The hesitant and deliberate Parliamentary speaker would not stammer more than at other places, perhaps, when uttering such combinations as "additionally recognizable," but they are not pleasant either to the ear or the mind. George Eliot, however, takes the long, high-sounding sentence, characteristic of the present style of writing in England, and impregnates it in every part with meaning. It is no longer a vaporous way of saying common things in polysyllabic nouns, limited and weakened by polysyllabic qualifications; every word here enriches the sentence. One gets from such a sentence a feeling of completeness; the author is like the Greek temple-builder who artistically fills up all his space on pediment and metope with significant reliefs. Something of the same fullness one finds in Jeremy Taylor, but overlaid with a semi-barbaric abundance of ornament. To this complete fullness of significance in every word and line there is added in George Eliot a singular aptness in the choice of the very word needed. One might, by changing the gender of the unclassical Latin, apply to the author of "Theophrastus Such" Saint Augustine's commendation of Cicero, "*Ille verborum appensor ac mensor.*"

Wit in George Eliot is a subordinate quality. She uses it to carry the main point on which she is ever seriously intent. Her wit is of the intellectual order—not sought for mirth, but used as a means of enlightenment. One finds it commonly in a subordinate clause, where it seems to have occurred accidentally rather than to have been wrought with premeditation. In one of these essays, for example, the author alludes in a matter-of-course way to that "modern sect of Flagellants who make a ritual of lashing—not themselves, but all their neighbors." This is dropped after the sentence in which it occurs has achieved its purpose and spent its original force. It is only in a dependent clause, and in the midst of serious analysis, that one Lentulus is said to be "little gifted with the power of displaying his miscellaneous deficiency of information." So, too, *à propos* of one who is called an ass, the brute is defended in passing as an "intelligent and unpretending animal, who no doubt brays with perfect simplicity and substantial meaning to those acquainted with

his idiom." Of an educated man who has no decided preference for ideas or functions of his own, it is said that "his mind is furnished as hotels are, with everything for occasional and transient use." Americans will find ready application for the suggestion that habitual silence may pass for "administrative judiciousness," since a person who is always silent must often be "silent in the right place." And there is widespread and perpetual application for the saying that some minds seem "well glazed by nature against the admission of knowledge." A man hugging an illusion is said to be "well victualled and defended against a ten years' siege from ruthless facts."

There is so little of mirth or playfulness in this wit that one hesitates to call it by that name. Lack of lightness is the one most readily detected limitation of George Eliot's mind. The fable of "The Wasp credited with the Honeycomb" is a wearisome failure. For a fable demands a light and airy style, and this is told in sentences never light, and for their purpose often cumbrous. A fable should carry but one thought, and its whole momentum should be concentrated to give force to a single impression; our author overloads her fable until it is hard to recognize its central thought, and nothing is emphasized by it.

In gravity and large perception of moral issues, George Eliot reminds one of Wordsworth, albeit she is greater than Wordsworth. To this age of pure fiction the philosophical novelist is what the philosophical poet was to the preceding generation. And George Eliot is the finest example in literature of the great moral power of art where it is not used as a burden-bearer for cheap moralizing, but where it sees life and depicts life with an artistic feeling for its sublime moral relations.

When a new writer arrives who is indeed a new voice, and not a confused echo of voices already familiar, the first office of the critic is to ask what results characterize his work and by what methods he achieves his results or makes his impression. Mrs. Burnett, in her "That Lass o' Lowrie's," which appeared but a short time ago, and now again in "Haworth's," which has just been issued, has proved herself a distinctly new personality among our novel-writers. The veracity of her observation and the frankness and strength of her pictures of humble life give a raciness and vigor to her tales that are lacking in the paler and more refined work of some of our best American prose writers. For, though her two longer stories and some of the best of her shorter tales have to do

with Lancashire life, yet Mrs. Burnett's residence in this country will inevitably identify her with American rather than English literature. Even her handling of Lancashire life gains no doubt from her cisatlantic point of view, and some of her magazine stories have shown that she is capable of treating the ruder phases of American life with no less breadth than she shows in her Lancashire studies.

One may roughly classify novelists in two divisions: the first, those who excel in the portrayal of character; the second, those who depend chiefly on plot and dramatic incident for exciting interest. Fielding, Thackeray, and George Eliot, Walter Scott at his best, and Dickens in some sense, may be included in the first class, for instance. It is, in a word, the method of the very best writers of fiction to subordinate incident to the development and exhibition of character, and to make the interest of a situation depend on the quality of the person. It is a method impressed on English literature by Shakespeare himself, if it did not come down from Chaucer. The "storm and stress" school of romancers, represented by Reade and Collins, which seeks excitement chiefly in plot, is distinctly secondary and transient, notwithstanding the ability of some of the writers who are included in it. Applying this classification, which we have called a rough one, to Mrs. Burnett's "*Haworth's*," we should say that her best effects are produced by her character-study. Jem Haworth is a living reality to all her readers—a big, burly, vulgar, boastful, shrewd, indomitable man, who prefers perdition to failure, and whom one can not quite avoid liking. Briarley, "the poor misforchinit chap that's allus i' trouble," is very humorously and quietly set forth, while the sturdy little Janey is so well done that you would know her if you were to meet her in the street with a baby in her arms. The strength of Mrs. Burnett's gift for setting forth character is shown in the perfection with which she has done the whole Briarley group—the best drawn of any of the people in the story, though they have almost nothing at all to do with the plot, who could, indeed, one and all be dropped out of the story without seriously interfering with the development of its incidents. They have cost no pains, apparently, and there is barely an excuse for their existence in the slight relation they bear to the narrative, but the humor with which they are depicted diffuses a charm over the whole story. As often happens, the author has not been nearly so successful in those characters on which the greatest effort is expended. Rachel Ffrench is the weak point of the book. The Murdochs are better

than the Frenches, but the lowly characters are the best. Mrs. Burnett's imagination works in the direction and under the lead of her humor. But there is no ridicule in her treatment of humble life, and no vulgarity, but that cordial human sympathy that is most admirable in life and that gives the best results in art. Hawthorne's mother, for instance, is a delightful result of creative imagination working by sympathy.

We do not think that the author of "Hawthorne's" has yet reached her final methods of work. Her mode of developing her story and of revealing character in "Hawthorne's" is very remarkable. The narrative proceeds by emotion. Everything is pushed aside that does not contribute to the climaxes. The reader is carried from hill-top to hill-top, sometimes from crater to crater. There are advantages in this condensation. The eager novel-reader is borne along by the energy of the story; he shoots one set of rapids after another without giving time for his excitement to abate. But, if a sensational result is thus achieved, the artistic result is impaired. Nothing sets off the height of mountains better than an interval, and nothing makes a reader feel more keenly the force of passion than a period of repose. Nor is the passion in "Hawthorne's" always graduated to the occasion. And, in Mrs. Burnett's treatment of the passion of love, one could wish to see it kindle a little more by degrees, and have time to test its effects upon the admirably individualized people. With the growth of her powers, and with that skill and repose that come from practice, Mrs. Burnett will no doubt apply to the depiction of passion that nice sense of light and shade evinced in her delineation of character.

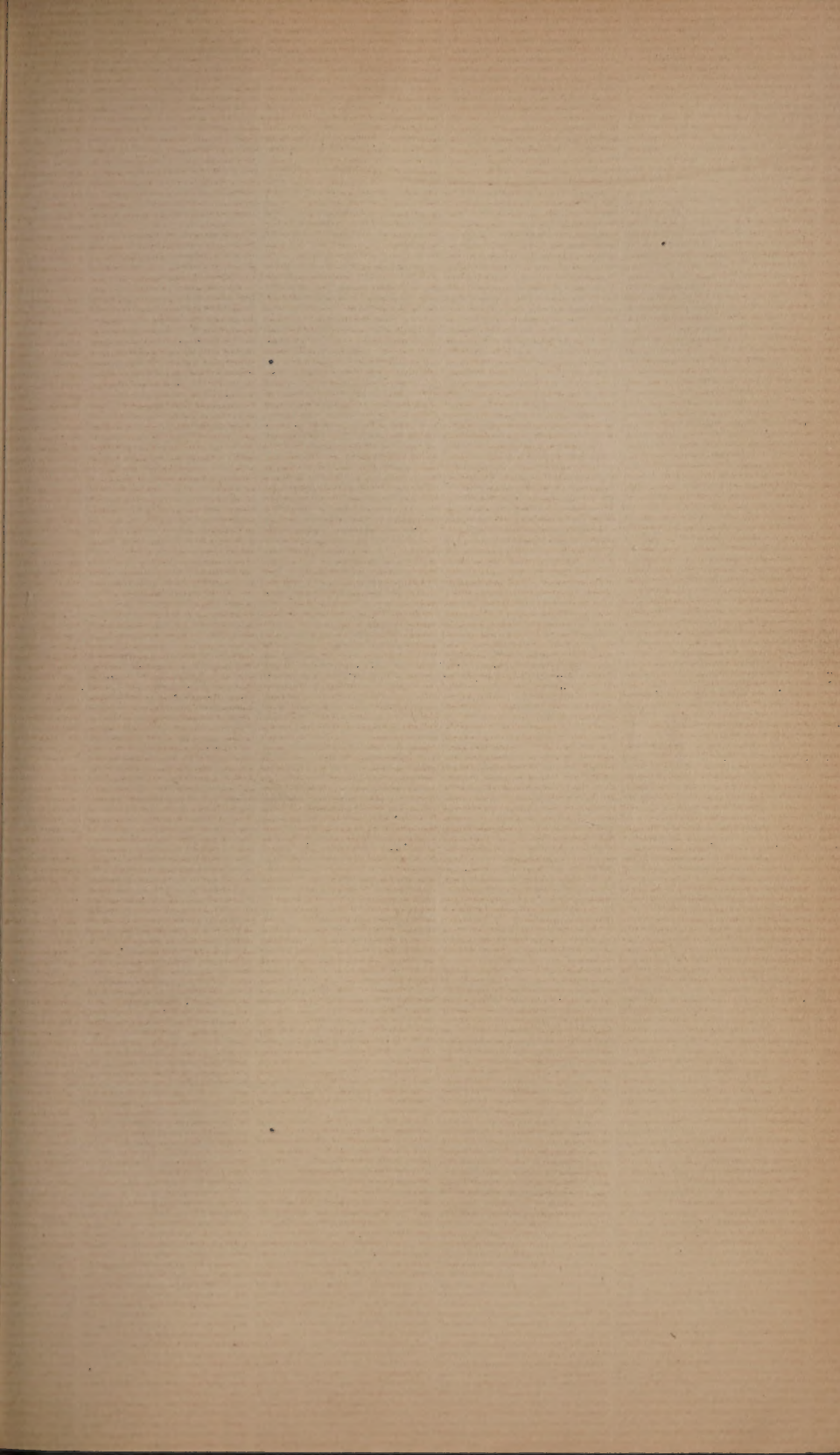
"Romance and poetry, ivy, lichens, and wall-flowers need ruin to make them grow." With these words and others like them Hawthorne excuses the location of his "Marble Faun" in Italy because of the lack of elements of romance in life on this side of the Atlantic. But Hawthorne was a prophet come upon the stage a little after his time, if such as he is ever out of time. He wrote romantic fiction in an age already tending to realism; he succeeded in making ghosts seem real after scientific habits of thought and the influences represented by Wordsworthian poetry had quite put ghosts out of countenance. One can hardly help looking on his plea in the preface to "The Marble Faun" as an excuse used unconsciously for a temporary purpose. No man knew better than the author of "The House of the Seven Gables" that even under the gray sky of Puritan New England there were elements out of which he had

himself wrought some of the finest romance. Unhappily, our literature, so far, has been for the most part a narrow stream of New England thought and feeling; Irving had, for a while, few successors in New York, and Poe no proper followers at the South. A country like ours is filled with the most various material for good novel-writing. There is surely no need for putting all the *dramatis personæ* of a story on shipboard and sailing them away to Europe in search of a background. That art is most fruitful, other things being equal, that roots itself in virgin soil. Very admirably have Mr. Howells and Mr. James helped us to national self-knowledge by their international stories, but we shall not have an American literature in the large sense until we learn to rejoice in the widely differing forms of human development shown on our own ground, and until we cease to apologize for our life, and proceed to refine it by the direct reaction of literature upon it. It is impossible to prognosticate the future of literary art; but, if richness and diversity of material were the only things needed, the American Republic ought to produce presently—when the copyright law shall have been changed, perhaps—an æsthetic literature of the most picturesque and catholic sort.

And one may hold it to be a pretty sure mark in a new writer of the individuality and robustness which endure in art, that he does not seek some country already hallowed by literary association, but resolutely undertakes to break a path for his art through the untrodden thicket of the life that immediately environs him. Such a writer, if we may judge from work so slight as his first collection of stories, is Mr. George W. Cable, of New Orleans. That he knows New Orleans thoroughly, and is to the manner born, one perceives at the first dash. That he knows something else than New Orleans, and so has that very necessary requisite, the fulcrum of an outside standpoint, is equally certain from the entire absence of local prejudice, and the gentle and joyous humor with which creole life is revealed to the outside world. These short stories have some of the faults of inexperience: there are a few rather improbable happenings in some of them, such as would be rejected by a more practiced writer, because an improbable incident, even though it be but the transcript of a fact, disturbs the reader's illusion. But in a world so new as that which is here revealed to literature—a world so rich in new elements of romance, with its contact of a Saxon with a Latin and of both with a black race; its families annihilated in epidemics, its children of lost parentage, its old aris-

ocracy, and its wild and picturesque forms of moral degradation—in such a world who shall say from without what is probable and what lacking in verisimilitude? And, in the important point of motive, the stories are never lacking, and never once strike a false note. Next to the correct and picturesque conception and delineation of character, the chief thing in story-writing is that the personages shall never break the law of their several natures, shall be evidently moved in all that they do by the natural action of adequate motive on their proper characters. It is here that the beginner in fiction most easily fails; it is here that Mr. Cable never falters. We have to complain of a little mistiness sometimes—the reader does not quite perceive how certain things have come to pass. This befogging of the reader by hiatuses is not a very worthy expedient, nor does it produce the most legitimate result. In “Posson Jone” and “Sieur George” the reader is like one guessing out a half-told riddle. But the life is finely idealized, the artistic spirit is through all distinctly dominant, the moral tone is thoroughly sane, there is a tropical richness of color, a Southern enjoyment of female beauty, a masterful handling of dialects with wonderful strokes of description. The “Café des Exilés,” for instance, makes a commonplace subject picturesque, and leaves an ineffaceable impression of place and character. All the stories have that indefinable something called charm. But they are all light—mere trials of the wing before flight. If the constructive power needed to organize a full-length composition exists in Mr. Cable, we shall have at his hands some day novels that will give a wholly new sort of life to American literature. One feels irresistibly that, where scenery, character, motive, and dialect are touched with so sure a hand, there is promise of important achievement.

EDWARD EGGLESTON.



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THE
NORTH AMERICAN
REVIEW.

DECEMBER, 1879.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCLXXVII.

DECEMBER, 1879.

I.

ROMANISM AND THE IRISH RACE IN THE UNITED STATES.

PART I.

THE forces which produce the most remarkable effects in this world work unseen and unthought of till the time comes for their operation to manifest itself. The fields remain bare and brown, the boughs of the forest-tree continue naked, while the seed is swelling in the soil and the sap is rising in the trunk: on a sudden, with the dawn of summer, the world reclothes itself with verdure. The transformation, long preparing in secret, breaks upon us when it comes with a suddenness which would appear like enchantment, if custom had not taught us to look for it. The phenomena of human life are the result of causes similarly and secretly active. The world-spirit is for ever busy in its workshop, out of sight and forgotten, but no custom will serve us here to enable us to forecast what is coming. Nature never repeats herself, and out of the infinite variety of materials is for ever throwing out something new, something startling, something utterly unlooked for. The Buddhist religion, the Christian religion, the Mohammedan religion, the Reformation, the French Revolution, all changed the face of society, but all took mankind by surprise. We can partially account for such manifestations—or we think we can

account for them—after they have become facts ; but our insight into the spiritual forces which rule our fortunes is far too imperfect to enable us to make a guess of what may lie before us, and to those who seriously observe the course of human history no proverb seems better founded than that which tells us that “nothing is certain but the unforeseen.” Reason is without generalizations from which to argue. Each generation of us is as if it had grown up in a single season—winter or summer, as the case may be ; past experience throws no light on the fruit which it will produce. The seasons will change. They are always changing and altering the aspect of everything, but they do not change in the same order, and fact, as it evolves itself, delights in baffling our calculations.

America is the land of wonders. From forty million Europeans thrown into a vast virgin continent, with the arts and sciences, the accumulated knowledge and experience of all antecedent time, we may naturally look for surprises. There, unconstrained by traditions and superstitions, new ideas can organize themselves, and that under such conditions phenomena should rise which had never been seen before is no more than what reason would have expected. What no one would or could have expected is, that in America, of all countries, a creed which in the Old World a century ago was universally supposed to be worn out and done with, should have been precisely the one which has taken root there most firmly and is growing with the most amazing rapidity. A prophet, who had foretold at the time of the Declaration of Independence that within a century the Roman Catholics would be the largest single religious community in the United States, would have deserved a place in a lunatic asylum, so absurd such an anticipation would have seemed. Mormonism might have appeared unlikely, Socialism might have appeared unlikely ; it would have been distressing to expect a resurrection of a belief in magic under the contemptible aspect of Spiritualism. Yet no one who understood the erratic capabilities of man's nature would have said that either of these extravagances was entirely impossible. That in New York and New England, the chosen home of Calvinism and Puritanism, the woman of the seven hills should have set up her standard, and that American citizens would be gathered round it in millions, would have seemed an hypothesis so wild, that every man or woman with ordinary sense would have agreed that it could not be. Yet this extraordinary fact has literally come to pass, and the dream of the Ultramontanes, that the Pope will soon exercise as complete an authority in the

United States as Gregory VII. ever exercised in Europe, is scarcely more preposterous or impossible of realization than the state of things which actually exists would have seemed to the grandfathers of the present generation.

In 1785 there was one Roman Catholic bishop in the United States, with fifty priests and twelve churches. The Roman Catholic population was French or Spanish. They had neither school, college, convent, nor monastery. They were declining in numbers or were being absorbed in the preponderating Anglo-Saxon element. In 1879 the number of Catholics is six millions and a half. They have sixty-three bishops, five thousand seven hundred and fifty priests, five thousand five hundred and eighty-nine churches, five hundred convents, seven hundred colleges, seminaries, and academies, and nearly two thousand parish schools. The rate of increase is still rising, flocks and pastors having more than doubled in the last twenty years. The chief explanation is the immigration of Irish peasantry, which began on a large scale in 1866-'67. The Irish who were in America before the potato-famine were chiefly Presbyterians from the north, part of the Protestant colony which had been planted by Cromwell. They were worth their weight in gold to Ireland, if it was for Ireland's interest to become a Protestant country. But they were too sturdy and independent to please the bishops and land-owners of the Established Church. They were persecuted away and went to New England, where they paid their debt with interest to the old country at Lexington and Bunker Hill.

Folly and misgovernment sent the Irish Presbyterians to America. The famine sent the Celtic peasantry thither in ten times larger numbers. They, too, when they went, supposed that they had to thank England for their banishment. So scandalously had Ireland been treated, that the people not unnaturally set down whatever they suffered at England's door. That they would carry with them the old hostility to England, as their Protestant fellow countrymen had done, was probable enough. That their religion would survive the change was expected by no one. Their own clergy dreaded the effect upon them of contact with American liberty. The Americans themselves thought that they could absorb and assimilate these ignorant millions of ragged wretches as easily as a shoal of sprats are swallowed and digested by a whale. "How long does it take," I once asked a distinguished gentleman at New York, "to make an Irishman into an American?" "How long?" he said; "h'm! well, about half an hour." The answer, unfortunately, was

more epigrammatic than true. He went on to explain that they would be scattered over a vast extent of country, where their priests could not follow them—a man could not remain a Roman Catholic to any purpose without priest, sacrament, or chapel—if the parents continued, for their own lifetime, to pray to the Virgin and the saints, the American schoolmaster would take care to enlighten their children.

In this as in some other points the fine confidence of the Americans in the effect of their institutions has been disappointed. The Irish peasant has suffered so long for his religion that it is in the granules of his blood. Roman Catholicism, which grew sick and stagnant in power and prosperity, has in Ireland been braced into vigor by calamity. Like the mythological monster, it has been in contact with the hard soil of fact, and has gathered fresh life from it. With an energy infinitely creditable to them, when they reached the New World, the Irish clergy and people set themselves to meet their new circumstances. There was money in plenty. The old six-pence-a-day wages of Ireland was turned into as many shillings, and out of the shillings the Irish boys and girls parted cheerfully with as many as were needed for a faith which was a second nature to them. Thousands, perhaps tens of thousands, were lost at first in the huge cities of the enormous continent, but the Church soon overtook its straying sheep. It watched over their marriages: the Irish in America marry wholly among themselves and within their own creed. It kept its hold on the children, and furnished them with antidotes to correct the poison of the secular schools. The lapses from the faith, once relatively large, have now wholly ceased, and after thirty years the Roman Catholic body is the largest, strongest, and wealthiest in the Union; its members are the most perfectly organized, and the most completely obedient to their spiritual chiefs. The immigration from Ireland has almost ceased. It has been checked in part by the rise of wages at home; other causes must be at work also, which are not understood; for the population of the island, once so extremely prolific, does not tend any more to an increase at home, and either children are no longer born there in the same proportion, or the drift is directed into the English towns and colonies, to carry on the propagandism elsewhere. But the Irish in America are now independent of additions from without. There are already six millions of them. They preserve the abstinence from sexual vice which distinguishes them so honorably at home, and this is favorable to large families. If they go on growing as

they have grown for the last twenty years, there will be twelve millions at the end of the century.

Surely a singular phenomenon ! At the accession of the house of Hanover, there were scarcely eight hundred thousand Irish Celts in existence, all told, and those a poor, trampled, and despised people—savages so abject that Dean Swift regarded them as natural-born hewers of wood and drawers of water, for whose speedy extinction a wise legislation had provided. These Celts are now virtual masters of their own country : they turn the elections in the great English cities ; they are a weighty element in the English colonies ; while in the New World they have expanded into a nation, separate in blood, separate in religion, as little likely to merge in the old race of republican Americans as the parent stock at home is likely to assimilate with the British, yet grafted in upon the American Constitution, to bear its own fruit there for good or evil.

For Great Britain, it is fortunate that the Irish emigrants have been thus steady to their faith. The Irish nationality, like the Jewish, is bound up with its religion, and stands or falls with it. Had the Irish who crossed the Atlantic merged, as they were expected to do, in American society, they would have strengthened the old feeling of enmity to the mother-country, and Irish disaffection at home would have looked for encouragement and help to the United States, as in 1798 it looked to France, and in the sixteenth century to Spain. The Roman Catholic religion, happily, has prevented a fusion which would have been so dangerous. If not incompatible with republican institutions, it is uncongenial with them. The Irish race the other side of the Atlantic remains as separate from the Anglo-Saxon as it is at home, and, instead of the Americans being infected with the Irish ill will toward Great Britain, they have themselves an Irish problem of their own, which is becoming seriously perplexing. It seems hard to say that a man is a worse citizen because he is earnest in his religious belief, because he adheres tenaciously to an old and respectable creed, which insists on morality and the ten commandments. That religion, unfortunately, is by its own choice at war with every other, and the American Constitution is the political expression of the principles which the Pope has violently condemned. The theory of the republic is, that all men are free ; that each citizen is capable of taking care of his own interests, temporal and eternal ; that, so long as he does no practical wrong to others, he has a right to go his own way, to worship under his own forms, to speak his own thoughts, and to have a voice in the general management.

The Syllabus says that men are not free ; that they are not capable of taking care of themselves ; that the laity, in the most important matters, must be guided and governed by the clergy ; that the press ought to be under a censorship ; that, the Catholic religion being true, all others are false, and therefore ought not to be tolerated.

We agree that the spiritual part of man ought to rule the material : the question is, where the spiritual part of man resides. The Protestant answers, that it is in the individual conscience and reason ; the Catholic says that it is in the Church, and that it speaks through bishops and priests. Thus, every true Catholic is bound to think and act as his priest tells him, and a republic of true Catholics becomes a theocracy administered by the clergy. It is only as long as they are a small minority that they can be loyal subjects under such a Constitution as the American. As their numbers grow, they will assert their principles more and more. Give them the power, and the Constitution will be gone. A Catholic majority, under spiritual direction, will forbid liberty of worship, and will try to forbid liberty of conscience. It will control education ; it will put the press under surveillance ; it will punish opposition with excommunication, and excommunication will be attended with civil disabilities. That it will try to do all this, as long as it accepts the Ultramontane theory which at present passes current, is as certain as mathematics. It tried before, in the dark ages ; it will try again in the age of enlightenment. Doubtless, were things ever to come to such a pass, the laity would discover—as they discovered before—that they had rights as well as the clergy ; and that they understood earthly matters better than the clergy. The state would again tie up the bishops and priests with fresh statutes of *præmunire*. The bishops would have to be content with half the loaf, instead of the whole of it, to save their “temporalities.” But the battle could not be fought under the forms of the American Republic. The republic can only subsist while the citizens are individually independent, and, against a disciplined and coherent spiritual organization, a secular organization as stable as itself can alone contend successfully. To the republic as it stands, the Catholic system is a direct menace. Men must be judged by their professions. Free governments, in the New World and in the Old, stand face to face with a system which denies the axioms on which they rest—a system theoretically complete, aggressive, and successful ; a growing nucleus in a universe of atoms ; a compact body in the midst of divided

interests and contending opinions ; challenging a toleration which it contemptuously refuses ; and availing itself of the opportunities which liberty allows it, to set its foot on liberty itself. M. Louis Veuillot said, in the Chamber of Deputies to the Republicans : " We claim liberty from you, when you are in power, because it is your principle ; when we are in power, we refuse liberty to you, because it is not our principle." No wonder that modern governments look with alarm at the specter which has thus appeared among them. The Ultramontane theory can not itself triumph ; but it can make an end of hustings and ballot-box. It may win its way to a position where, if it can maintain itself, it will be fatal to intellectual freedom, yet from which we shall be unable to drive it without recourse to methods which we hoped that we had outgrown.

The growth of the Irish element has, for some time, disturbed the minds of the Americans. They have absorbed a substance which they have been unable to assimilate, and it interferes with their digestion. A religion, to which the Irish vote has given power and consequence, can already turn the scale among their political parties. It is out of harmony with their institutions, and affects, in a way that no one could have looked for, their relations with the adjoining transatlantic states. The Anglo-Americans are the leading power in the New World ; they claim a right to forbid the interference of European governments in any part of the American Continent ; they have asserted a *quasi* protectorate from the Canadian frontier to the Isthmus of Darien ; they have regarded Canada itself as virtually belonging to them ; although they have been content that it should remain, in name, a British dependency till it desires for itself to enter the Union ; but it has been a point of patriotic belief that not the Canadian Dominion only, but Mexico, and Central America, and San Domingo, and Cuba, and the other islands, will eventually gravitate into one body with them, at no distant time. And they are now confronted with the unpleasant fact that the Catholicism, which they have already so much cause to fear, is, in all these countries, overwhelmingly predominant. In the British Provinces there are two million Catholics ; in Spanish America and the islands there are forty millions ; and further annexation wears a less attractive aspect when the effect must be to swell the numbers which are already within their own borders.

It has been the fashion of statesmen to assume that the time has gone by when religion can have a practical influence on politics.



The Americans are light-hearted, confident in themselves and in their principles, and, till lately, they have laughed at the idea that Romanism can be a real danger to them. The New-Yorkers are vain of their new cathedral. They have had a pride in feeling that American energy can put so much life into the oldest of the Old World superstitions. But already, in a vital point, the shoe which they have made for themselves is pinching them. If there is one thing which they are prouder of than another, it is their national schools. The Roman Catholics do not like these schools; they insist on educating their own children; they intend, if they can, to apply the education rate to a denominational purpose; and in New York, and possibly in Boston itself, their numbers give them a chance of success. Nor is this the worst. In America, as in England and Scotland, they are making converts out of the Protestant communions. Weak, imaginative people, disturbed by theological controversies, are imposed on by the pretensions of a Church which sits so calmly in the midst of the confusion, and claims exclusive possession of truth. The attraction of bodies is in proportion to their mass, and a community of seven millions with a single heart and purpose works irresistibly upon floating units which want force to make an orbit for themselves. That an educated American Protestant should, at this time of day, run his head into the sand, and call himself a Catholic, is sufficiently absurd; but the ridiculous has its tragic side, and, however assured we may feel of the ultimate result, no one can say what may happen meanwhile.

A note of alarm has been sounded; not by a theological controversialist, but by a moderate and sensible man of the world. A book has just been published, in New York, on the condition of "Roman Catholicism in the United States." It is anonymous, which is in itself an instructive little fact. No public man in the United States likes to provoke the animosity of a party which is so powerful in the Eastern cities. The attitude is one of astonishment and perplexity. "The Church of Rome," the writer says, "is the avowed antagonist of those principles which we wisely regard as the safeguards of freedom and intellectual development"; yet he sees it rising like an exhalation from a morass, and spreading over the whole face of the country, with a rapidity which makes him almost regret the impossibility of using such methods of repression as commend themselves to Dr. Falk and Prince Bismarck, or M. Jules Ferry.

"We have never," he says, "been brought face to face, as Euro-

pean governments have been, with the enormous and overshadowing pretensions of Roman Catholicism ; but the temporary exemption does not warrant us in supposing that there is any dissimilarity between the conditions which govern Romanism in Europe and the conditions which govern Romanism in this country. Here, as in Europe, there is the inherent antagonism between Romanism and Protestantism, which must inevitably produce its results." The free American citizen, "who was never in bondage to any man," is claimed as the subject of an Italian priest. The duty of submission to him is preached openly by the press ; and, strange to say, in republican America no one is offended at language which would be forbidden in Paris, or even in Rome itself. In a New York paper, a Catholic tells his countrymen, that "the people need governing, and must be governed ; they must have a master ; and, in this sense, we wish this country to come under the Pope." The Americans generally had believed the Union to be "the greatest thing" which had yet been seen on this planet ; they are informed that "the Church is more than country, and fealty to the creed which God teaches through her is more than patriotism." Protestants must tolerate Catholics, but Catholics must not tolerate Protestants. "The Church is in possession of absolute truth ; she alone has the right to be, she alone must be intolerant."

Language of this kind is permitted in the New World because of its absurdity. Fools are allowed to talk as they please ; their talk can do no harm. America has solved the problem of self-government. "America represents a principle which places her in the vanguard of civilization and progress." The ravings of Ultramontane fanatics she can afford to laugh at. In that vast seething caldron of humanity a few thousand priests and their flocks may be thrown in among the other ingredients, "to make the gruel thick and slab" ; but, to suppose that these Old World extravagances can seriously affect the fortunes of the Great Republic, is to suppose that the rivers can run upward to their fountains, or the seasons turn back upon their courses. So Americans have thought hitherto ; and so many of them think still. But the figures in the census startle them. They see that "the enthronement of Romanism means the dethronement of liberty" ; that "if America does not conquer Romanism, Romanism will certainly conquer her" ; and that the issue is less certain than they had, in their fancied security, believed. Compromise is impossible. A republican form of government implies freedom and self-reliance ; and freedom and self-

reliance are extinguished in Romanism, as a flame goes out in carbonic acid. The Jesuits are shrewd in their generation. The Jesuits say that "the most glorious enterprise for the Church to engage in is the conversion of the United States"; and they not only think the conquest possible, but they are confident of success. The American eagle may scream—"there are times when the American eagle screeches itself hoarse in proclaiming the greatness of the nation"; but "neither screech of eagle nor strut of peacock" will avail against a danger which is actually present. Providence, of course, will watch over her cherished darling. America will be saved somehow. But Providence "is apt to be on the side of the strong battalions." Protestantism, disorganized and disunited, fights at frightful disadvantage against the homogeneous Roman army.

"It is the quintessence of imbecility," this anonymous writer says, "to allow a system so vast and dangerous to pursue its career of conquest unchallenged. If Romanism is essentially opposed to the welfare of American institutions, our duty is clear and imperative."

To speak in the Old World of an imperative duty in the face of an acknowledged danger would mean something serious. It would imply that the enemy was to be taken by the throat. An American, unfortunately, can set no such rigorous purpose before him. The course which is so plain and imperative is only, it seems, to scream, after all, to reiterate the indisputable truth that America is the chief representative of the "liberty, progress, and civilization," with which the Pope, in the Syllabus, refuses to reconcile himself, that Rome "is the enemy of liberty and culture"; and that the modern ideas which she will not accept "are the expression of the mind's best energies blossoming under the sunshine of intellectual freedom and spiritual liberty"; that "Romanism impedes the cause of progress, while Protestantism moves forward like Alexander, seeking new worlds to conquer"; and that "America is what she is because she represents, in an advanced form, certain principles which have always been in harmony with the unfolding powers of the human mind, no less than the progressive instincts of humanity."

Most important all this, but too vague for its purpose; for the impatient mind will still ask, To what end are mankind moving? "Progress!" but progress whither? "Liberty!" But what use is to be made of it? what aim are we to set before ourselves? It

is exactly by these undefined commonplaces that the wearied man, to whom life is an earnest thing, who believes that he has been placed in this world, not to exercise his rights, but to learn his duty and to do it, is driven back upon a system which at least knows what it is about. Men can not live on bottled moonshine, or feed on fractions whose denominator is nothing. Modern civilization builds fine cities and houses, and constructs railways, and sends the lightning on its messages. It outdoes Ariel, and puts a girdle round the globe in less than the forty minutes of Prospero's "familiar"; but, when the ordinary human being inquires to what purpose his powers are to be directed—what moral code, for the guidance of his own action, the civilization provides him, with which the Pope declines to reconcile himself—the only answer is, that he is to make money and improve his circumstances; and he knows that he is meant for something better, and turns away in disgust. If this is all which civilization means, he will take the Pope in preference.

The believer in progress is exasperated. He feels that he is following truth, and truth, he is assured, will lead him in time to ampler fields of spiritual knowledge. The reaction into Romanism is anachronism and blasphemy. He can not prevent it, but he can not look upon it without indignation.

"The principles of liberty may forbid that the Roman Catholics shall be refused the same privileges which are allowed to others"; but he says, "Neither liberty, equality, nor justice requires that Roman Catholicism shall be permitted to pursue its insidious methods of attack unchallenged." It is one thing to allow to all men the right to choose any religion they please; it is quite another thing to allow a Church, as dangerous and powerful as the Church of Rome, to sow the seeds of dissolution and destruction, without doing something to check the "evil in its stages of incipency." Doing something! But what is the something which is to be done? A hint is dropped that "a debased and irresponsible suffrage" may have to do with the mischief. The Roman Catholic peasantry, who have flowed over into America, are poor, ignorant creatures, who care nothing for the Constitution, whose interests, so far as they have any, are in Ireland and in their creed, and who vote as their priests direct them. Why should such voices be allowed to exercise a preponderating influence in the American nation? But the thought is not followed out. "Universal suffrage" just now is the American sovereign: it is surrounded with

the sacred awe which belongs to imperial majesty, and even to breathe a word against it is treason. The remedy has still to be found, and the writer can but prolong and reiterate the note of alarm.

"Should Romanism succeed in making a sufficient number of converts among the educated classes to give it a controlling power, we may indeed have fewer discords and fewer anxieties on the deeper questions of human existence and human destiny, but we should exchange the activity of life for the stillness of death and the silence of the grave." Americans, he says, must not persecute the Roman Catholics, but they must recognize the incompatibility of the Roman Catholic creed with American institutions. They must realize the intimate connection between the liberty of thought which Protestantism contends for and the spirit of freedom which their Government represents. There is no reason to suppose that the rulers of the Roman Catholic Church regret the tyranny and intolerance with which they fought to retain the dominion which they once possessed. "Intolerance, persecution, and immobility are component parts of their system. Everything which conflicts with the all-embracing claims of the Papacy is denounced as emanating from the powers of darkness and the gates of hell."

If it be asked to what purpose are such protests, "if it be unwise and unjust to attempt forcible resistance?" "the question proves how general is the confusion in regard to some of the most important functions of citizenship. We can not remedy the evil by resorting to repressive measures. Repressive measures defeat themselves and can not be recommended. But the American who is proud of his country, and believes in the institutions which have made it great, perceives that Romanism is as inconsistent with a republican form of government as slavery was. It must be encountered with a renewal of Protestant energy and the robustness of thought which that energy produces. We must reply by intelligent firmness appealing to the higher forms of patriotism. By kindling a healthy sentiment we may render unnecessary those legislative measures which other nations have found it advisable to adopt."

The allusion to slavery in this passage is extremely significant. The Americans are thoroughgoing when they are roused. The civil war showed what they would do if their country or their principles were really in danger, and, if the progress of Romanism creates difficulties with which the Constitution can not deal, they will not sacrifice realities to scruples of form. A Falk law in the last extremity



may not be impossible, if all else fails to check the growth of a religion which strikes at the foundations of the state. If Romanism becomes strong enough to command a majority at any important local center the crisis will arrive, because the Constitution insists on the equality of all creeds before the law, and a conscientious Catholic knows no laws save those which the Church has sanctioned.

"The Constitution of the United States," this writer goes on, "repudiates the idea of an established religion; yet the Pope tells us that this is a violation of God's law; that by that law the Roman Catholic religion should be made exclusive, and the Roman Catholic Church, acting alone through him, should have supreme authority, not only over individuals, but over nations, peoples, and sovereigns. The Constitution guarantees liberty of speech and of the press. The Pope says this is the liberty of perdition, and should not be tolerated. The Constitution requires all the people and all the churches to obey the laws of the United States. The Pope anathematizes this provision, because it requires the Roman Catholic Church to pay the same obedience to the law which is paid by the Protestant Churches. The Constitution subordinates all churches to the civil power, except in matters of faith and discipline. The Pope declares this to be heresy, because God has commanded all governments to be subordinate to the Roman Catholic Church. The Constitution repudiates royal powers. The Pope proclaims that the world must be governed by royal power, that it may protect the Roman Catholic Church to the exclusion of other Churches. The Constitution allows the free circulation of the Bible, and the right of private judgment in interpreting it. The Pope says that the Catholic Church is the only living authority which has the right to interpret it, and that its interpretation should be the only one allowed. . . . Given a continuance of the opportunities which now exist in consequence of our drowsiness and indifference, and who shall say that there may not come a time when the empire of ecclesiastical Rome shall flourish over the ruins of the fairest and most promising republic that ever existed?"

The first principle of the republic is that the majority of the whole country shall rule. If the Church of Rome can really convert a majority of the American people, either the principle will have to be set aside or the Church will be within its right in ordering matters as it pleases. We know very little of the conditions of intellectual energy. In the past history of mankind it has been intermittent. Periods of activity and progress have alternated with

periods of rest, as if the mind was like the soil, which requires a respite of stagnation to recover from an exhausting crop. It is possible, it is even likely, that the appetite for change which has characterized the last century may be followed by a wave of spiritual and political conservatism, that science will pause for a while in its discoveries, and that our new knowledge may be allowed time to shape itself into a form with some humanity in it. Even then, however, it is hard to believe that conservatism anywhere in modern society can take the form of Romanism. Before Romanism can become dominant the question will have to be fought out with bullets instead of with balloting-papers; and though the zeal of the converts is hot enough to build churches and monasteries, and produce libraries full of sentimental theological literature, we doubt whether it is of the sort that would figure respectably on a battle-field. If we are to lie quiet for a generation or two, it must be on some more substantial basis than a revived enthusiasm for the Virgin Mary. But that the alarm should have risen among our cousins in the United States—that among them, of all peoples, who are

“The heirs of all the ages in the foremost files of time,”

intelligent persons can be found who are really afraid of what may lie before them—is at least remarkable, and gives us a kind of melancholy satisfaction. The Americans, too, are but mortals after all, subject to the same diseases which afflict the worn-out races of the Old World, and they may draw closer to us in the common trial. To us, in Europe, the face of the enemy is only too familiar. We know what he is; we know his nature, and that he is not to be exorcised by fine speeches. “Shrink to the clergy,” said Thomas Cromwell, “and they be lions. Lay their faults roundly to them and they be as sheep, and will lightly be reformed.” This is “the healthy sentiment,” “the intelligent firmness,” which needs revival. This is the tone in which Protestant energy would speak if it was really rekindled. But the rekindling is not so easy. The flame has died down and the new fuel is green. Protestantism once meant abhorrence of falsehood. It now means the right of every man to have his own opinion about religion, whether false or true, and enthusiasm for such a right as this will hardly blaze into a serious conflagration. False opinions about religion imply false opinions about human duty. If human duty is ill done, unpleasant consequences follow, and in time we shall come round again to the convictions of our fathers: we shall feel with them that it is better to

die than to take up with lies in such matters. But ages of hard experience lie ahead of us before we shall have learned our lesson, and, till we have learned it, we can not speak to the Catholic clergy as Cromwell spoke. They know what they mean ; we do not know what we mean ; and modern Protestantism will and must fight a losing battle against a communion which professes to value truth and claims to teach it, till it has some truth of its own to insist upon.

The Catholic revival is a fact, and it will serve, among other purposes, to clear our minds on the real meaning of modern self-government. We speak of self-government as if it was a discovery of an eternal principle, a grand triumph of political sagacity. It is in fact no principle at all, but a phenomenon, like other institutions, essentially temporary, which has grown out of a particular state of things, and is adapted to the prevailing condition of human society. We all admit that particular races, the Asiatics for instance, are not yet fit for it. We interpret their incapacity by assuming that they are not sufficiently advanced on the road to perfection. Quite possibly these peoples may never advance along that road, and have no need to advance. All men require to be governed, either by themselves or others. There is a baser nature in every one of us which must be restrained in some way, and self-government is only possible among nations who have been broken by long habit into respect for law and order. Republics have invariably risen only among races which have gone on for centuries under wise authority, the masses obeying their rulers, the rulers obeying, or recognizing and professing to obey, an invisible Master in heaven, to whom all sorts, governors and governed alike, look up as supreme. Gradually the invisible Master becomes problematic. Kings, bishops, clergy, lords, magistrates, leading traders, and heads of guilds are demoralized by power and wealth. They abuse their authority for their own advantage. If the people have more faith than their masters, they shake them off as the first Protestants and Puritans shook off the bishops, and choose others in their places. If, as in these days of ours, self-advancement becomes the ruling principle in all classes alike, then no one can be trusted with authority at all. Each individual, high or low, thinks only of his own interest. He will use every opportunity which is allowed him of benefiting himself to his inferiors' disadvantage. Gradation and degree lose their meaning. The difference between man and man becomes a difference merely of strength or intelligence, and they are morally on the same

level. Authority, therefore, is reduced to a minimum. All men are declared to be equal, and to have equal rights in the commonwealth, and no one is allowed to interfere with his neighbor beyond the narrow limits of the prevention of violence and fraud. Thus we arrive at the modern notion of liberty, and it will continue as long as the majority of people retain enough of the ancient respect for morality to be able to resist temptations, and, under certain conditions, would rather suffer loss and inconvenience than do what they know to be wrong.

But liberty begets a temptation to abuse it. Sense of responsibility becomes evanescent when there is no court, either in heaven or earth, where a man is convinced in his heart that he will be called to answer for himself. Where each person is left to his own guidance, and the only object which he is taught to set before himself is the bettering of his own condition, a society so constituted becomes eaten into, necessarily, by a thousand forms of corruption. To make money becomes at best its highest aspiration. Those who fail to make money grow discontented, and those who make it find that it does not satisfy them. They remember that they have souls, and at once the foundations are threatened on which the existing state of things is built up. Let a creed arise taking possession of the masses—any strong spiritual conviction of new truth, or even an old superstition, which distaste for progress has brought to life—and the right of every man to think and do as he pleases at once disappears. A real belief is necessarily intolerant. Let us feel absolutely certain that particular actions are wrong, and particular opinions false and destructive, and only want of power will prevent us from prohibiting them. If the majority is against us we shall resist the majority, we shall recognize no more sacredness in a majority than in an hereditary king. We shall fight, and lose our lives if necessary in the conflict, till the truth of which we are convinced is made supreme.

Constitutional government, in England and America, implies that each individual is capable of thinking for himself, and ought to think for himself. When individuals combine for a sacred purpose, they cease to think for themselves. From their first beginning they are antagonistic to a mode of government which rests on compromise. When they become predominant they are fatal to it.

This it is which makes the future of mankind so uncertain. So long as men are governed by material interests, their action may be calculated on. But the forces which rule the evolution of humanity

are not mechanical but vital. They are born of the spirit, coming we know not whence and bearing us we know not whither. They seize hold of us, and subdue us, and model us, as the seed growing out of the soil seizes the surrounding air and fashions it by its own laws into stem and leaves, and flower and fruit. The Catholic religion is an organic force of this kind, which, after all that has passed, still retains some sparks of fire in its embers. Weary of running after mere dollars, weary of the misuse of the word which calls dollars *wealth*, finding their moral stature dwarfed, their art and poetry made sordid and vulgar, their religion a jargon of contending opinions, mankind are everywhere looking about them uneasily for something better. The Catholic Church stands ready with its code of duties and its formulas of faith—formulas which were once coextensive with Christendom. They wish to remain Christians. The Church says that it, and it alone, is Christianity. Protestantism has veiled its crest, and no longer even professes to interfere with conduct at all, and, wearied with its confusions and ineffectualities, many amiable persons are inclined to take the Church at its word. That the Church has refused to fraternize with the modern spirit is no longer its crime but its credential; and it can be encountered only by spiritual convictions of the same nature as itself which face it on its own ground. Better to believe in the Virgin Mary and the saints than in the almighty dollar on week-days, and on Sundays in a religion which has no rule of life to offer, and rattles in its old dress like a shriveled kernel of a nut in a shell too large for it. There is nothing to be surprised at in this. A man's life does not consist in the abundance of the things which he possesses. He must set some higher ambition before himself if existence is to continue tolerable. This ambition Protestantism has failed to satisfy, and he turns back in despair to the old community which his fathers deserted.

Protestantism has failed. It is a hard saying. Protestantism when it began was a revolt against lies. It was a fierce declaration that men would no longer pretend to believe what in their hearts they did not and could not believe. In this sense Protestantism has not failed, and can never fail as long as there is an honest man left upon the globe. But we can not live upon negations; we must have convictions of a positive sort, if our voyage through earthly existence is to be an honorable and successful one. And no Protestant community has ever succeeded in laying down a chart of human life with any definite sailing directions. In every corner of the world

there is the same phenomenon of the decay of established religions. In Catholic countries as well as in Protestant, nay, among Mohammedans, Jews, Buddhists, Brahmans, traditionary creeds are losing their hold. An intellectual revolution is sweeping over the world, breaking down established opinions, dissolving the foundations on which historical faiths have been built up. Science, history, philosophy, have combined to create universal uncertainty, and Catholic France and Italy are no better off in this respect than Germany or England or America. Yet Christianity retains a powerful hold, especially over the Anglo-Saxon race. When positive reasoning fails, a conclusion may be established by proving that the absurdity of its contradictory and destructive criticism has been pushed to a point where it issues in what our instincts reject. Modern skepticism has been arrived at by the application of those principles of reason which were appealed to at the Reformation to liberate us from Rome. If it leads to something which we feel to be incredible, the whole process is discredited from the beginning. The average Englishman and American is not philosophic, but he is constitutionally reverent. That Christianity in some shape is true, his innermost conscience assures him. He knows the weak points of the forms of it in which he has been brought up. With the weak points of Catholicism he has not the same acquaintance, and, when Rationalism tells him to abandon Christianity, he replies by falling back into the Roman communion.

Among the men of the middle classes the movement has not gone far. They are too busy for speculation. There are few infidels among them, and therefore few Romanists. The conversions in England have been chiefly among peers, women, and clergy; and among them, perhaps, they would have been less heard of, and there might have been no conversion at all, had not political causes coöperated with the intellectual; and thus we come round again to the Irish question with which our article began.

JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE.

II.

YOUNG MEN IN POLITICS.

It is to be feared that we are not self-deceived in the opinion entertained generally, by those advanced in life, that young men of culture and ability are less disposed than formerly to accept either the honors or duties of public station. This indisposition is not to be attributed to an excess of modesty nor to a want of courage ; and it is the purpose of this paper to expose some of the prevalent errors concerning the conduct of public affairs, and the responsibilities and duties of those who take a leading part in giving direction to them.

Many causes and circumstances, some of them natural and proper, and others wholly artificial, have contributed to a public sentiment to which the young submit themselves more readily than others.

First of all are the inducements to enter upon other pursuits. The development of the country, of which the telegraph and the railway are at once the instruments and the evidence, has opened to the young many avenues to business and wealth which were unknown to former generations. A railway manager, or an expert in practical and scientific mining, can command a larger salary than is awarded to the chief officers of the Government at home or abroad. Manufactures and trade often yield large returns, and the exposures, trials, and dangers are thought to be less even than in the walks of politics and government ; while the professions of law and medicine offer each year increasing temptations in fame and pecuniary rewards. To be sure, the great prizes are few in every walk and pursuit, but the estimated magnitude and value of the chief prize in each measures generally the number of aspirants. If this is the only view to be taken, it is unreasonable to expect young men of learning and ability to enter the public service. It is probable, moreover, that many are deterred from the thought even of engaging in politics by the circumstance that but few escape calum-

nies, many of which in the end are shown to have been unjust, and that the exalted in place are the most exposed. Nothing of this can be denied, and it is difficult to promise that it will ever be otherwise, or to suggest any adequate compensation to the subjects of such injustice. It is poor consolation to say that so it has always been ; that so it was in Greece, in Rome, in England, in the United States even when Washington served in the field and presided in the Cabinet. As far as statements affecting unfavorably the personal or official character of public men are true, the victims are not entitled to defense or sympathy. But false statements disappear—no one can tell why or how. They linger for a time, they annoy, they disturb, but the innocent can await with composure and confidence the vindication which time will surely bring. Moreover, the people are both wise and just. They wait for evidence, and usually they do not condemn a public man in advance of sufficient proof. But, if it were otherwise, the young may well consider whether they ought to shun public duties because public men are exposed to calumny for which there is neither justification nor redress. The dangers of defending a country are great, the perils of governing a country are great also, but a country must be both defended and governed, and it can neither be defended nor governed without both courage and ability.

Others are deterred from entering political life by the belief that public employments are necessarily associated with or tend to personal degradation. This, I imagine, depends entirely upon ourselves. If we enter upon politics as a business, become dependent upon it, consider present success as the only worthy object of pursuit, our course will be attended with more or less of personal degradation. No man can perform his whole duty in public affairs unless he is in feeling and in fact free to retire from public life. If office is essential to his comfort or to his subsistence, there will be persons found to take advantage of his necessities and to place him under obligations, even though the obligations are free from all taint of dishonesty, which are inconsistent with that full and free devotion to the public interests which alone is acceptable to a just man.

It is also scarcely less important to maintain a position of independence before the great public. If it is a general opinion that a candidate or aspirant for office is wholly dependent upon public favor, there may be a disposition to deny the place merely because the aspirant is dependent. At any rate, it is better to stand upon

such terms of equality with the constituency as an honorable man may assume, without arrogance on the one hand or servility on the other. Indeed, the constituency is as much interested as the representative in establishing and preserving the relation of equality, which means mutual confidence and mutual obligations of duty. If a representative feels compelled to calculate and measure the public verdict upon each vote that he gives, he is a slave to a master whose will he can only conjecture but can never know, and the people are deprived of the benefit of the free action of the representative. It is true that the representative may wisely submit his individual judgment to the popular will upon a question of mere expediency, as that of an appropriation for the Centennial Exhibition, as an example ; or upon a question of supreme importance when the public mind has been directed to it, and an authoritative opinion has been formed and expressed. These, however, are the exceptional cases. For the most part the representative must act upon his own judgment, and he can perform his duty fully and for the true interest of the constituency only when he acts with freedom and in full confidence that the people will deal justly with him even if they can not approve of his course in every particular. In government fear is a tyrant, and the passions one and all are to be avoided even more than in private life.

The independence of which I have spoken must be actual, not assumed, for nowhere more certainly than in the management of public affairs are pretensions discovered and exposed. This independence might come from inherited wealth, other qualifications being found in its possessor, but the combination is so rare in this country that we can not look to this class exclusively, nor even chiefly for fit rulers. With us the governing class—I mean the class intrusted with the work of governing for limited periods of time—is not born but created, and we must look to those without inherited estates for representative men. Naturally the persons who either are or affect to be qualified for public employments fall into two classes—those who make politics a business, and those who shun every political duty except voting and complaining. There should be a third class—men who do not shun public employments, who are qualified to engage in them, and who are both too wise and too independent to sacrifice their manhood to gain popular support, and too just to the people to accept place without the power to perform its duties in a manner satisfactory, at least, to themselves.

Historians and critics may improve the world, but they can not

govern it ; and it is a higher employment, a nobler duty, to aid in providing or administering a reasonably good government than it is to show how things might be better than they are. Especially is this true when the critic or prophet of the past is a mere theorist in government or an adventurer in politics. Historians and critics are needed, and often their views and suggestions temper the policy or chasten the ardor of public men ; but those who make history, or provoke criticism even, are engaged, usually, in affairs that most deeply concern the paramount interests of communities and nations.

I can not doubt that the work of governing a great country is the first of secular pursuits, nor that those engaged worthily in it, even in the humbler departments, are in no insignificant sense public benefactors. If they who defend a country in the field are entitled to the public gratitude, are not those equally worthy who have created systems, founded institutions, and devised a policy in government which makes a country worth defending ? Usually the part which each man takes is an insignificant one ; even great actors are soon forgotten, and the roll of the immortal is less than the roll of the chief magistrates in any state, republic, kingdom, or empire. Those who seek or accept public office in the belief that thereby they are to become immortal are likely to be disappointed. The immortal few are they who have been prominently identified with great movements in opinion or government, in which men of all times are interested. The chief examples in this country are Washington and Lincoln. Of the thousands who have had a part in the government of the various States or in the government of the United States, who remembers anything ? The name of the man who served longer than any other in the Congress of the United States is not known to one in a hundred of the intelligent persons of the country. The severest chastener of human ambition is Lanman's "Biographical Dictionary of Congress." Fame is not often the reward of public service, wealth never—and yet these are the two great motives to human effort. The first will remain and stimulate those engaged in public affairs, however infrequent the reward ; they who seek wealth will turn to other vocations. We are not, however, to act as though the good opinion of our fellow men were of no value, but the consciousness that we deserve the good opinion of our fellow men is of much more value. The first we may lose without misconduct on our part, the latter may remain even against an adverse public judgment. The good opinion of our fellow men though once lost may be recovered ; the conscious-

ness that we are not worthy of their good opinion is an abiding fact. This good opinion is to be accepted with thanks, not sought with servility ; and it is valuable only when it is an enforced tribute to capacity and integrity in the public service.

The business of government is a serious business, and yet there are men who enter into it as though it were a game of chance, or a contest in which success would wait upon the most expert in schemes of deception or plans of strategy. Usually men divide in opinion and act in parties upon questions which seem to be of public importance in the largest sense. Occasionally they are questions of peace or war, but more frequently the public mind is directed to questions of domestic policy, concerning personal rights or the business of the country. In modern times these are the topics that agitate every state in which the principle of representative government is recognized. In all these affairs, whether ordinary or critical and grave, the only safe men are those who have convictions, and who have also the courage to act upon them. Men of convictions are open to the charge that they are prejudiced, unreasoning, hot-headed in action. In some degree this is true, but the men who have done most for the world were men of strong convictions. On the other hand, they who stand aloof, who look with equal favor upon all parties and all opinions, who are at all times prepared by a chronic impartiality to sit in judgment upon any public man or any public opinion, have in that service performed all the good of which they are capable.

The test of greatness is growth with the emergency, but men without convictions dwarf and become small as the public peril rises, and in great exigencies they are utterly insignificant. But firmness of conviction is not inconsistent with deliberation in plan and care in execution. Mr. Lincoln was a man of strong convictions, and to these he was anchored ; but his convictions never led him into passion, nor moved him to hasty action in public affairs.

There were those who balanced the responsibility for the war, who judged the North and the South equally guilty, who would have selected a few from each side who had been conspicuous in leadership and shot them in a public square, in the vain hope of pacifying a continent upon a great question of human rights which has concerned all men and will concern all men of all times. These were self-constituted leaders without convictions.

In the army the law was the same. The heroes and the only heroes were among those who believed wholly, unreservedly, in the

justice of the contest. In the combats of politics and in the real business of government our convictions must be our guide. It happens, not infrequently, that a public man is called to act upon questions which have been considered by the public and on which a judgment has been pronounced. If he is without convictions of his own, that judgment will lead him and perhaps mislead him. The public is a great fact, but it is not a definite fact. It may change its opinion, and no one can be held responsible. The representative, however, can be identified. His opinion is of record—he can be made responsible for it. If he acts upon a supposed public opinion and without the support of his own judgment, he has neither excuse nor defense when the considerate public judgment is formed and rendered. It is more just to the people to act upon our own convictions than it is to accept a public opinion which has been formed suddenly without a knowledge of all the facts and without time to estimate the value of those within reach. And the public can afford to excuse a representative who, in the absence of specific and authoritative instruction, acts upon his own convictions of duty, even though he may fall into error; but the constituency can not afford to excuse the folly of a man who substitutes his impressions of public sentiment for the personal and representative obligations imposed upon him by the votes of the people and by the constitution of his country. Moreover, a representative who acts upon his convictions can not be deprived of the support which the fact furnishes, while he who abandons his opinions in deference to a public judgment hastily formed is without help when that public opinion undergoes a change.

There must also be faith in ideas. They who originate and enforce ideas decide in a large measure what the Government shall be and what it shall do, although the work of governing is usually in the hands of others. But it is not wise to deny the force of ideas, and it is the necessity and the duty of the statesman to accept and reject ideas in preparing himself generally, and in special cases often, for the duties of his position. Ideas, however, are sometimes so comprehensive and exacting that it is impossible to apply them fully in a given condition of things. At least so it may seem to the person or party charged with the application. Such was Mr. Lincoln's condition in reference to slavery for a year and a half after the war opened. The idea of liberty and equality, to which Mr. Lincoln was pledged, demanded the immediate and unconditional emancipation of all the slaves in the United States. The fact which Mr.

Lincoln was compelled to consider and estimate was the known opposition of a large number of otherwise loyal people to the abolition of slavery by force. As the waste and horrors of war increased, the number of those who thought that States could engage in an attempt to overthrow the Constitution without losing any of their rights under it, gradually diminished. Finally, the idea, in its fullness, could be accepted and enforced.

There are no more difficult problems in politics and government than those which relate to the application of ideas which are accepted by those on whom responsibility rests. Timid men may do nothing, bold men may do more than the public will either accept or justify; but men both wise and bold will venture beyond the demand of the moment in the belief that the public will move toward the better in whatever relates to the welfare of the human race. If the ideas on which we are acting are sound, we may well assume the responsibility of applying them. There is, however, no positive test of the soundness of ideas, and men in places of power and responsibility are left to conclusions based on their own judgment as to what is wise. As a general proposition it may be assumed that measures which extend the range of industry, enlighten the people, increase or fortify popular liberty, will, in the end, receive the public approval. The same may be said of measures looking to the general defense in time of public danger. It is to be said, however, that it is much easier to present and enforce ideas which bear the test of scrutiny and argument than it is to apply them in the business of government.

It must be admitted that in every trial of intellect the opponents of slavery triumphed over its supporters. The application of their ideas was a more difficult task; but it is to be said also that the victory in the end was a victory of ideas. The spread of antislavery opinions, and the well-founded apprehension that slavery must ultimately yield to the power of those opinions, made the defenders of the institution desperate, and in their desperation they sought to found a new Government in which slavery should not only be tolerated but established by name and protected by every possible safeguard. This movement converted all the friends of the Union into enemies of slavery, and thus the institution fell beneath two ideas—hatred of slavery and love for the Union. For seventy years attachment to the Union was the shield of slavery, but when slavery assailed the Union the friends of the Union became the enemies of slavery.

It is to be considered also that the ideas on which institutions

rest may sometimes outlast the institutions when the latter have yielded to force, as institutions will sometimes outlast the ideas which gave them birth. Slavery has fallen in America; the institutions of government which were the growth and allies of the institution of slavery have fallen also; but the ideas which gave rise to slavery, and which slavery bred and fostered, remain to fetter and paralyze the old slave States, and to disturb the Union. The war of ideas must go on until the triumph of ideas over ideas is as complete as has been the triumph of ideas over institutions.

The possession of wealth, affording leisure for study, is of prime advantage to young men who are preparing themselves for the public service, but in many instances it does not promote those habits of industry which are essential to permanent success. Experience shows that it is not easy for young men of fortune to devote themselves assiduously to the labors and duties of professional life, and it may be assumed that the labors and duties of public employments are not less exacting. Wealth is an aid if its possessor can impose upon himself the labor which his associates who are without money are compelled to perform. Moreover, the wealthy are called often—usually, perhaps—to contend against an idea or a prejudice that they are not of the people, and that they do not understand the interests, wants, and rights of the people as they are understood by the men who have been reared in poverty. If, in the eyes of the poor, wealth seems to be an advantage, the experience of America tends to prove that it is a hindrance as often as it is a help in the contests for public confidence and support.

Nor is it wise to rely upon what is known as genius, or mere natural ability, of any kind or degree. We must accept the fact that with most men honest, conscientious labor is the only means of success. The great statesmen of America have been students.

The remark applies to Jefferson, Hamilton, and Adams, of the Revolutionary epoch—to Webster, Adams, and Sumner, of later times. Possibly Mr. Lincoln may be thought an exception. He had, however, studied a few books carefully, thoroughly. The wisdom of the old maxim, "Beware of the man of one book," lies in a plain rule of life. The student of a few books studies those with such care that he knows all, and more than all, that was known by the authors of them. Every work of value in any department of real knowledge rests upon principles, which the casual reader may fail to comprehend, or may fail even to discover. To such a reader the work is of no permanent value, but the student who discovers

and comprehends the principle is the master of that subject in all its relations. For wisdom in affairs, a few books only are needed. For the knowledge of what has been done, many books must be consulted ; but power in public affairs is measured and apportioned by the degree of wisdom we possess rather than by the extent of our learning.

We do not advise young men to confine themselves to a few books, but we do advise them to read a few books relating to principles with such thoroughness that further reference to them will be unnecessary. The discipline is invaluable. It begets a habit of care in reading and hearing, and, as a public man in America is employed largely in the field of debate, nothing is more essential than the power to comprehend at once the full value, the complete significance, of what is said by others. The studies of a statesman are in the main those of a lawyer, to which should be added, with a larger liberality than is required in the profession, a knowledge of history, of political economy, and of constitutional law. If it be true, as was said in a spirit of sarcasm by Mr. Burke, that the study and practice of the law sharpens and narrows the mind, it remains true, and it must ever remain true, that in a government of laws there is a large field for the talents, learning, and wisdom of the lawyer. It is only when he degrades his profession and degrades himself that the public rebel against him and depose him from his fit place as maker and administrator of the laws. It is to be observed, however, not for criticism but for caution, that long practice in the courts unfits men for the work of legislation, as attention to politics and legislation unfits men for the closer discipline of the bar. The unyielding technicalities of the bar are out of place in the broad work of legislation, and the carefully trained and conscientious lawyer who carries the habits of the bar into the halls of legislation commits an error, dwarfs his influence, and limits the power of his constituency. The principles of law are of constant use in legislation, but the habits and arguments of the bar are out of place in its halls. Learning, tendered as learning, commands but little attention, and it is nearly destitute of influence in the business of government. Knowledge, what is called information, that is, knowledge relating to the subject under debate, is always respected. The ear of a legislative assembly can be gained usually when the speaker knows more than the majority of those who are to act ; but only unusual qualities as an orator can command attention when that degree of information is lacking.

Governing a country is practical business—nothing can be more practical. Most questions are to be treated, finally, upon grounds which a philosopher or an historian would consider narrow and inadequate. Occasionally a measure, like the repeal of the English corn laws, or the emancipation of the slaves in America, rests upon a basis as broad as the theories of philosophers or the demands of reformers. These are the exceptions. Institutions, traditions, a policy, are given. The legislator deals with a case subject to the power of institutions, traditions, and a policy. Moreover, one man is but one among many, equal in rights and equal in power. Upon a question of principle one may stand against a thousand; but upon a question of the application of a principle there are both opportunity and necessity for concession. This statement suggests the difficult and dangerous periods in the life of a public man, inasmuch as the constituency may not agree with the representative upon the question whether a principle is or is not involved.

The government of free countries is largely in the hands of committees; that of England wholly so, in the hands of one committee, called the Ministry, subject to the power of the House of Commons to remove a committee in office, and to dictate the appointment of another committee. In the United States there is a broader distribution of power among many committees, but there is nothing in the nature of omnipotence in any. The work of legislation, however, is shaped by them—the Houses confining themselves to a modification of measures in cases of approval, or to rejection in others. It is in extraordinary instances only that the work of a committee is reversed by either branch of a Legislature and an antagonistic policy adopted. The committees then are, and from the nature of legislation in a free country ever must be, the chief instruments and agencies in the work of government. In their proceedings there is no place for rhetoric, none certainly for brilliant talents of a popular character. The work is that of the investigator and the judge. The successful committee-man is he who makes himself acquainted with the nature of the duties assigned to the committee, in their practical and legal phases, and who then devotes himself assiduously to the details of each case, and to every question arising from or relating to the work in hand. This labor is unobserved, monotonous, and in a very few instances only does it command the applause or even secure the notice of the public. It is, however, the most important part of legislation, and no man can reach the highest place as a useful legislator who is indifferent to the business of the committee-room.

Beyond this, and only less important, is the faculty of advocating and defending before the assembly and before the constituency the opinions and measures of the committee. Indeed, one may rely in part upon clerks, authorities, and associates for the work of the committee-room, but in the public forum the manager of a measure or the supporter of a bill must depend upon himself for his successes. Here the faculty of debate is needed; and this faculty is distinguished from the ability to prepare and deliver an oration according to the ancient ideas, or to prepare and deliver a set speech in the fashion of modern times. The latter is a great gift, a valuable acquisition—both, indeed—but for the purposes of legislation it is inferior to power in debate, but by no means inconsistent with it. Debate is addressed to passing measures whose character and fate concern the assembly in the present, and on which members must act without delay. Debate implies present responsibility, from which none can escape. Set speeches and orations are usually addressed to subjects of general interest, on which, perhaps, no opinion has been formed either by the assembly or by the public. They imply care in their preparation; they are designed to advance or to resist a public sentiment; but neither the speaker nor the hearers feel the weight of responsibility that attends the enactment of laws or a change in a constitution.

In the accomplished debater two qualities are always found: first, a knowledge of his subject, including the general principles on which it rests or to which it relates; and, secondly, facility in using his knowledge. No one can succeed in debate who is not fully instructed, and by that I mean so instructed that he can answer every inquiry and repel every attack. This implies not only that he must know more of his subject than any other person in his audience, which is the prerequisite in ordinary discourse, but he must know more upon the topics in hand than everybody else. In addition to this he must have his knowledge at command, and at all times be ready to answer any comer, whether friendly or hostile. The coolness of temperament necessary to such a task is not the gift of nature, or, if it be a gift of nature, it is a gift to those only who are denied other qualities equally essential to the speaker. Practice, training in public and whenever opportunity arises, training upon real questions, to which should be added steady, persistent self-discipline, are the means by which young men are prepared for the field of debate. For the legislator, in a free country, capacity for debate is the power of powers; and we should never forget

that the capable, trained, skillful debater may become qualified for the work of preparing methodical discourses, but it does not follow, within any law which we can discover, that the mere orator will become a debater. The public speaker can not overvalue the intelligence of his audience. Assuming that his subject is within the range of their studies, thoughts, or duties, he should also assume that the best powers of the ablest man will not pass beyond their ability to judge his discourse and to profit from it. Even Mr. Webster was complimented by the disparaging criticism of a common man, who, after listening to one of the advocate's arguments, remarked: "It was no great thing; just about what I would have said myself."

In the regions of oratory, where principles may be asserted broadly, the passions aroused, the imagination awakened and inflamed, the orator will pass beyond the limits of argument, and the hearers are forced to admit their inability to contest for equality. Once in a century, perhaps, the real business of government is controlled by such influences. But it is only at long intervals that the orator, the subject, and the tribunal are found in the necessary relations to each other. The orator often rules in the field of opinion where decisions are rendered which shape the policy of a country, but the application of the policy is left usually to less conspicuous persons, dealing with the practical business of government. The faculties to be sought, faculties within the reach of most young men, are habits of investigation and the power of debating. Oratory, in any high degree, is the result of many faculties and qualities, choice gifts of nature, to be improved when they exist, but in no case are they the mere product of education and training. The power of debating is the same for practical purposes as the power of addressing assemblies of the people upon questions of public concern; for we can not imagine a skillful, practiced debater who might not speak with ease to himself and with advantage to his hearers upon subjects to which he had given attention.

The human voice, in music, upon the stage, in the pulpit, at the bar, in the legislative assembly, and in the assembly of the people, is the chief agent in the formation of opinion and in the direction of affairs. Therefore the faculty of speaking is not only not to be despised, but it is worthy of cultivation by all who design to devote themselves to any branch of the public service, which has in it the quality of governing either by law or by opinion. If it be not now, as it was before the art of printing, the sole power in affairs, it is

the omnipotent power to which the press even, from the very nature of its duties, is, and ever must continue to be, a secondary and in an important sense a subordinate force. Nor should young men allow themselves to be deluded with the notion that public business is now managed by men of less integrity and less ability than were possessed by those who controlled affairs in former times. In a country of schools, colleges, and universities, representative bodies must always contain able men, and every one who aspires to a part should accept the truth in the outset, that he is to encounter as his opponents or rivals the ablest products of schools, colleges, and universities. Not such will be all, but the contest is at the front, at the head of the column. I would not disparage our ancestry, but it is the error of every generation to attribute superior excellence to those that have preceded it. At intervals there are great crises in affairs, at intervals great characters appear, and the ordinary men of ordinary times are not to be measured by the extraordinary men of extraordinary times ; but for two centuries in Europe and America the standard of excellence has been advanced constantly, and the supply of capable men has been equal generally to the demand. It can not, therefore, be assumed that ordinary talents and inferior attainments will command places of trust and influence in the future, either near or distant.

Nor is it just to assume that the public men of this country are less capable than the public men of other countries. Upon the opinion of so experienced a person as Caleb Cushing, it may be claimed that the statesmen who carried the United States through the war of the rebellion and the period of reconstruction were quite equal to their predecessors in this Government and quite equal to their European contemporaries. I can speak from observation to the fact that since the year 1860 the foreign diplomatic corps at Washington has not been equal in ability to the representatives of the United States resident in other countries. It has been the habit of newspapers and travelers to disparage our diplomatic service, and, in exceptional cases, no doubt there has been occasion for complaint ; but in the main our ministers have been able and honorable men. In the beginning we were represented by Franklin, Adams, Jay, and others. In later times by the Adamses, Clay, Van Buren, Irving, Everett, Lawrence, Bancroft, Marsh, Cushing, Washburne, Motley, and a long line of men well and honorably known for their important services at home and abroad. Our system does not admit of trained diplomats, but training in politics and domestic govern-

ment is preparation altogether adequate for the safe conduct of international affairs.

The education given by the schools is of the essential preparation for public life, but it is not everything, and many a well-educated man will fail for lack of courage, from want of confidence in his own judgment, or for the reason that his manner of life does not inspire confidence in others. As a suggestion and a warning I venture the remark that in politics, as upon the thronged sidewalks of a populous city, the chief difficulties are from those who appear to be moving in the same direction with ourselves. The steps of our opponents we can comprehend, and we are at full liberty to treat them as antagonists. Among those who are moving with us are some who doubt, who hesitate, who question the wisdom of every proceeding. You can not treat them as enemies, and they will not treat you as friends. In politics and war victories are won by those who are in earnest, and in troublous times earnest men enjoy the public confidence. When weak and irresolute men rule, the annals of a country are usually uninteresting, inasmuch as in quiet times weak and irresolute men are often advanced to places of trust and power.

It is only after some experience and considerable reflection that we realize the worth of good government, and the difficulty of maintaining it. In proportion as we estimate the value of government, we shall estimate the honor and responsibility of the services we may be called to perform in its administration. If we consider the government of a small town, even, we shall not fail to realize that its fortunes are quite dependent upon the ability and fidelity of its public officers. In a period of years the condition of its roads, its schools, its finances—in a word, its standing among its neighbors—is due to the character, capacity, and policy of its chosen rulers. What is true of a town and its interests is alike true, and in more important particulars, of a state or nation.

If one does not shun public affairs, he must accept such posts as are offered to him, and give to the duties implied or imposed his attention, labor, and best judgment. The public demand this, and of right, for the obligation is not to be measured by the pecuniary compensation received, but by the nature of the duties attached to the office. This rule is a just rule in private affairs, but it is a rule of higher authority in the discharge of public duties, as, whether wisely or not, the salaries in most cases are not fixed upon the basis of private contracts. Moreover, there can be no assurance that

one is qualified for great undertakings who has not proved capable in lesser ones, and the duties of lesser ones are a fit preparation for the greater.

In no sphere of life is there opportunity for a larger or more enduring influence than in politics and government. The affairs of state are at once the most important, the most elevating, the most ennobling of human pursuits. Statesmanship concerns itself with the equitable relations of men in all their complications, not of citizenship merely in a particular country, but as members of the one human family distributed over the zones and continents of the globe. The generations of men appear and pass away, but ideas and institutions last through the ages. Governments coexist with the race, and whoever founds a good government or reforms a bad one is a benefactor whose influence extends along the ages.

GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

III.

THE RELIGION OF TO-DAY.

THAT the intellectual world of to-day is drifting away from the religious belief and dogmatic theology of the past, is a fact which is more evident to the student, the wider his acquaintance with the current of contemporary thought in Christendom. In France it would be difficult to show that what the Church a century ago professed to consider the essentials of religious belief exist among any considerable number of the educated classes. In Germany the idea of a supernatural element, either in the creation of the world or in the origin of Christianity, has almost entirely disappeared from the intellect of the nation outside the ranks of theologians and their devotees. All that the theology of that country now exacts from the leaders of thought and action is, that they shall refrain from criticisms on Christian doctrine, and admit its great importance to society as an instrument to restrain the lower classes from attacks upon morality and social order. In England thought is drifting in the same direction, but, drawing the broad Church with it, finds expression in more cautious and reverent forms than upon the Continent. To suppose that this wave of skepticism will not reach our own country would be illogical, though it may be difficult to see precisely what form it will assume.

However great may be the differences of opinion respecting the character, significance, and end of this movement, few can have any doubt either of its reality or of the direction which it is taking. Its great feature is the slow elimination of all those tenets which have heretofore been considered the essentials of religious belief. It may indeed be claimed that there is really no elimination of such belief, but that what appears as such is only a change, the substitution of one doctrine for another. We readily grant this. Indeed, our object in the present essay is, to show the character of the

change and the tendency of the new views which threaten to supplant the old ones. The inquiry naturally divides itself into two parts : the nature and extent of the movement, considered as modifying the religion of the past, and the character of the new ideas which are now taking form.

Although the existence of the divergent course of thought to which we have alluded is familiar to all, there are difficulties which prevent the mass of the thinking community, and especially of the religious community, from forming an estimate of its real strength. The view commonly taken by the Church is, that the movement is one which lies wholly without itself, and therefore does not affect it, except in this indirect way : that the Church desires to have all men included within its fold, and therefore laments to find a whole class of thinking men straying from its truth. This distinction is a valid one, and, in order to form a correct conception of the movement toward skepticism, it is necessary to consider two distinct classes—the orthodox Church itself, and those who are entirely out of the pale of sympathy with it. So long as we consider the movement as affecting only the latter class, we shall form a very imperfect idea of its extent. Indeed, in this aspect the subject has very little interest for us, because there is nothing new in the existence of a large class of educated skeptics. What is most striking in the movement of those outside of the Church is, that their leaders are composed very largely of the leading intellects of the world.

Really, however, the movement is not confined to this class, but affects the Church also to an extent of which few form any conception. The Church itself is hardly conscious of it, because it can be appreciated only by a more careful comparison of its own feelings and opinions with those of the past than men generally are in the habit of making. The circumstances are not unlike those of a drifting ship, the passengers of which, seeing no change in the ocean, are unconscious of their change of position. A drift of this sort may not be accompanied by any discussion or agitation whatever. Every man is necessarily satisfied with the truth of his own opinions, and if he changes them he must be satisfied with the new ones, because the change can not occur until the new ones have in some way commended themselves to his judgment. The result is, that, how far soever the Church may drift away from the tenets of the past, its views can not, to it, thereby lose the attribute of orthodoxy, nor its position appear any less sound. If the change is slow the believers will, like the victims of Circe and Comus—

"Not once perceive their foul disfigurement,
But boast themselves more comely than before."

We may therefore admit that there has been no change in the avowed doctrine of the Churches. A theologian may claim that he has yielded nothing to modern science or recent thought, and may challenge us to prove the surrender by himself or his church of a single doctrine which that church considered essential. Such a claim can be met only by a direct personal catechization of its propounder respecting his belief in the literal interpretations of certain theological assertions ; by his general attitude toward the doctrines he opposes ; by the interpretations which his acts and expressions show him to put upon his own words. To satisfy ourselves how far the Church has really been influenced by modern thought, we must not seek for changes in its official expressions and requirements, but must rather compare its general attitude and the obvious ways of thinking of its members with the time-honored official utterances of the body itself. It is only by a comparison between these two standards, the written and the unwritten one, that we can measure the actual drift which has taken place.

One suggestive circumstance is seen in the almost total disappearance of the old-fashioned doctrinal sermon from a large class of our fashionable pulpits. A heathen desiring to learn the doctrines of Christianity might attend the best of these churches for a whole year and not hear one word of the torments of hell or the anger of an offended Deity, and not enough of the fall of man or the sacrificial sufferings of Christ to offend the most bigoted disciple of evolution. Listening and observing for himself, he would infer that the way of salvation consisted in declaring his faith in a few abstract doctrines which both preacher and hearer seemed quite ready to explain away as far as possible ; become a regular attendant at church and church sociables ; put something into the contribution-box every Sunday, and in every way behave as much as possible like his neighbors. Why is this ? Simply because the demand for doctrinal preaching is dying out. The law of supply and demand in our time controls sermons as well as flour—doctrines as well as goods. Men have ceased to demand doctrines, not necessarily because they have ceased to believe in them, but because they have taken the first step toward unbelief by losing their interest in them. Their faith is dragging its anchors without their knowing it.

The strongest indications of church drift are seen in the temporizing attitude of theology toward such modern doctrines as that of evolution ; in its readiness to be satisfied with forms of words, and in its growing disposition to give a shadowy or symbolic interpretation to the language in which it expresses its doctrines. How much of the old doctrine of the punishment of the wicked by "unspeakable torments of both body and mind in hell-fire for ever" is really believed by the Church of to-day as a literal truth ? This is a question which it is difficult to answer positively, because theology, though its official opinion is unchanged, no longer demands from its votaries any definite opinion respecting the nature of that punishment which the wicked are to undergo. They must believe, or at least teach, that the punishment is eternal, but may form their own opinions on the question whether it is physical or mental, positive pain or mere deprivation of some sort of happiness. Thus the word "punishment" is entirely losing its old meaning in this connection, and no well-defined new meaning has taken its place. That this is a concession to modern ideas hardly needs argument. But for historical evidence it would be incredible to most thinking men of the present that our Christian ancestors not only believed the greater part of the human race to be doomed to unending torture, but imagined themselves as seeing the terrible sentence pronounced without a ripple on the serenity of their own eternal bliss ; nay, supposed this bliss might from time to time be heightened by views of the "unspeakable torments" which their brethren were suffering in hell.

That this idea has entirely died out it would be unsafe to assert. Only a few years ago a devotional poem of some merit was published by an English divine, evidently intended to give a correct description of judgment and eternity as understood by the author.* It was received with so much favor in influential quarters that an extract from it will be pertinent to our theme. The writer saw before him at the judgment-seat all that portion of the human race doomed to death. Among them—

". . . I beheld the forms
Of many I had known from youth to prime—
Sheep, wayward sheep whom I had vainly sought,
Now fronting the Chief Shepherd face to face.

* "Yesterday, To-Day, and Forever," by E. Bickersteth, 1869.

And now the fold was closed : and it was mine
 To witness I had called in vain. O God,
 Thou know'st, thou only, what sustained me then."

When the terrible sentence was pronounced, the voices of the Almighty, of the trembling angels, and of the body of the saved, said with emotion on all sides, "Amen !"

"God spake, and it was done. Again the floor
 Of solid crystal where the damned stood
 Opened its mouth, immeasurable leagues ;
 And with a cry whose piercing echoes yet
 Beat through the void of shoreless space, the lost
 Helplessly, hopelessly, resistlessly,
 Adown the inevitable fissure sank
 As sank before the ruined hosts of hell,
 Still down, still ever down, from deep to deep,
 Into the outer darkness, till at last
 The fiery gulf received them, and they plunged
 Beneath Gehenna's burning sulphurous waves
 In the abyss of ever-during woe."

Although the beatified beholders all shed tears at the sight, the fate of their doomed brethren was not entirely concealed from their view :

"No Lethe rolled its dark, oblivious waves,
 As some have feigned, betwixt that world of woe
 And ours of bliss. But rather, as of old
 Foreshadowed in the prescient oracles,
 The smoke of their great torment rose to heaven
 In presence of the holy seraphim,
 And in the presence of the Lamb of God,
 For ever and for ever. At the first
 Nothing was heard ascending from the deep
 Save wailings and unutterable groans,
 Wrung from them by o'ermastering agony."

After a while, however, "order arose from that profound confusion unconfused," "Silence assumed her adamant throne," and the "wrathful blasphemy" ceased.

We pass over the questions suggested by this view—questions which even opponents of religion mercifully refrain from asking. It has been decided that the words "eternal punishment" must stand, but every one is free to define them in his own way. A constantly increasing party is making them mean, simply leaving the unsaved

to their own meditations—to suffer under the pangs of their own consciences. Under such influences the doctrine of future punishment is dragging its anchors more rapidly than any other toward the rocks which threaten it.

On one of these rocks hell becomes a place to which few of the human race are to be actually and irrevocably doomed. That few comprise only the portion so irretrievably wicked that their existence would be a burden to themselves almost anywhere in the universe. On the other rock the punishment is mitigated to an unknown extent, though the requirements for escaping it may be maintained in their utmost rigor. The “Westminster Standard” informs us what the extreme requirements are, and we may judge of them by the following question and answer :

“*Question 60.—Can those who have never heard the gospel, and so know not Jesus Christ nor believe in him, be saved by their living according to the light of nature?*”

“*Answer.*—They who, having never heard the gospel, know not Jesus Christ and believe not in him, can not be saved be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature, or the laws of that religion which they profess; neither is there salvation in any other but in Christ alone, who is the Saviour only of the body of his Church.”

Accepting this view, the curse of the law must rest upon the great majority of philosophers of past and present agès, of the leaders in science and thought at the present day, and of the men who have made the nineteenth century what it is. It is, however, impossible for enlightened man at the present time to conceive of these men going to the old-fashioned place of endless punishment.

Under the influence of this feeling, combined with the old doctrine of salvation, hell would become a place where Zoroaster and Confucius, Cicero and Demosthenes, Homer and Virgil, Paine and Voltaire, Galileo and Franklin, Humboldt and Haeckel, with their countless unbelieving followers and disciples, are to exist for ever in an uninterrupted communion of thought. In either case hell is shorn of most of its terrors, and, in the latter case, the extreme of beneficence will be to let each member of the human race choose which place he will go to.

Perhaps the most striking example of the readiness of theology to temporize with the irreligious thought of the day, and to explain away doctrines it once held dear, is seen in its attitude toward the now fashionable theory of evolution. No other modern theory

is so directly opposed to the doctrine which lies at the basis of our orthodox system of theology. The latter teaches that man was created in a state of moral perfection ; in the especial image of his Maker ; free from sin ; not subjected to death ; endowed with a conscience showing him the difference between right and wrong. From this state of perfection he fell into what we know he has been in past times by a single act of transgression, and has been again elevated only by the supernatural interference of his Maker.

On the theory of evolution, he was not created at all, in any sense in which the word has ever been understood. Indeed, there never was any personal Adam, the human race being simply the descendants of an improved race of apes. Originally man had no more conscience than his brute progenitors, and right, wrong, or morality applied no more to his acts than to those of the tiger. If he was free from sin, it was only for the same reason that the lower animals are free from it : because no conscience told him the distinction between right and wrong. Conscience was a gradual growth from such small beginnings as we now see in the domestic dog, and never attained such a development as it now has among men. The progress of man, though frequently stationary with certain races and during long periods of time, has, on the whole, been steadily upward, by virtue of the primeval laws of nature itself. Death was in the world from the beginning of life, and was inherited by man from the brute. In one word, the theory pronounces the whole theological doctrine of the origin and fall of man to be a fiction as complete as anything in pagan mythology.

When this theory was first propounded, it was very naturally considered as subversive of the whole basis of Christian doctrine, unworthy of the instincts and aspirations of manhood, and incapable of being held by any one having the slightest pretensions to Christianity. The views of Darwin, as originally expressed in his "Origin of Species," were, however, adopted so extensively by sympathizers with orthodoxy, that they could not be viewed as decidedly heterodox. A distinction was for a time drawn between Darwinism proper, which was supposed to be true only for the lower animals, and the German extension of the doctrine, which included man himself in its range. But the wall which separates these views rests on too weak a logical basis to stand, and, since the publication of the "Descent of Man," the doctrine of Darwinism and that of evolution may be regarded as one, so few are the thinkers who support the one and reject the other.

Although the theory of evolution has only begun to receive serious consideration or support within the memory of every reader of this "Review," yet in our centers of learning individual theologians have already begun to dally with it in a way which, to the spirit of Jonathan Edwards, would have been simply shocking. We do not mean to assert that the doctrine receives any active support from theologians, or that they view arguments against it with anything but sympathy. But it can hardly be denied that they frequently assume an attitude toward it which must be regarded as ominous. Their very anxiety that science and religion shall be at one leads them into the dalliance which is so dangerous. For instance, if one claims that the doctrine of evolution is entirely consistent with the glory of the Creator and with religious faith, his view is apt to be received with entire favor. If the scientific lecturer will attribute all the results he describes to the Divine power, inform his audience that all laws imply a law-giver, rebuke the pride of his atheistic fellow students, dwell on the uncertainty of all scientific generalizations, and keep prominent that void in the human soul which can be filled only by Christianity, he will be considered entitled to rank as a Christian, no matter how completely he teaches and asserts the objectionable doctrine as a purely scientific generalization. He will have no embarrassing questions put to him as to how he reconciles his scientific doctrine with orthodoxy.

Another instance of the same sort is seen in the efforts occasionally made by the representatives of religious faith to persuade themselves that there are two distinct forms of the doctrine of evolution—the one atheistic, the other theistic; the one irreligious, the other religious. This is founded on a misconception which arises from confounding that general sympathy with religion which a few evolutionists profess with a modification of the doctrine. That evolutionists may vary in their religious profession no one will deny; and so long as a formal profession of religious faith, without any specification of the particular things believed in, or any explanation of the consistency of faith with evolutionist doctrines is required, so long may we expect these differences. But to assert that there is any difference between the doctrine of evolution as held by one and as held by another, is almost like asserting that there are two theories of gravitation, a moral and immoral one. The doctrine of evolution is, so far as the origin of man, his faculties and his instincts are concerned, just what we have described it, neither more nor less, neither better nor worse. The naturalist may write *Deus*

fecit on every bone of his fossil horse, but his theory of the descent of that horse is not thereby modified in the slightest degree. He may preach to his fellow scientist every Sunday on the vanity of the human intellect, but that is not at all germane to his lecture on Monday showing that man was descended from an ape. He may attribute everything to the Divine power without at all lessening the antagonism between his theory and that of the creation of man in a state of moral perfection.

Yet it is on such a flimsy basis as a vague declaration of religious faith from evolutionists that many theologians are seeking for a compromise, or at least a truce with evolution. What would Edwards have said to this temporizing? Would he have dealt with such a doctrine in the evasive phrases and high-flown generalities which his successors now use? Every one knows that he would not. No evolutionist could have secured admittance to his church, or remained within its pale by any amount of reverential phraseology. He would not have condescended to argue the inconsistency of the doctrine with that of the fall of Adam and with the plan of salvation. Those who listened to his discourse would have no doubt of his meaning, and the temporizing course now adopted by his successors would have been, to him, the surrender of Christianity itself.

The change of position which we have cited is founded on a state of things so well known that few will deny its reality. But the change takes another form, which makes it much more difficult of definition, and leaves us in great doubt how much of what our ancestors would consider religious belief remains as a living reality in our midst. One of the difficulties which theology meets with arises from its supposed necessity of claiming its doctrines to be the expression of eternal and immutable truth. Therefore, when it finds a divergence from those written standards of the past to which it is a part of its traditional policy to adhere, it does not openly proclaim this divergence nor modify the language of the standard, but allows each person to put his own interpretation on the words of his creed. A natural desire to continue identified with the faith in which one has been nurtured leads men to adhere to the expressions of their creed as long as it is possible to do so, and to make every effort to reconcile its words with their opinions. This is most easily done by searching for symbolic interpretations. Thus the language of religious doctrine is becoming less and less literal, and more and more symbolic. Of course, a symbolic lan-

guage may be as clear and definite as a literal one, if its meaning and application are clearly and strictly defined. But the very admission of such new definitions of the things supposed to be symbolized, or even the open admission that the language was purely symbolic, would destroy the claim for immutability. The result is, that it is now unfashionable in the extreme for any one in general society, or even in religious circles, to talk about his religious opinions. If they are heterodox, the person's views must be kept in concealment as if he were a patient with yellow fever.

The tendency of religious doctrine to become less literal, and more mystic and poetical, is of course encouraged by this growing distaste for doctrinal discussion. The mere intellectual acceptance of doctrines as true is being left in the background, and religious services are becoming more and more emotional. Everything looks as if the more advanced church of the present day is developing into a place where the jaded mind shall revel in poetic imagery, and the emotional nature be cultivated by the charms of music and the forms of worship. In fact, have not our more fashionable city churches of nearly every denomination just about attained this ideal? We believe that those who will either deny or regret it will soon be in the minority.

Such are the leading features of the influence of modern thought upon theology. They show how the religious system of the present time will fall, if it ever does fall. It will not be by the attacks of infidels, because for the most part they have no occasion to make attacks, and, when they do, the Church can cite arguments in its own favor as strong to all appearance as any that are likely to be brought against it. Indeed, as Mr. Lecky has acutely remarked, public thought and opinion are very slightly influenced by mere argument. The tides of thought which flow silently through the minds of great masses of men are far more potent causes of belief than the most logical and conclusive arguments. Our opinions on nearly all subjects are formed by processes of which we are scarcely conscious, and of which only the few are able to give even an intelligible description. If the present state of things goes on, even the Sunday-school scholar can not fail at last to notice the absence of congruity between the doctrines of the catechism and the acts and feelings of the world. The more he sees of the heathen, the Parsee, and the man of business, the less he will feel the distinction between sheep and goats, as drawn by his teachers. Whatever doctrines may die under such influences as these, will die a perfectly quiet

and natural death, with none to mourn their departure. Indeed, they may be gone for years before they will ever be missed, and their loss will be discovered only by those who take enough of interest in them to engage in a search after them.

What, then, is the real fact presented to our view? The great body of orthodox religious doctrine known as systematic theology—embracing the time-honored theory of the origin of man, his relations to his Maker, the origin of conscience, the nature of right and wrong, the moral government of the world, the reward of virtue, and the punishment of vice—is being silently modified under the influence of a current of thought peculiar to our time to an extent which it is difficult to define. Where is the change going to stop? There are still a few fundamental doctrines to which theologians adhere with a grasp as strong as ever, and which they no doubt flatter themselves will stand against the current of the most advanced thought. But how shall we know what are fundamental and what are not? It is only a few years since the doctrines which some theologians now seem so ready to surrender to evolution were regarded as so fundamental that salvation was denied to those who rejected them. If the ship is dragging her anchors before the rising gale, who shall tell how much further she may be driven? However firm may be her present anchorage, it behooves us to look to leeward and see what rocks lie in the direction in which the wind is blowing. There is no difficulty in telling them off: The personal Deity a relic of old Jupiter; man a highly developed animal, having the same origin as the brutes from which he sprang, and distinguished from them only by the development of certain ideas; heaven the fairy-land of the infant race; Providence its Santa Claus; the Bible a collection of ancient poetry; the divine law a natural growth in the minds of men; conscience, right, and duty products of the natural development of humanity; no divine punishment for sin or reward for virtue except through their natural consequences as brought about by the laws of nature or the impulses of mankind; the future life a beautiful dream, from which we would fain not wake.

On such rocks as these all the religious and theological doctrines of the past go to wreck with the mythology of Greece and the belief in witchcraft. The question which now presents itself is, Have we at the present time any religious system which will outlive such a catastrophe? Of course, the question may arise whether any system which does not recognize the hitherto received truths of

religion as its basis can be called a religious system. This is a question of terminology which it is not worth while to argue at length, because, if we admit that the new system is subversive of the religion of the past, it would then be a something taking the place of that religion, and might therefore properly inherit the old name. The question of terminology has come up before when it has been asked whether those who deny the divinity of Christ could be considered Christians. Such questions, from the very nature of things, can not be definitively settled. We shall, therefore, leave it entirely with the reader to decide whether what we here call the new religion is or is not worthy the name of religion; whether it is or is not founded on Christianity; whether it is or is not a refined and elevated form of the system first taught by Christ himself. All we seek to do is to show him that certain ideas respecting the first duty of man are now prevalent among the most enlightened of mankind; that when measured by the highest ethical standard they are more worthy of admiration than any similar ideas which have been entertained in the past, and that they are not necessarily founded on anything which has heretofore been considered as religious faith. They are not opposed to such faith so far as to condemn it, but are merely independent of it. The votaries of this new religion include men of every form of religious profession, from the most orthodox believers, who think that their religion is founded upon time-honored beliefs simply because they have never made a profound examination of its basis, to the most extreme atheists, materialists, and evolutionists.

It is, from the point of view of one who wishes to preserve the great doctrines of God and immortality from any possible catastrophe that may wreck others, a misfortune that the work of pointing out what needs amendment in our present system is left so much in the hands of the opponents of all doctrine. If all sympathizers, with religion in general who admit, as most do, that many doctrines of the past are as good as gone, would frankly state in what they conceive the change to consist, instead of confining their remarks to mysterious whispers, the way would be opened for a good understanding between sects now at war.

The great difference between the new religion and that current at the present time in our churches is to be seen not so much in its practical outcome as in the theory on which it is founded. The system of doctrines the subversion of which among the most advanced intellectual thinkers is so seriously threatened is, after all, a theoreti-

cal rather than a practical system. It embodies a collection of propositions, more or less abstract, respecting the personality of the Creator, the inspiration of the Scriptures, the supernatural origin of Christianity and the future life, which do not now have that great practical effect upon human life and thought which they once had. We do not, of course, deny that they had such an effect in times past, and will have it in the future upon large classes of society. We need not even now argue whether there is any class on whom they are without influence. We only claim that the greater the moral improvement of mankind the less the influence which such doctrines will have upon their daily life and spiritual condition.

We shall begin by viewing the supposed decay of belief on its most gloomy side. The great pall which evolution throws over the hopes of the more elevated classes of humanity is the skepticism which it engenders respecting the personal immortality of the individual soul. The hope of immortality has always rested on the theory that there was an infinite gulf between the nature of man and that of the lower animals. For the latter Christianity has held out no hope of a future state. Indeed, it is obvious to all that it would be belittling the position of man to suppose the lower animals immortal. It is the great elevation of man above "the beasts which perish" which has been supposed to mark him as the peculiar object of his Maker's interest. But, if man is simply a developed animal, why should he hope for any other than an animal existence? It must be remembered that the difference between a simply perishable animal and the immortal spirit is not merely one of degree, but of kind. The former can never develop into the latter by mere processes of natural growth, because the passage from mortality to immortality is of infinite length, with no intermediate steps. There must have been a man into whom the immortal soul was first breathed, else man is only an animal. Now, while many evolutionists may claim that there is nothing in their theory to contradict the notion of such a first man, yet the general tenor of the theory is against such a notion, as involving a sort of supernatural interference of the very kind which the theory was devised to get rid of. The logical incongruity is such that, if evolution is once admitted, immortality can be looked upon as little more than the vaguest kind of a hope, founded on our ignorance of the possibilities of nature. A weakening of the hope of immortality is the more to be regretted because, of all doctrines, that of a future life is the single one which, even should it be ill-grounded, would yet

conduce to human happiness. Nearly every other dogma has two sides associated with it as involving a deception of mankind should it prove to be ill founded. But, if our hope of immortality is unfounded, the fact will never be known to us. No voice will ever come back from the grave to inform mankind that they are deceived, and no pain or disappointment will ever be felt, by those who have passed away, over the blasting of their hopes.

But let us look a little closer at the relation of the doctrine to human life. Why do we desire immortality? So far as each individual desires it for himself, as a means of enjoying eternal happiness, the desire is a purely egoistic one. Of course it may, and undoubtedly does in many cases, grow out of a love of God, but it does not grow out of a desire to do God a service, because the Creator of man can create beings of a higher order, who shall serve his purpose better than the latter possibly can. If it would not be analyzing our most tender feelings too closely, we might comment upon the incongruity between the two views which we find combined in our religious sentiments: that man before his Maker is but "a worm in the dust," a being so low and so vile as to be unworthy of even his pitying glance; and, on the other hand, that man is of such importance in the creation that the Creator himself desires to preserve every member of the race to eternity, in order that he may enjoy communion with him. Another reason for supporting the doctrine of immortality, and the reason which will probably first occur to the minds of most religious believers, is that mankind can be kept from sin only by the rewards and punishments held out to them in a future life. Every sin is not punished, nor can every virtue be rewarded in this world. If the reward of virtue and the punishment of vice are confined to the imperfect efforts of man, it is asked by the theologian what object is there in being virtuous when we are sure that no good will recur to ourselves; and in abstaining from the pleasures of sin when, as is often the case, we know that no punishment can follow?

This view is undoubtedly well founded, so long as we admit that human nature is such that men seek only their own selfish gratification in this world, and can not be kept from pleasurable sin except by associating a punishment with it. But the question arises, Is human nature thus degraded? If it is, then it can hardly be considered worthy of the Creator to suppose that he desires eternal communion with such a class of beings. If it is not—if there are men who love virtue and hate wickedness for their own sakes, apart

from all consequences to themselves personally—then we have another basis, entirely independent of rewards and punishments, for keeping such men in the right way. What we now wish to show is that this higher ideal is at least attainable, and we fain hope actually reached by all the better members of the community. We may admit that the masses of mankind in past ages have belonged to the degraded class, yet to claim that all mankind belong to this class is certainly taking a very low view of human nature. The doctrine of evolution asserts the moral as well as the physical perfectibility of man, and assumes his unending progress toward a higher ideal of character.

The development of the lower animals in the processes of evolution has been almost entirely a physical one. Almost the only growth to which they were subjected was that of the physical capabilities of supporting life in the struggle for existence. But humanity has exhibited a growth of an entirely different character in the gradual development of moral and intellectual qualities. If we consider physical development as of the lowest order of importance, intellectual as the second, and the moral as the highest, then the processes of evolution of which humanity itself has been the subject are the highest of all. Looking at the matter from this point of view, and considering the evolution of the moral sentiments as the greatest step in the progress of animated nature, we may see that a new species of animal has begun to rule the world within quite recent times. This animal we call the refined Christian gentleman of modern society. He was not unknown in the past, specimens being seen in the persons of the Platos and Alfreds who adorned the histories of their times, but who nearly disappeared from the earth during the dark ages. As the world grew in enlightenment, this being first began to modify the laws under which men lived. Then he seized the administration of government, and now he has made his way into the Church so quietly that no one perceives the change unless his attention is specially called to it. His love of virtue and hatred of sin are founded on an entirely different basis from that of rewards and punishments. He sees upon the earth an ocean of humanity, in which he is only a single drop ; he sees future generations coming upon the earth whose interests are more important than his own ; he knows that the good of others is something vastly more important than any that can come to himself ; he feels that it is his highest duty as an intellectual and moral being to conduce to the general good of this humanity, present and future. The

sole standard by which he measures the moral elevation of his fellow man is the extent to which they are animated by these highest motives. It matters not how we suppose this being to have originated. It matters not what we suppose virtue primarily to consist of. A high sense of duty and a devotion to the happiness of mankind are equally admirable, whether we suppose them to rest on an immaterial basis, or to rise from a peculiar constitution of the brain ; whether we suppose them to have been immediately created by God, or to be the product of a slow development.

We might take the standard of excellence offered us by this being as one of the most striking examples of the drift of modern thought from the standards of the old theology. According to the latter, all mankind are to be divided into two great classes, goats and sheep, between whom intervenes a gulf of infinite breadth. The one are under the curse of the Almighty, and doomed to eternal punishment unless they get themselves transferred to the other class before they die ; the others are to be the subjects of unending bliss if they do not fall away from grace. There may be many degrees of excellence between each class, but the space between the worst out of the many millions of the saved and the best out of the countless millions of the lost is the space between heaven and hell. The class to which a man shall belong is not determined so much by his moral purity or the elevation of his motives, as by his belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures, and the miraculous birth and resurrection of Christ, and his performance of certain mental acts of acceptance toward his Saviour. If he complies with these conditions, his moral constitution may be such that he has daily to repent of a propensity to enjoy the pleasures of sin, lets his notes go to protest and finds it very hard to recall his cattle when he sees them grazing in his neighbors' fields ; yet if he fights manfully against his wicked propensities, and repents of each bad deed, he may remain among the elect. But if one finds himself an atheist, or even a disbeliever in the divine mission of Christ, his righteousness and moral elevation are but as filthy rags. He may labor for humanity with the most disinterested devotion ; be animated throughout his life by the highest and purest of motives, without doing anything to remove from himself the curse of Adam.

Such is the official standard of the written theology of our time, but how completely is the world receding from it ! The society of to-day has its standard, in which there is a substantial agreement among all classes and conditions of honest men with well-balanced

minds. If a committee of church-members, preachers, men of business, and men of thought, should be appointed to decide upon the highest worth of any human being, and the question of his merits or demerits as a moral and responsible agent, they would inquire : Does he work and think for himself or for the general good of others ? What are his most secret motives and springs of action ? Will he relieve suffering without asking the world to note who did it ? Is his mental constitution such that he is incapable of an act that he would fear to have known to the world ? These questions answered satisfactorily, none would inquire whether he was atheist or pantheist, Christian or Parsee.

To view the matter from another standpoint, let us suppose two men, equally virtuous so far as outward merit is concerned, brought before a tribunal of the best of mankind, in order that their innermost motives may be brought to light, and the question decided which is most worthy of acceptance in the eyes of his Maker. The heart of one says : "I am virtuous, because I was taught in my infancy that the good would be rewarded in heaven and the wicked punished in hell. I have often been sorely tempted, but the thought of the consequences to follow temptation has always deterred me from sin. The feeling that my eternal happiness and my communion with God were involved in my life here below has been my staff and comfort through temptation and adversity."

The heart of the other says : "I have no belief in a personal Deity, in a moral government of the universe, in Christ as more than a philosopher, or in a future state of rewards and punishments. But I was born with a sense of duty to my fellow man. I was imbued in infancy with the view that, as a member of society, it was my duty to subordinate my own happiness to that of others. My sense of right and wrong was thus developed at a very early age, and by the constant endeavor to do what was right my conscience acquired a constantly increasing development, and asserted more and more its power over my actions. I am not virtuous from any hope of reward or fear of punishment, but only because I feel that virtue is my highest duty, both to myself and to humanity. This feeling has developed to such an extent that the good of my fellow men is now my ruling motive, and vice the object of my most extreme detestation."

We can hardly be mistaken in supposing that the common consent of enlightened mankind would put the second man before the first. But, when both men shall be cited before the greatest tribu-

nal of the universe, will this judgment be affirmed or reversed? Will the denial by the one of the personal existence of his Maker lead to his eternal condemnation? If we say that it would, let us see what we would think of a human monarch pronouncing a sentence on the same principles. We know that, from habits of mind not necessary to analyze, the typical king of early ages was extremely punctilious in requiring recognition from his subjects, and it was supposed quite natural that he should be ready to decree banishment or death against a person so rash as to deny his existence. But any civilized monarch of the present day would be ashamed to decree a formal punishment for such an offense, or even to consider it an offense at all. The question now presents itself, if we think of God as condemning one to eternal punishment for atheism, to what do we liken him? The dilemma we meet is this: if we think of him as condemning one whose course through life has been actuated by the most virtuous motives, because he entertained mistaken views of things eternal, we must consider that the law of the highest Judge corresponds more to that of past and unenlightened ages than it does to the conceptions of right and wrong now entertained by the most enlightened men. If we think of him as saving the atheistic moralist, is not some change necessary in our ordinary conceptions of Divine Justice.

At first sight it might appear that the downfall of doctrine which we have described does away entirely with religious faith. Of course, if we consider that no faith can be religious except it has hitherto been recognized as orthodox, this may be true. But there is yet another faith besides that of the religion of the present—a faith that whatever is is right; a faith that the pillars of religion and morality will stand, though the very foundation on which they have always been supposed to rest be washed away by the flood; a faith that no change in the religious doctrines of enlightened men can occur, except such as will be better for humanity, and bring man nearer to eternal truth; a faith that the throne of the moral universe, whatever or wherever it may be, will stand unshaken before all human discussion. Such a faith fears no false teaching, sets no limit on the freedom of human thought, and views with perfect calm the subversion of any and every form of doctrinal belief, confident that the ultimate result will tend to the elevation of the human soul and the unceasing progress of spiritual development. Whatever becomes of other forms of faith, we may expect this to strengthen as long as humanity shall endure.

IV.

IS POLITICAL ECONOMY A SCIENCE?

PROFESSOR PERRY, of Williams College, has recently published a new edition of his "Elements of Political Economy." It is an important and valuable book that commends itself strongly to all who take an interest in economical studies. The Professor is a man of marked ability. He possesses great natural sagacity, considerable power of analysis, an exceedingly fresh and racy style, a wide range of observation, and large familiarity with the writings of economists. He leaves upon his readers the impression of great honesty of thought, which lands him at times in ingenuous but uncomfortable explanations, when reflection, as it proceeds, brings on collision with adopted theories. These are qualities of great value in the misty region of Political Economy, and they enable him to teach with large power and success.

As might have been expected from such endowments, Professor Perry has made important contributions to the explanation of the matters of which Political Economy treats. He dives down into the reality of things, into the facts of the living world, and generally stays there. His words and thoughts are, for the most part, those of the daily life of men. He is singularly free from jargon, and, though a strenuous assertor of the scientific character of Political Economy, his analyses and illustrations are felt to flow from the ideas and the talk of the common world. They are followed with ease, and their power of instructing is proportionate.

It is not the object of this article to review Professor Perry's work in detail. It is already widely known in the United States, and is winning steadily increased circulation in England. The following remarks have a much more limited aim. They seek rather to discuss some points, few but of extreme significance, on which criticism, and if need be dissent, may be reasonably expressed.

The very eminence of Professor Perry warrants, indeed calls for, such a proceeding from those who are animated with the same love of truth, and may happen to believe that accuracy of view has not been attained.

The first question which presents itself is the real nature of Political Economy. Is it a science? This is no idle intellectual problem fit for dialecticians to debate, but concerning little the great mass of mankind. On the contrary, it is scarcely possible at the present moment to raise an inquiry about Political Economy of more vital, more intensely practical importance. It affects in the most direct manner the worth of Political Economy for the world. The interest of the question does not lie in determining whether it is not, in some form or other, a science, but in ascertaining whether the mode of investigation and teaching adopted by its expounders enforces or injures its value for the happiness of mankind. Political Economy has reached what may be called an epoch in its history. It professes to prescribe lines of conduct which bear directly on the welfare of human beings. Its teachers for now a long series of years have discussed what is the right policy to pursue in the production and distribution of wealth, and have done good service by establishing truths which, if practiced, confer the highest benefits on society. They have fought against the never-ceasing flood of false theory with which the selfishness of private interest and the want of reflection of the multitude deluge economical legislation and practice. At no former period have greater issues agitated trade and public feeling than those which are being wrangled over on every side. The very essence of Political Economy, its inmost and most vital problems—free trade, money, the relations between workingmen and their employers, the social structure which the welfare of the people demands—are subjected to the most passionate controversy. But here a very painful fact reveals itself to the intelligent observer. The battle is not fought with the language of Political Economy. The subjects are hers. The truths they contain have been proclaimed by a long line of able and ardent writers. The line of action they insist upon as true is the very object of the strife. Nevertheless the combatants do not object to Political Economy, to its writers or their books. They do not, as in matters involving real science, cite the judgments of the professional expositors, and demand submission in the name of demonstrated truth. The sick man calls in his doctor, the steel-maker accepts without reserve the knowledge of the chemist, but who brings down on his oppo-

nents the assertions of economical writers? who in the fierce struggle of capital and labor, amid depressed trade and starving populations, dreams of sending for an economical man of science?

We have not to seek far to discover the cause of this strange fact. It is to be found in the scientific treatment which its expounders have given to Political Economy. They speedily abandoned the method of Adam Smith, who treated economical questions as events of every-day life, to be discussed in the language of the common world. The scientific ambition fell upon economic writers: they determined to raise their pursuit to the dignity of a science. They sprang up in profuse abundance. The intellectual distinctions of science—elaborate and precise definitions, though of matters familiarly known in practical life, keen researches of the sharp dialectical distinctions, common objects taken to pieces and put together again with unknown and artificial limbs, critical inquiries into points of no real importance, and the ordinary industrial and commercial life of the community converted into an arena of philosophical discussion. Then followed the necessary consequence of such a mode of treatment, which was the greatest calamity of all. The language of every-day life was cast aside, and that of intellectual casuistry put in its place. Merchants, traders, and artisans found matters which occupied their conversation every hour wrapped up in language new, hard, and unfamiliar, and this, be it carefully observed, on matters which they felt no want of good and expressive words to discuss. Had they been in search of astronomical or geological information, unusual language would have seemed natural; they would have had the feeling of their own ignorance and of the abstruse nature of the subjects. But to hear buying and selling—whether our iron manufacturers should be allowed to disappear and their laborers thrown out of employment for want of protection—whether pieces of paper could make a nation richer—or whether by striking workmen could extort better wages from their employers—to hear all this talked of in hard words and scientific formulas, could only repel them from listening. They called it jargon. Can any one after this be surprised that a scientific economist is the one person whom every one turned away from on questions of supreme economical importance?

Still, it will be said, If Political Economy is in truth a science, it must be handled and developed as a science. Thus the question recurs, Is it a science? Professor Perry vehemently asserts that it is. The very first sentence of his book opens with a definition of

Political Economy as a science. It is, he says, "the science of exchange"—and, not content with a single definition, he adds a second in the same sentence, "or, what means just the same, the science of value." These are indeed strange words. They paint Political Economy as a figure with two heads. And the value is pronounced to mean the same thing as exchanges. Now, nothing can be more certain than that value is not exchange, much less exchanges : and, notwithstanding this assertion of their identity, we are at the very beginning introduced to two sciences compounded into one. And this is an avowedly rigorous definition of a thorough science. It is little calculated to impress readers that they are dealing with a true science. Value is included in exchanges : it plays a large part in their action. It is a condition of their very existence, but it is not either the act itself of exchange or the things actually exchanged. Professor Perry defines value as "the relation of mutual purchase" ; but the relation which two things or services bear to each other, in the process of purchasing, in the act of exchanging, is not the exchange or purchase itself. To exchange is to give one thing in return for another : value forms no part of this performance. Value, in its first great meaning as a feeling—a feeling of esteem or regard for an object, generating a desire for its acquisition—furnishes the motive for the exchange, and exercises supreme power over the magnitude and quantity of the things exchanged ; but there it stops. The motive for a scientific act can not be the definition of the act itself. It was open to the Professor to define Political Economy as the science of exchange, or the science of value : why he did not single out one of the terms is plain to an attentive reader of his book. In his heart he believes that value constitutes the true scientific element of Political Economy, but he lacked the courage to call it simply the science of value. There was obviously much in Political Economy which could not be included under value. The expression science of exchange did not satisfy him ; it did not wear a sufficiently scientific look : so he took the unlucky course of bringing in value as a synonym of exchanges.

Whatever else Political Economy may be, most assuredly it is not the science of value. Professor Perry justly repudiates wealth as the subject of a science. He expresses "the impossibility of using that word to advantage for any scientific purpose whatever. . . . It is useless, even in the hands of a scientific logician" such as Mill, for any scientific use. But, if wealth is a crumbling foundation for a superstructure of science, value is infinitely worse. There

is a solid reality in the things designated by wealth ; they can be handled and exchanged. They present massive substances, endowed with great utilities, of known nature and magnitude. But what is more unstable, more changeable, more capricious, than value ? Political Economy deals with the material realities of human life—and naturally Professor Perry demands precision as the indispensable quality of a scientific definition—but what is less precise, less susceptible of positive definition, than value ? The Professor's book supplies us with abundant and diverse meanings of this slippery word. First, it means "a relation between two things—that is, a proportion, a mathematical ratio, so that we can say that one thing has a proportionate value of five times to another. Then it is a purchasing power—an element in a commodity or service to procure something in exchange for it. In other words, this is plainly equivalent to a power in a thing to excite a desire for its possession : and such a power commands a price, or another article to be bartered for it. Thirdly, it is this other article, be it coin or something else, which it can fetch in exchange : that is, it is market-value or price. Fourthly, it is "a result of two corresponding efforts—and so can be made larger or smaller, according as either of the two desires in exchange may be the stronger" ; thus giving value the same sense as belongs to the French "*valeur*"—namely, value is a valuable thing.

Is this science ? Is there a separate science of value for all these meanings ? If not, but for one meaning only, then let it be rigidly adhered to, and all the other significations be treated as irregular and calling for dismissal from the body of the science. But how is this possible if value is declared in capital letters to be "a relation," a mathematical proportion, and then it is also admitted that it must be regarded as price, or as a power commanding price ? In truth, value has two distinct meanings recognized by Political Economy, and a third universally retained in popular use. The first two have great importance for explaining Political Economy, but neither of them creates it a science. The first, derived from the verb *I value*, signifies the feeling felt toward a thing, the regard for it or caring for it ; in a word, esteem. This feeling, called value, kindles a desire to acquire or to retain its object. It is the source from which every exchange springs, the force which sets the whole industrial and commercial worlds in motion. The second meaning of the word is market-value, the quantity of other things which it can procure for its owner by being exchanged ; in other words, it is price. Thus, value in its second sense, of what a

commodity or service can fetch in exchange, is the child of value in its first sense, of the feeling of esteem. The third meaning retained in popular language is contained in the expression that an object has value, is valuable—that is, is able to command a price in the market.

What basis does any one of these meanings supply for the construction of a science? The first is a personal feeling, peculiar to the individual man who feels it, dependent upon his particular character and position, closely bound up with his fancies and caprices, and subject to no general rule whatever. What science can be built up on the fancies of men for pictures, old china, ancient relics, or old books, and the extravagant prices they will give for them? Look at fashion and its power over value. Will science be ever able to give a rule whereby it shall be learned what dresses selling in May at enormous prices will be given away for trifles in September, because they have become unfashionable? Will it give us laws whereby it shall be ascertained what streets and houses will become the favored of fashion? Will it give oracular warnings of changes of taste in populations in their food or dress? If, too, there is to be a science of value, it must tell us how to measure value, as astronomy has given the world a measure of gravity and of length; yet all economists are now agreed that such a thing as a measure of value does not exist. Then no certain account can be given of the quantity and intensity of that value which is alleged to be the subject, the creator of a real science. And what is the cause of this capital defect? That a stable and steady value, a uniform power of commanding other objects in exchange, exists nowhere, for its nature is to be uncertain and in no small degree capricious. Labor was held for a time to possess a constant value in exchange, and so to be able to compare together and measure the quantities which commodities could command of other articles in exchange; but the value of labor is found to vary at different times and places. Gold has succeeded to the path of scientific honor; but, alas! gold will change its cost of production at the dictation of the mines, and is daily spoken of as falling in respect of commodities.

It may, however, be contended that the part which value plays in exchanges contains complicated and influential forces of extreme importance to Political Economy, and calling for elaborate elucidation. Why should not such explanations be regarded as science? It is true that value, as feeling, asserts itself powerfully in every

exchange, and that to understand its action is a great economical necessity. In this view Professor Perry has performed excellent work. He has given an admirable analysis of the effect produced by value in exchanging. He has not, indeed, given us the first step. He has not told us, in categorical terms, that value at its origin is a feeling. He has not dwelt on such universal expressions as, I value this picture or this park greatly, and it would take a very large price to induce me to part with it. He begins with the second stage—with that desire which value—the feeling of esteem—inspires. Then with him we recall six feelings found in every purchase—three on each side. There are two desires credited by the value-feeling: the desire to obtain the thing and the desire to obtain money. Next follow two efforts, made under the impulse of the desires—efforts to submit to the necessary sacrifices in parting with the object to be given away. These, of course, may be very small or very heavy. It is a faint effort to part with sixpence to acquire a pencil, but an overwhelming one to sell one's home to obtain indispensable money. Lastly, there are two satisfactions: each party to the exchange obtains what he desires. Even the debtor who borrows a loan upon oppressive terms would rather have the money than not; else he would not give his liability in exchange for the money.

Professor Perry lays great stress on this liability as strictly scientific; but is this really so? He must have often heard the language, "I should uncommonly like to get that fine jewel, but I really doubt whether I can afford it." The man pauses awhile, desire gathers strength daily, and at last wins the day. The jewel is bought; and, the misgiving about cost notwithstanding, the man breaks out into warm utterances of delight. Here are all the six feelings in full play—with the addition of market-value, the price paid for the jewel; but there is no science. These three successive emotions are every-day occurrences, known to all in their true character: no one dreamed of calling this science till economists stepped in with their panting for scientific treatment. The process carried on in the purchase is of the most ordinary kind; but an explanation of it in detail is most useful. It is no more science than the processes which an intelligent gardener adopts in transplanting and pruning trees.

The most common description of Political Economy paints it as the science of the production and distribution of wealth. We have already seen that wealth is an expression thoroughly vague; it is

hard to state clearly the precise nature of what it embraces. Mr. Mill feels the difficulty, and thinks he extricates himself from it by the remark that "every one has a notion sufficiently correct of what is meant by wealth." Yet Mill marches in the van of those who hold Political Economy to be a science, and resolutely bestow upon it scientific treatment. And who are most harassed by such a treatment? The educated men, who believe that they are building on a scientific rock and not on sand; or the mass of mankind, who are the true pupils of Political Economy, and find themselves lauded in scientific jargon? No wonder that Mr. Mill utters such a confession as to the nature of his subject, finds himself involved in harassing perplexities, and with a desperate effort to escape them adds the proviso that wealth must be embodied in material objects. Punishment soon overtakes him when he has to face the question, Who are productive laborers in presence of the fact that wealth is constantly given in exchange for mere services? He can not accept services, for then he would have fallen over the edge of his word, wealth; so he is compelled to refuse the title of productive to laborers who do not alter and shape matter. The great logician falls into the patent absurdity of declaring that every workman concerned in making an organ for the sole purpose of creating sound is a productive laborer; but the organist, who actually produces the sound by applying his labor and skill to the organ, is unproductive, because forsooth he creates no result made of wood or iron! It never occurred to him that, if there were no organist, the labor of all his productive workmen would be absolutely wasted and unproductive.

At this point Professor Perry has established a truth of great importance. He recognized that there were many services for which wealth was given which could not come under the designation of wealth. In his dislike of the word wealth, he arrives at the distinction that it is services which are bought, or the purchase of material objects, and not the objects themselves. I hold this view to be correct. It is the labor, the personal efforts made on our behalf, in producing the commodity, or the gratification bestowed by putting us in possession of what we esteem, which are bought and paid for by what we give in exchange. This truth, I believe, covers every exchange. Nevertheless, it is not possible to substitute throughout Political Economy services for material substances. Mankind can not and do not think about services when they buy a horse or a bale of cotton, though, if questioned, they will own that

what they pay for is cost of production. Both words, wealth and service, are needed and must be retained in economical writings, as they are certainly ineffaceable in the language of common life. But Professor Perry has done good work in insisting that service is ultimately the reality rewarded in every exchange.

Mr. Macleod supplies us with another definition of Political Economy as a science. "Economics," he tells us, "is the subject which treats of the exchanges of property or rights. . . . Property is a right and not a thing, and all exchanges of rights against rights."* Political Economy not the science of things, but of rights! If so, then it belongs to the lawyers, and it must be left to them to discuss it. Let it be composed of legal thoughts, and be expressed in legal language. If "all exchanges are not of products against products, but of rights against rights," then the question on every purchase must be, not the quantity and quality of the goods, but the validity of the title of their owner. Doubtless the idea of property underlies every purchase; but what buyer at a shop or warehouse dreams of inquiring whether the seller has a good title to his merchandise, or to what seller does it occur to ask how the purchaser came by his money? Indeed, Mr. Macleod himself finds it hard to be loyal to his definition. Soon after he uttered it he tells us that "production and consumption together constitute exchange." How constitute? May not a man produce and consume his own strawberries in his own garden? and will there be any exchange in the process? Then he defines "capital to be any economic quantity used for the purpose of profit." It is difficult indeed to catch the faintest sound of rights in these definitions.

There remains one champion more of the doctrine that Political Economy is a science—Mr. Lowe. He describes rather than defines the science. It is the science which Adam Smith created. It has for its subject "the creation, accumulation, distribution, and consumption of wealth"—and something incomparably greater besides. "Adam Smith had the merit, the unique merit, among all men who ever lived in the world, of having founded a deductive and demonstrative science of human actions and conduct." The science has for its foundation "the absolute supremacy of the desire of wealth, and the aversion from labor, on which the whole science is based." Hence it admits of that "prediction which is the test of

* Syllabus of a course of lectures on Political Economy to be delivered in the University of Cambridge, by Henry Dunning Macleod, in Michaelmas Term, 1877.

true science. In love, or war, or religion, or politics, or morals, it is impossible to foretell how mankind will act, and therefore on these subjects it is impossible to reason deductively. But once place a man's ear within the ring of pounds, shillings, and pence, and his conduct can be counted on with the greatest nicety."

Wonderful words indeed! A science "based on the desire for wealth and aversion from labor"; on the fighting and battling of two directly antagonistic forces, and the issue of such a struggle capable of being "counted on with the greatest nicety!" The great demonstrator science predicts the issue of the struggle, how men will act with unerring certainty. The ring of pounds, shillings, and pence, always wins; aversion from labor always loses. And this we learn directly after being told that in war it is impossible to foretell how mankind will act. What is war but a fierce battle between passion or policy and the ring of pounds, shillings, and pence? What so destructive of wealth as war? What else so deliberately accepts labor, effort, taxation, and death, in preference to wealth? The contradiction is complete. At the very outset, on its very definition, the grand demonstrative science is crushed and vanishes. It can and it can not foretell human conduct at the same instant. In war the ring of the shillings to be lost is distinctly audible, and yet no man can foretell whether he will go to war or not. But that ring predicts human conduct with the utmost nicety. The grand demonstrative science, it is plain, has never been born, and "the unique merit of Adam Smith" is a dream. Life in the present, as in the past, is full of instances, both in individual men and in nations, of the victory of aversion to labor, of laziness, idleness, moral torpor, love of ease, over the stimulating impulses of the desire of wealth; and the conclusion comes forth inevitably that a science, which has for basis two hostile forces, each possessed of great fighting powers, and which claims to predict that "men will always do so and so," is no science at all. Wealth, by itself alone, yields no science, much less wealth chained to a strong enemy, dislike of labor.

None of the preceding definitions of the science of Political Economy seems to me capable of maintaining itself. There remains that of the science of exchange. It was that which Archbishop Whately proposed under the name of catallactics. It is hardly a definition; it is little more than an assertion that Political Economy speaks of exchanges, and that the explanation of exchanges is a science. This leads up to the inquiry, What in reality is the true nature of Politi-

cal Economy? Does it exhibit any true features of a genuine science? To answer this question one must know what a science is; and that knowledge is exceedingly difficult to come by.

A full, accurate, and accepted definition of science has not yet been produced, but one has been recently framed by Professor Fowler, of Oxford, which seems to give a satisfactory solution to the problem, and certainly contains the one thing necessary for the explanation of the nature of Political Economy. He defines science as "the filiation of causes through common observation to things beyond." It traces out cause upon cause in the field of its inquiry, and coördinates them in a systematic series. The first contains just those matters which common observation, ordinary natural sagacity, is able to explore and to explain fully; and, secondly, other matters which the special intelligence of the scientific faculty can alone investigate. Hence, science discovers new facts and laws which would have been invisible to common observation; and such discoveries are the test of the existence of science. Thus, in geometry, propositions are reached which are new discoveries of truths not only previously unknown, but also entirely due to the appliance of scientific reasoning. In the same way in chemistry, new substances, never thought of before, become realities fully perceived by the scientific eye.

The nature and position of Political Economy come forth into the light of day under this definition. Political Economy stops at common observation. Unlike geometry and chemistry, it has no beyond. It does not reveal a single new truth which, in some form or other, was not previously known and acted upon by men possessed of natural sagacity. It examines and takes to pieces common processes which underlie the economical action of all men. It shows what they are, why intelligent men have practiced them as the obviously true and natural course to adopt. It discerns the rules which have governed their action, and it can speak of laws, but so also can the laborer who knows that a vigorous hoeing will greatly enlarge the crop of turnips. If it dwells on the law of supply and demand, as it is perfectly entitled to do, with great advantage to its hearers, it will have nothing really new to say which, without this grand phrase about law, intelligent farmers and merchants have not understood and felt the power of. The greatest truth which it proclaims, the highest service which it has rendered to mankind, the principle of free trade, is only the expanded application of the rule which human nature by its own good sense has established

in every household, the women to do the needlework, the men to lift the weights : every one to do that work for which he or she has a special aptitude. Thus more work, greater results, are accomplished for the same cost of labor. Political Economy points to the vast power of machinery to multiply the enjoyments of mankind. Have the most ordinary men in any age been ignorant of the usefulness of a good tool or of mechanical contrivances for enlarging the productiveness of labor? Money is reckoned a dark subject, and Political Economy answers at once the question so puzzling for most mortals, how it comes to pass that a sovereign can buy a hat : yet Aristotle, more than two thousand years ago, gave the explanation as derived from the natural practice of all nations.

Such is the true nature of Political Economy. It is not a science, but a body of systematic knowledge gathered from analyzing common processes which the human race has pursued at all times with greater or less efficiency. That such is the essential character of Political Economy may be easily shown by a proof open to all. If a Newton were to explain the law of gravity with its inverse square of the distance to an unlearned hearer, or a Faraday the mysterious power of electricity, or a Tyndall the movement of molecules in the heart of every substance, he might use simple language and utter intelligible statements, but his hearer would understand nothing of the knowledge nor of the proofs on which the teacher's explanations were founded. But let an intelligent economist, unspoiled by scientific jargon, make like statements in Political Economy, and reason out the evidence on which they were built—his pupil, if only intelligent, will follow him with ease. He will gather up each fact and regularly connect it with its predecessor ; he will understand the argument and feel the force of the logic ; and in almost every department of Political Economy, except such as are, like banking, mechanically complicated, he will be able to pronounce a competent opinion whether the arguments advanced are sound. Let any one try this method of teaching, and he will find it hard to retain a belief that Political Economy is a science.

The question then instantly arises, If Political Economy only enforces methods already known and practiced for obtaining objects universally familiar, what motive can men have for busying themselves with it ? For two reasons : in the first place, although the instinctive reasonableness of each method is obvious, they all admit of, indeed call for, wide application in practice. They are summoned to govern a vast variety of cases to which, at first sight, they might

seem not to belong. Political Economy renders a great service to humanity when it points out that huge complications of industry and trade, hard to analyze in minute detail, but involving the happiness of whole nations, fall under the plain, obvious rules which are found in every household and every village.

But there is a second and still stronger reason. No region of thought and action is so infested with the invasions of false and arbitrary theory as the economical. Powerful forces are brought to bear against the simple, natural processes which Political Economy proclaims but did not invent. Selfishness and, strange to say, its companion, philanthropy, conspire together to preach up contempt for common sense. It is the duty of the state, cry endangered manufacturers and workmen, to prevent the busy industries of the country being ruined by the cruel competition of foreigners. Our rivals fight us on unfair terms; they have so many advantages given them by nature. The state is bound to redress the wrong by duties which will protect the labor of its people, and put them on a fair level with their opponents. Surely, exclaim the philanthropists, common humanity is shocked at the sight of honest and meritorious fellow citizens, men of the same blood with ourselves, thrown out of employment and reduced to destitution. The invasion of foreign goods must be repelled, and our own people be kept alive. Then comes forward Political Economy and says to the home-producers: You are asking for a poor-rate to be imposed on the whole people for your support, a tax which will fall, not on the hated foreigner, but on your fellow countrymen! What right have you to make such a demand? If it is conceded, why should there be a poor man throughout the land? Why may he not claim an addition to such a poor-rate to insure him life and respectability?

To the philanthropist replies Political Economy: A little exercise of your common sense would enable you to perceive the blindness into which you have fallen. It does not occur to you that there can be no buying without selling—that trade is nothing else but an exchange of goods of equal value. If your countrymen buy foreign goods, the foreigner absolutely must, directly or indirectly, purchase your goods in turn, for you have nothing else to buy with but what you make. If he will not take your products, trade must necessarily cease. This obvious truth shows you that the workmen who would have made the protected goods will now make those articles which the foreigner must buy from you in exchange for his own. No one will lack employment, and there will be the enor-

mous advantage that on both sides, in your country and in that of the foreigner, and with the same labor there will be more wealth produced all round. In each country, since the products of labor from natural and local advantages will be larger, every laborer will be benefited, and the universal gain will be enormous.

Such are the two duties which Political Economy has to perform for the welfare of mankind. Its vocation is to unravel the complications of industry and trade, and to apply the suggestions of common sense and natural sagacity to the processes they employ. Still more is it called upon to do battle against theory; to resist its never-ceasing assaults on good sense; to rescue human life from the preachings of that greatest and most mischievous of all theorists—the practical man—the man who knows.

So much for the doctrine that Political Economy is a science. We turn now, in conclusion, to one subject more. Professor Perry has taken his stand—with much regret and no small surprise be it said—on the economical theory, constructed by Mr. Macleod on the legal expression, incorporeal property. It is a theory, not of the practical but of the scientific man; but it offends equally against common sense, introducing confusion and much harm into a very important department of Political Economy, banking and bank-notes.

Incorporeal property is correctly described as consisting of rights or claims. These rights or claims imply debtors and creditors, and then the Professor makes the remark that “what lies between debtors and creditors may be called indifferently credit or debt.” This being so, it is much to be regretted that he did not use the word debt, and not credit, wherever he was able to do so. Credit is a word of many meanings, and unfortunately they are very abstract and hard to define. Debt has one meaning only, an obligation to give or pay something. It is emphatically the word of common life. A man speaks of the debts which he owes or are owed to him: he never calls what other people owe him his credits. In a debtor and creditor account, where the word credit is perfectly natural, the item debts due is constantly found on the debtor side: the item credits is rarely, indeed, it may be safely said, entered on the creditor side. Since the Professor admits the words to be synonymous, we shall take the liberty of substituting debts for credits wherever it may be necessary to make the change.

The definition that “credits or debts are rights not yet realized” is sound and true.

Professor Perry next defines a bank as "an institution for the creation, management, and extinction of credits," and a banker is declared to be "a dealer in credits." In these two descriptions we insert debts in the place of credits, for to deal in debts is plain and intelligible: to deal in credits is much the reverse. So worded, to call a banker a dealer in debts is a true expression, though it would be preferable to say that he is a dealer in the transfer of debts; but the phrase fails in clearly explaining the nature of the banker's position and action. The best description of him is to call him an intermediate agent or broker, which is the exact position he occupies between his two principals, namely, his depositor, from whom he has received money or its equivalent, and to whom he then owes money, and his borrower, to whom he has transferred this money or its equivalent, and who consequently owes him money. He brings these two principals together, indirectly, indeed, through his intermediate position, but still very really. The thing which the banker deals in and handles, and which corresponds with the corn of the corn-broker, is the power of buying—purchasing power. His business consists wholly in managing this purchasing power. He gets the means of buying from his depositor—to a small amount in money, but chiefly in debts expressed on paper, which he collects on behalf of the depositor. He then finds a borrower to whom he transfers the purchasing power. Banking is a mere machine, the nature of which is simple and intelligible, though it is difficult to work. The purchasing power received from the depositor is derived from the fact that he has sold property, and with the proceeds is enabled to buy. The farmer has sold corn, and can buy; he is paid perhaps in cash, but far more commonly by a check on some bank. He gives that check to his banker to collect. The banker then procures a borrower, nominally of money, actually of a power, drawing a check or bill on the banker. The borrower buys silk, and pays for it with a check on the banker. There are thus two checks in circulation, one from the farmer, a second from the silk-dealer; these checks meet at the clearing-house and cancel each other in account, and thus the transaction is completed. The corn sold by the farmer enables silk to be bought by the silk-dealer. Corn has been exchanged for silk, and that is the reality of the whole affair. It is the one thing which banking does, and it is identically the same in essence as the action of a sovereign which is just bought with some commodity, and then in turn is exchanged for a pair of shoes.

There would be no change in the real nature of banking if there were no paper instruments, such as checks and bills, but only coin, used in the business. Banking then would take the form of receiving coin from the farmer, and counting out to the borrowing silk-dealer. The operation would be identically the same, only a very heavy, cumbrous, and expensive tool would be employed instead of the cheap, portable, and equally effective transfer-machine—paper on account.

On this powerful but simple machine—a bank—Professor Perry makes the marvelous remark that “*a new capital* has been created by it, a new purchasing power—something in the world of value additional to what existed before.” Where is there the faintest trace to be seen, in the transferring process of banking, of a new capital, a new substance, a new reality, which did not exist before? The corn remains the same, and so does the silk; they have passed into the hands of new owners, and that is the whole of the affair. The farmer might have sold the corn for cash and lent that cash straight to the silk-merchant; there would have been no banking, no one would have talked of a new capital, yet the transaction would have been identically the same as the banking. No doubt the operation has created two debts, one due by the banker, the other by the silk-merchant. But debts are not capital.

But, replies Professor Perry, debts are credits, and credits are claims, and claims are rights, and rights are property, of the kind called incorporeal, and all property may be capital. Incorporeal property, thrust into Political Economy by Mr. Macleod, lands the Professor in the assertion that a mere change of ownership, without a particle of change in the commodities owned, creates a new, a second capital, a something in the world of value which did not exist before. If so, then let all the capital in England change owners by borrowing, and in a moment the capital of England is doubled! If Political Economy is capable of such feats, it provides the shortest and quickest road to riches that the most vivid imagination can conceive. Only, after a while, the Professor lets himself down sadly; for he sums up capital in the old-fashioned way, as “products saved,” and we are dropped back again into material substances, which unfortunately can not be doubled by a swift change of owners.

All these pleasant doctrines rest on the proposition laid down by Mr. Macleod, that incorporeal property—that is, rights—is wealth. It may be permitted me to repeat here a passage quoted from me

by Professor Perry : "Lines and names in ledgers, checks at the clearing-house, debts due to depositors, debts due to borrowers upon bills, are neither wealth nor capital. They are words and nothing more. Incorporeal property, under which these kinds of written words have been summed up, is not wealth ; it is merely a collection of title-deeds, but from which the reality is absent. The *corpus* is not in those deeds ; but the right to acquire that property, that *corpus*, even before its possession is obtained, is itself a property. If a title-deed or a mortgage is declared to be actual wealth by Political Economy, then the sooner it is consigned to the waste-basket the better."*

On this passage Professor Perry makes a comment which fills me with the utmost surprise. He asserts that this passage "concedes the whole matter in dispute—'the *right* to acquire that property, even before possession is obtained, *is itself a property*.' That is all we claim, *that rights are property, and that new rights, new property, a new capital*, are created by banking." It is quite true that rights are property, that they are bought and sold daily, that money is given for them ; but that they are a capital, and that banking by creating rights creates a new capital, is what no written or spoken words of mine have ever said or suggested, least of all the passage which is here pronounced to contain this, for me, utterly false proposition. Rights are words—nothing else ; but they are endowed with great power, and that power resides in their ability to persuade a court of law to compel the delivery of the things or services claimed. They can be sold ; but, like goods bought on credit, to be paid for at a deferred period, they do not constitute a new class of articles, but only variations as to the day of payment. Accounts in shopkeepers' books, mortgages on estates, bills, checks, debts, even debts due by bankrupts, titles to landed property, national debts, reversions, capitalized annuities, claims of all kinds, are property, are owned and possess value, and can be exchanged for money ; but it is the possession of words only which has been acquired, but of words rendered valuable by their power to persuade a judge to give them practical effect.

I would ask leave to correct another misapprehension. On page 305 Professor Perry describes me as "more or less fortifying the view of Mr. Macleod that money is the representative of debt." He

* "Chapters on Practical Political Economy," p. 452, as quoted by Professor Perry, p. 423.

refers to page 363 of the "Chapters on Practical Political Economy"; but I can not discover any sign of such a thought on that page. I should indeed feel that I had written "strangely," if I had said with Mr. Macleod that "where there is no debt there can be no money." Would a nation which imperatively commanded ready-money payments exclusively be prevented from carrying out its decree by the impossibility it would thereby create of there being any use for money?

BONAMY PRICE.

V.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN PHYSIQUE.

AMERICA is England in a minor key. All that is good, all that is evil in the United States of the past, or near present, comes directly from Great Britain—the daughter is but a mild type of the mother. In the angry and inexpert discussions of national characteristics, it is forgotten that the difference between one country and the other is far less than is suggested or commonly credited. In criticising England for her failures, her weaknesses, her inconsistencies, her preference for the near to the remote, and the practical to the ideal, we are but criticising ourselves, who derive all these traits by direct, inevitable transmission from our maternal home.

Even American buncombe is all English: at public banquets, at gatherings of quiet and sober men of science in that empire, I have heard more of self-exaltation, of reciprocal flattery, of glorification, of hosannas over the greatness of themselves, than one should hear in this country at a rustic Fourth-of-July carousal; indeed, we are outgrowing that academic play, which the conservatism of the mother-land holds to as with bands of iron.

The delusion that the two nations utterly differ in kind appears in England as well as in America. This summer the distinguished London physician, Dr. Richardson, gave me an excellent example. The Doctor, in a lecture before a large audience of workingmen, quoted a passage from my work on longevity of brain-workers, in which a contrast was made between the environment of the muscle-worker and brain-worker. At the close of the lecture, he was told that if that passage—written by an American—were true, they did not wish to emigrate to America, as many of them had thought of doing.

The laws of nature are not reversed by crossing the Atlantic, or by changing the form of government. Forgetting that the pure-

ly practical man can never be a first-class man, Americans are wont to call themselves the practical nation, with an implied criticism on all nations that encourage thought ; but all our practicality is English : Yankee ingenuity is simply an importation, and the almighty dollar is sired by the divine guinea. The question, Will it pay ? was asked in England before this country was born—the problems of abstract right and truth and justice being turned over to German specialists.

The beliefs, disbeliefs, and unbeliefs of men, the true, the false, and the doubtful, England turns to use ; she allows no waste threads, but weaves everything into the pattern of the state ; to her, sciences, delusions, religions, are all one ; she melts them together and molds them into cathedrals, railroads, bishops, nobilities, civil liberty, livings, benefices, universities, dignity, solidity, comfort ; she travels everywhere and forages in all nations for materials to strengthen and adorn the empire ; the blunders of other people become her possession ; pioneering, experimenting where great risks to philosophy are involved, she leaves to others, and profits by the results. In this feature we, in a certain way, have followed her example.

With these general resemblances there are phenomenal differences of *physique* and character that are of special interest to students of the nervous system.

American vs. English Female Beauty.

While the beauty of the English girl may endure longer than that of her American sister, yet American beauty has this sovereign advantage—that it best bears close observation. The English beauty appears best at a distance, and grows homely as we approach her : the typical American beauty appears more attractive near at hand ; in her case, nearness brings enchantment. The American face bears the microscope mainly by reason of its delicacy, fineness, and mobility of expression—qualities that are only appreciated on nearness of inspection. The ruddiness or freshness, the health-suggesting and health-sustaining face of the English girl seem incomparable when partially veiled, or when a few rods away ; but, as she comes nearer, these excelling characteristics retreat behind the irregularities of the skin, the thickness of the lips, the size of the nose ; and the observer is mildly stunned by the disappointment at not finding the nimble and automatic play of emotion in the eyes and features without which female beauty must always fall below

the line of supreme authority. The English beauties of national and international fame, at whose feet the empire of Great Britain is now kneeling, are of the American type, and in this country they would be held simply as of average rather than exceptional excellence.

It is no hard task for one traveling in Great Britain or on the Continent to distinguish American ladies from those of any other nationality; the practiced observer would make a mistake but rarely. At the great watering-places, as Homburg and Baden-Baden, in the lines where travel is thickest, as on the Rhine and through Switzerland, we may often see a face which, far away, seems to be purely American, but which, as we gain a closer view, is found to be all English; should there be a doubt, the voice—the speaking of a single word—often solves the problem.

Riding, once, from Paris to Calais, there stepped into the coach a lady whom for various reasons I assumed to be English, although her whole appearance—her voice, her manner, her conversation—were completely American. I concluded that at last I had found a case where it was impossible to make a differential diagnosis between an American and an Englishwoman; and I very soon found that my reasons for believing her English were not well founded—that she was an American, and a typical American, in her voice, face, expression, gait, and bearing, and even in the functional nervous disease from which she had long suffered.

It were well if these two extremes could be united; an American beauty slowly approaching, an English beauty slowly vanishing, present together a picture of human beauty the fairest that could fall on mortal vision. An American lady who unites the American qualities of intellect, of manners, and of *physique*, and who at one period lived for years in English territory, compresses it all in one sentence: "The English face is molded, the American is chiseled."

The superior fineness and delicacy of organization of the American woman, as compared with the women of Great Britain, Germany, and Switzerland, is shown in every organ and function—revealing itself in the play of the eyes, in the voice, in the response of the facial muscles, in gait, and dress, and gesture. The European woman steps with a firmer tread than the American, and with not so much lightness, pliancy, and grace. In a multitude, where both nations are represented, this difference is impressive. In the hourly operation of shaking hands one can tell, in some cases, the American

woman of the higher order from a European, Swiss, or German in the same rank. The grasp of the European woman is firmer and harder, as though on account of greater strength and firmness of muscle. In the touch of the hand of the American woman there are a nicety and tenderness that the Englishwoman destroys by the force of the impact. It is probable that the interesting and remarkable feat of muscle-reading, popularly called "mind-reading," would not be so skillfully and successfully performed by English as by American ladies, for the reason that the Americans are physically more delicate and nimble, and their susceptibility to external impressions far greater. This delusion of "mind-reading" was born in this country, and within the past few years. It may be rationally claimed that it could not have originated, or at least have attained so wide popularity in England, Germany, or Switzerland, since not enough could be found there who were capable of performing it to the amusement and astonishment of large audiences.

The voice of the American woman is on a higher key than that of the Englishwoman; and the partially deaf can hear it more easily.

The attractiveness of American women would appear to be the direct effect of climatic conditions, since beauty of the most precious sort requires fineness of organization, delicacy of features, nimbleness and sprightliness of expression. The same influence that makes the American female more handsome also causes her beauty to decay earlier than in Europe. The Englishwoman is less beautiful, less delicate and attractive between fifteen and twenty-five, yet she retains her beauty longer. Women, like plants, need abundant moisture, else they wither. The rains, the clouds, and the storms that enrobe castles and cathedrals in ivy, and keep the meadows green throughout the year, bring freshness and color to the face; so the English matron of forty-five or fifty is, perhaps, sometimes handsomer as well as healthier than at fifteen and twenty.

The Character of Woman as revealed by Dress.

The dress is the woman: all of female character is in the clothes for him who can read their language.

A psychologist of much acuteness once asked me: "Why are bright colors beautiful in the sky, but out of taste in dress? Why should it be a sign of coarse taste to dress in the most brilliant colors, when all go to see an imposing sunset?"

The answer is, that high culture and sensitive nerves react to

slight irritation ; while low culture and insensitive nerves require strong irritation. Loudness of dress is, therefore, justly regarded as proof of coarseness of nerve-fiber. The American girl is exquisitely susceptible, is impressed by mild irritation acting upon any of the senses. She dresses in taste, and, where the means are at hand, with elegance, in colors that are quiet and subdued, and noticeable only at a short distance. If we could clothe ourselves in sunsets ; if all this resplendency of crimson and scarlet and gold, and all these varieties of hue and form, could descend upon the delicate maiden, and fall about her in palpitating folds like a rich garment, the eye of that maiden and of those who gazed upon her would soon weary ; the irritation of such splendor would become a pang, and only be worn as a badge and sign of a nature in the lower stages of evolution. Bright colors—scarlet and red, so common in Switzerland and in certain parts of Germany—are never seen in America in any class ; and, among men, the custom of wearing gorgeous and jeweled apparel in public assemblies, as at courts or on occasions of state, is a survival of the barbarian period through which all Europe has passed.

The physiological problem, whether the surface of the eye-ball, independent of the muscles that cover and surround it, can express emotion, a near study of the American girl seems to answer quite in the affirmative. The time that nerve-force takes in traversing the fibers from center to extremity is now mathematically measured, and it is known to vary with the individual, the temperament, and the season ; with race, and climate, and sex, it must also vary. In the brain of the American girl thoughts travel by express, in that of her European sister by accommodation.

America, if archæology is to be trusted, is a modern Etruria, the delicate features and fine forms of prehistoric Italy emerging from the entombment of ages and reappearing in a higher evolution in the Western Hemisphere.

Certain Nervous Diseases peculiar to America.

A new crop of diseases has sprung up in America, of which Great Britain until lately knew nothing, or but little. A class of functional diseases of the nervous system, now beginning to be known everywhere in civilization, seem to have first taken root under an American sky, whence their seed is being distributed through the world. A fleet of Great Easterns might be filled with hay-fever sufferers alone ; and not Great Britain, nor all Europe,

nor all the world, could assemble so large an army of sufferers from this distinguished malady ; while our cases of nervous exhaustion would make a standing army as large as that of Russia. Of all the facts of modern sociology, this rise and growth of functional nervous disease in the northern part of America is one of the most stupendous, complex, and suggestive ; to solve it in all its interlacings, to unfold its marvelous phenomena and trace them back to their sources and forward to their future developments, is to solve the problem of sociology itself.

A thousand causes have been assigned the task of accounting for this. Among the chief of these accredited causes are fast and excessive eating. Although the Americans are fast eaters, or used to be a quarter or half a century ago, yet in the quantity both of food and drinking they are surpassed both by the English and Germans. Europeans eat oftener than Americans, and eat more, in some cases having four or five meals a day, where the American has but two or three ; and consume not only more alcoholic liquors of all kinds, but more fluids of every kind.

The American of the higher class, and these remarks refer only to that class, uses but little fluid of any kind. The enormous quantity of alcoholic liquors, including beer, used in the United States, is used to a large extent by Germans and Irish, and those who live in the distant West and South. There are thousands of Americans who from year to year drink no tea or coffee, and but very little water.

Long since I have surrendered the custom of asking my nervous patients whether they drink coffee, for most of them have been forced to drop the pleasant habit long before they consult me. Through all the Northern States the brain-working classes find coffee in some respects more poisonous than whisky or tobacco, and thousands are made wakeful by even a mild cup of tea. The incapacity for bearing the gentlest wines and beers is for thousands of our youth the only salvation against the demon inebriety. Thus the united forces of climate and civilization are pressing us back from one stimulant to another, until, like babes, we find no safe retreat save in chocolate and milk and water. In the South, for climatic reasons, these substances are far better endured than in the North ; but the very day on which this page is composed I am called to see a Southerner transiently paralyzed, to all appearance, through tobacco alone. Tolerance of stimulants is a measure of nerve ; the English are men of more bottle-power than the Americans. To see

how an Englishman can drink is alone worthy the ocean-voyage. On the steamer a prominent clergyman of the Established Church sat down beside me, poured out half a tumblerful of whisky, added some water, and drank it almost at one swallow. He was an old gentleman, sturdy, vigorous, energetic, whose health was an object of comment and envy. I said to him: "How can you stand that? In America, men of your class can not drink that way." He replied, "I have done it all my life, and I am not aware that I was ever injured by it."

A number of years since I was present in Liverpool at an ecclesiastical gathering composed of leading members of the Established Church, from the bishops and archbishops through all the gradations; at luncheon alcoholic liquors were served in a quantity that no assembly of any profession in this country could have desired or tolerated.

It is with mental work as with drinking: long hours of brain-toil are better endured in Great Britain than in America; there is less exhaustion from the strain of overwork. This fact is observed by men of letters and scholars, and men in public life: Parliamentary leaders, etc., in England, can do more speaking, more sitting up late at night, as well as more eating and more drinking, than the politicians of America.

It has been said that the strength of a nation is the strength of the thighs rather than of the brain; and an English physician of eminence has observed that the best population of the cities of Great Britain renew their strength from the large-limbed Highlanders of the north, but for whom there would be a constant degeneracy. It would appear, then, that the qualities which are necessary to make a good, strong nation are precisely the qualities which make a good horseman, and that he who can ride well makes a good founder of states. The English as a people have that balance and harmony of temperament that always breeds well. Large families are commanded by unwritten law, and this little island has become the spawning-ground of empires.

The American speaks more rapidly than the central European; he makes more muscular movements of the larynx in a minute; in his nervousness he clips words, articulating indistinctly, and allowing his voice to fall at the end of a sentence, sometimes so as to be inaudible. The Englishman speaks more slowly, enunciates more clearly, says fewer words to a minute, and, as is well known, keeps the voice up, where an American would let it fall. The American

says more than the Englishwoman, is easier and more alert for converse, quicker to seize a delicate irony, more facile to respond to a suggestion, than the English lady in the same walk of life. I believe, also, that the English, Germans, and Swiss can not hear as many words in a minute as Americans; the auditory nerve and the brain behind it being incapable of receiving and coördinating as many sounds in a given time. Hence it is necessary to speak to them with more calmness and clearness, whatever language may be employed.

Relation of American Oratory to Climate.

American oratory is in part the product of American climate. For success in the loftier phases of oratory, fineness of organization, a touch of the nervous diathesis are essential; the masters in the oratorical art are always nervous; the same susceptibility that makes them eloquent, subtile, and persuasive causes them to be timid, distrustful, delicate, and sometimes cowardly. We blame Cicero for the pusillanimity of his old age, and for his terror in the presence of death, and praise him for his spirit and force and grace in the presence of audiences, not thinking that the two opposite modes of conduct flowed from a single source. A nature wholly coarse and hard, with no thread or vein of nerve sensitiveness, must always fail in the higher realms of the oratoric art, just as it must fail in all arts. Jefferson, after acting his Rip Van Winkle for years, even now enters upon the stage at each performance with a certain anxiety lest he fail; and of more than one orator has it been affirmed that he always dreaded to speak. "Give me an army of cowards," said Wellington; "it is the man who turns pale in the face of the enemy that will fight to the death." This delicacy of organization, united with Saxon force, makes America a nation of orators.

Civilization, Climate, and Teeth.

The American dentists are the best in the world, not necessarily because the Americans have greater mechanical skill than Europeans, but because the early and rapid decay of teeth in Americans of the better class have compelled them to give special attention to dentistry.

This quick decay of teeth in America, like various forms of nervous diseases that go with this decay, is the result not of climate alone, but of climate combined with civilization: the confluence of

these two streams is necessary. Irregularities of teeth, like their decay, are the product primarily of civilization, secondarily of climate ; they are rarely found among the Indians or the Chinese ; and, according to Dr. Kingsley, are rare even in idiots ; the cretins of Switzerland, the same authority states, have "broad jaws and well-developed teeth."

Another fact of much instructiveness is, that decayed teeth in Indians and negroes are less likely to annoy and irritate than the same amount of decay in sensitive, nervous, and finely organized whites of any race. Coarse races and peoples, and coarse individuals, can go with teeth badly decayed without being aware of such decay from any pain ; whereas, in a finely organized constitution, the very slightest decay in the teeth excites pain which renders filling or extracting imperative. The coarse races and coarse individuals are less disturbed by the bites of mosquitoes, by the presence of flies or of dirt on the body than those in whom the nervous diathesis prevails.

Nervous force travels more slowly, the reflex irritation is less perceptible by far, in the dark races and those who live out-doors, than in those who live in-doors, and are of a nervous frame. In the strong and coarsely built, local irritation remains local, and does not reverberate through the body ; while, on the other hand, in the feeble, the sensitive, and the highly and finely organized, any local excitement is speedily transmitted and puts the whole system into disturbance.

The simple operation of sneezing illustrates this law in a most interesting and significant manner. It is said, for example, of the negroes of the South, that they rarely if ever sneeze. It is certain that the nervous, feeble, sensitive, and impressible of any race are far more likely to be provoked into sneezing from slight irritation of the nasal passages than those of an opposite temperament. In hay-fever, sneezing is one of the leading symptoms, and is provoked by irritations in themselves of the most trifling character, which those not victims of the disease can only be forced to believe by a personal battle with this enemy of the race.

Differences in Delusions.

The two nations England and America differ in their delusions—our spiritualism, animal magnetism, and clairvoyance having but slight influence in the mother-country. Delusions, like nervous diseases, are not, however, uniformly distributed in this country, but

diminish as we go south. On the warm Gulf coast the desires to solve the problems of life melt quietly away, the superstitions of the Northern type being borne out of sight in the overheated atmosphere; the clairvoyants that grow rich in New York, Brooklyn, and Chicago, would starve in Mobile and New Orleans. A medical patient of mine, intelligent, alert, and observing, well fitted to judge, and of large acquaintance in the Southern cities, tells me that one of these seers, who came there, returned without securing any native patronage; the little that came to her was from Northern visitors.

The swath that Brown the mind-reader cut across this continent, mowing down professors, scholars, philosophers, editors, colleges and universities by the score, was in a Northern section only; had he gone through the Gulf States, his path would have been like that of a ship at sea—a slight ripple, in a moment disappearing. Of the large number of names of universities and schools, of teachers of philosophy and of science, that adorn his placards, like the scalps of the red man as he returns from battle, not one is from the South.

Differences of Climate.

These psychological differences come mainly from differences of climate, and secondarily from institutions. In Great Britain and Central Europe there is no summer and no winter, as we in America are accustomed to understand those terms. Warm days they have, but not, as with us, a succession of days that are hot and oppressive during all the twenty-four hours. In the valleys of Switzerland, and in Great Britain, there are days that are there called very warm, but which we in America would regard as simply comfortable, followed by nights of agreeable and delightful coolness; and this coolness comes on as early as four or five o'clock in the afternoon; people do not suffer from the continuity of heat and deprivation of sleep. A well-known physician of London told me that he made no change in his clothing all the year round, dressing in August very much as in February. One who should attempt this in New York would desire to perish.

The European climate allows more out-door life than American—not only in Paris, where many pass the larger portion of their time in the open *cafés* and on the boulevards, but in Ireland, England, and throughout Germany, men, women, and children pass far more time in the out-door air all the year than in the United States. The climate allows them to do this, and encourages it, while in America

the winters are so cold, and the summers so hot, and the twilights so short that we are forced to stay under a roof. We do have a certain number of days in June and October when it is pleasant and inviting out of doors, when it is possible to sit in the open air, after the European mode; but these days are so small a minority of the whole year that they do not foster or inspire a habit of outdoor life; thus, we stay in-doors even more than is necessary in our own climate. One of the great advantages, possibly the chief advantage, in many cases, change of air for consumptives, is that they live out-doors; and, provided they can get an abundance of outdoor air, it matters less than many suppose where they go—whether to the mountains or to cold or warm climates.

Not only are there many more days of rain in Great Britain than in America, but there are more clouds in the sky, even when it does not rain. Clouds, by well-known physical laws, interfere with evaporation; and thus the dampness remains longer in the earth than in a land where sunshine is more free. Thus, the number of days of rain and the amount of rain being the same in Great Britain and America, Great Britain would be more moist. This persistent moisture, as is well known, is the cause of the greenness and long-continued beauty of the foliage of Great Britain, of Ireland, and the Scottish lakes. Certain threads and cloths, I am told, can only be manufactured at the highest advantage in this moist atmosphere.

My friend Professor Ball, of Paris, told me there is a great difference between Great Britain and France. In Paris, at least, where the sky is far clearer, more like that of America, the streets dry up much more quickly after a rain. The French, as also is well known, are more nervous in some respects than the English, with a finer type of organization, more nearly resembling Americans.

Either climate, that of Great Britain or of America, is hard at first to bear; when we become worn to either we prefer it to the other. I am told by one who well knows that quite a number of Englishmen and Scotchmen who have lived in this country and acquired property, returning to their homes, after a time came back to America; they missed the noise, the hurry, the struggle to which in the life of business they had become accustomed here, and the mother-land seemed dull and cold.

Americanization of Europe.

Observations in both continents bring into view two processes

that are of supreme import in their relation to the future of mankind. One is, the Americanization of Europe, the other the Germanization of America. That Americans were more rapid in their movements, more intense in their whole life, and concentrated more activity in a certain period of time than any other people, has been the faith of all travelers, and this belief has a foundation of reality ; but in Europe at least, and to a less degree in Continental Europe, we now observe the same eagerness, intensity, feverishness, and nervousness that have hitherto been supposed to be peculiarly American.

Particularly was I amazed by this when I was in Cork during the present year, attending a meeting of the British Medical Association. The labor of a month was compressed into a week. Every one was in haste—officers and members having only bits of time to breathe or speak ; a procession of suppers, breakfasts, balls, banquets, scientific orations, garden-parties, and excursions at every point of the compass, crowded so closely as to tread upon each other's heels ; after such a vacation one needed a vacation. At no gathering outside of political assemblages in America have I seen such excitement, such hurrying, such impatience, such evidences of imminent responsibility as among the leaders and officers of that meeting.

This Americanization of Europe would seem to be the complex resultant of a variety of influences—the increase of travel and trade, and concentration, and intensifying of activity required by the telegraph, railway, and printing-press—the endosmosis and exosmosis of international life—a reciprocity of character. It is clear that even in Europe each generation becomes on the whole rather more sensitive than its predecessor, and in this pathological process even Germany shares ; Switzerland, perhaps, being less affected up to the present time than almost any other part of Central Europe.

The nervousness of the third generation of Germans is a fact that comes to my professional notice more and more. Men whose parents on both sides were born in Germany, here develop the American type in all its details—chiseled features, great fineness and silkiness of the hair, delicacy of skin, and tapering extremities. Such persons have consulted me for all phases and stages of functional nervous trouble. Indeed, I have seen in my professional experience no more severe examples of nervous suffering than in this class. Englishmen, even those who were born in England, develop either in their own country, or in this, the land of their adop-

tion, many of the prominent symptoms of functional nervous diseases that are supposed to be especially and preëminently American. I am told by one of the leaders of German science, Professor Erb, of Heidelberg, whose opportunities for getting facts on this theme are exceptionally good, and whose capacity for observing and for reasoning justly from his observations is very great, that in nearly all parts of Germany there can be found at the present day, and that too without very much seeking, cases of functional nervous disease in all respects the types of what we see in America ; and there has been of late years an increase in these disorders. Even Irishmen born in this land or brought here early are not entirely safe from the chances of nervous contagion.

Prose style is dying or sleeping in Great Britain : the countrymen of Milton and De Quincey must cross the Channel if they would seek for living models of the literary as for the dramatic art. Literature takes its inspiration from the multiplication-table, the newspaper supplying at wholesale the words, phrases, and witticisms with which authors clothe their borrowed thoughts. Suggestions, intimations, and adumbrations of the literary art are seen, but they are crushed under mountains of everydayisms. What everybody will read within twenty-four hours, what nobody will read after twenty-four hours, is the motto that rules the best periodicals in Great Britain : each issue washes out the preceding ; the monthlies follow each other with haste, like waves beating upon the shore, and, like them, are quickly lost in the sea of forgetfulness everlasting.

Science, which in its highest phases is but poetry and philosophy in harness, is, in Great Britain, better than its literature ; but, in nearly all the great realms of science, England would starve were she not kept constantly nourished at the breast of Germany. Outside of the circle of men of pure genius, like Crookes, the scientific men of England feel that they have reached the highest possibilities when they have given popular lectures on what Germany discovered from five to twenty-five years ago. The profession of medicine—a part of science—lies near the bottom of the middle class, buried under successive strata from royalties and nobilities through the Church, the army, the navy, the bar, and successful trade. The descendants of Young and Newton and Harvey are organizing to drive a part of experimental physiology from the empire.

As literary art declines in England, the oratorical art seems to rise. Even speakers of but little fame are, many of them, easy and

flowing, at times rapid as well as clear in their utterances ; so much like Americans that only peculiarities of speech suggest the land of their birth.

Fear of new sciences and philosophies is a most interesting evidence of the Americanization of certain classes in Great Britain. This stout and virile people, so bold in adventure and in battle, tremble in the presence of new ideas—as the savages whom they conquer and subdue, on the approach of a storm. The scientific discoveries of Germany are a terror ; they fear an irruption from the Continent which may overwhelm and bear away their philosophic heirlooms ; and their great effort is to erect and guard a line of defense, to keep back the surges of new truths, as the Dutch make dikes against the inroads of the sea.

Thus it is that men in the highest stations, either in church or politics, are always under arms, expected to do duty against the invasions of Continental philosophy. Half the literature of the last quarter century, of Great Britain, outside of fiction, is devoted to proving the truth of the untrue and the undemonstrable. Their very best men will, probably, soon begin to see that this chronic alarm is needless. Superstition is always safe—ignorance everywhere is its own protection ; in all the conflicts between intellect and emotion, intellect—with here and there an interlude—is almost sure to be worsted and trampled upon. The demonstrably false can always be trusted to take care of the things of itself ; it is truth alone that has cause to be afraid. Science, along all its lines, is open to attack, in peril even of its existence—none of its facts being so walled about as the unproved and the untrue. Truth is a plant as sensitive and tender as it is precious and rare ; like all noble and highly developed organisms, it is liable to fatal injury and quick decay : bitten by frost, choked by weeds, broken by storms, the object of attack for all the non-expertness of mankind ; error alone has the elements of enduring life. On this tossing sea of humanity, families, tribes, peoples, nations, and empires rise and fall in endless pulsations—arts, literatures, sciences, discoveries, philosophies appearing for a moment on the crest of the waters, then sinking into the fathomless depths ; but over all, unchanged save in form, rests a cloud that through the ages never lifts, and a darkness that is scarcely illumined but by the momentary lightnings that flame on its borders, and fugitive glimpses of the distant stars. It is the undemonstrable, and the demonstrably false, that have ever ruled mankind, and are destined to rule it. The superstitions and

mythologies of Egypt are read in the hieroglyphics on her temples and pyramids and monuments, but the arts that reared those structures have passed for ever from the possession of men ; knowledge dies, while delusions live.

Germanization of America.

The Germanization of America—by which I mean the introduction, through very extensive immigration, of German habits and modes of life and pleasure—is also a phenomenon which can now be observed, even by the dullest and nearest-sighted, in the large cities of the northern portion of our country. As the Germans in their temperament are the opposite of the Americans, this change promises to be in most respects beneficial, encouraging in every way out-door life and amusements, tending to displace pernicious whisky by less pernicious beer and wine, setting the example of coolness and sobriety, which the nervously exhausted American very much needs. Quite true it is that the second and third generations of Germans do themselves become Americanized, through the effects of climate and the contagion of our institutions ; but the pressure of immigration provides, every year, a supply of phlegmatic temperament.

The American race, it is said, is dying out ; but there is no American race. Americans are the union of European races and peoples, as lakes are fed by many streams, and can only disappear with the exhaustion of its sources. Europe must die before America. In sections of America, as in New England, and in large cities, the number of children to a family in certain classes is too small for increase of population ; but these classes are a minority in society, and immigration is as certain as the future. Malthus forgot that the tendency of all evil is to cure itself ; the poison and the antidote are rooted in the same soil.

The improvement in the *physique* of the Americans of the most favored classes during the last quarter of a century is a fact more and more compelling the inspection both of the physician and the sociologist. Of old it was said that the choicest samples of manly form were to be found in the busy hours of the Exchange at Liverpool ; their equals, at least, now walk Broadway and Fifth Avenue. The one need for the perfection of the beauty of the American women—increase of fat—is now supplied.

The true philosophy on this as on all themes is neither optimism nor pessimism, but *omnism*, which sees both the good and the evil in nature, and aims to make the best of both. America is now on the

borders of its golden decade, in which the forces that renovate and save will be far mightier than the forces that emasculate and destroy.

The typical American of the highest type will in the near future be a union of the coarse and the fine organizations ; the solidity of the German, the fire of the Saxon, the delicacy of the American flowing together as one—sensitive, impressible, readily affected through all the avenues of influence, but trained and held by a will of steel ; original, idiosyncratic, learned in this—that he knows what not to know, laborious in knowing what not to do ; with more of wiriness than of excess of strength, and achieving his purposes not so much through the absolute quantity of his force as in its adjustment and concentration.

GEORGE M. BEARD.

VI.

THE PERMANENCE OF POLITICAL FORCES.

PART I.

I PROPOSE in these papers concisely to indicate some of the principal forces agitating society and shaping the national life at three of the most momentous periods of our history ; and, from the light they throw into the future, to ascertain, as far as may be—

I. In what direction the political opinion of the country is tending, and the bearing of this on the next Presidential election.

II. What will be the outcome of the demand by a third political party for a national fiscal system based on an inconvertible currency ?

There is reason for considering these two questions independently, since, in the scheme of political government, finance is but one element, the degree of its importance being measured by the industrial activity of the people. With a people so highly industrial as ours this element must always be of very great importance, but its influence is far inferior to that of moral or intellectual questions. Finance was not a cause or one of the causes of the civil war, and it is not the basis upon which stand the two political parties which divide the country. These parties, under whatever successive changes of name known, represent two fundamentally distinct principles of government, which are constant. Absolute faith in the one or the other does not preclude diversity of opinion upon the proper financial policy which a given state of affairs may call for. Hence there has been much shifting of ground by the two chief parties on financial interests ; while those parties which have in the past made them their sole basis of being have been independent organizations, having but a brief separate existence.

The two differing principles of government referred to, from the men who in this country were their most brilliant exponents,

may be entitled, respectively, the Jeffersonian and the Hamiltonian ideas. The latter contemplates the lodgment of large powers in the Government; the former, the reduction of the powers of Government to a minimum. The extreme of the one idea is license; the extreme of the other is despotism. The question before us is, briefly, Of which party representing these two creeds will be the next President? We must look into the past for light upon it; and, in passing, I would remark that he who begins his study of the politics of the United States with the Declaration of Independence begins it in the middle.

All the great changes effected from the earliest colonial period in our system of government have been those incident to a growth constant, though not steady, in two directions: first, to bringing every person living under it to an absolute equality in political rights and privileges; second, to a centralization of power in the general, with corresponding abstraction of it from the local governments. To assign an exact date for the beginning of the first of these movements is difficult, but perhaps as good a date as any is that when the harsher features of the old colonial laws regulating the relations of indentured servants to their masters began to be softened; its last and grandest effort was in the elevation of the whole slave population of the United States to personal freedom and political equality. About a century and a half divides the beginning from the end, but the onward course of the movement may be traced through all. The progress of the second movement is evidenced in the growth from the loose tie which held the colonies together under the British Crown to the close-knit force of the General Government of to-day, which places its supervisors beside every State ballot-box, and must, in the natural order of things, soon add to its other powers of local control the regulation of the railroad system of the country.

It may seem to many a wide jump from the colonial era to the Government of to-day. Not so. Continuity appears through all the current of our history. We have never known (as France, for example, has experienced) the violent overthrow and reconstruction of revolution. The war of independence made no wider gap in our politics than the civil war has made. For, if we look back, we find that every colony previous to independence had a representative form of government, which, in all its main features and in its practical working, had been shaped by the people who lived under it. Differ as they might in form, as proprietary, provincial, and charter

governments, substantially every colony had the same rights and privileges, with full powers of local control, but all owing a common allegiance to the General or Crown Government. They became independent, and by war; but independence was not the original object of that war. Independence did not come until battles had been fought and victories gained, and it had become plain to all men that the war must be a long one, instead of ending, as had been hoped and expected, by reconciliation after one campaign. The Declaration of Independence was, in fact, a pure war measure; just as much so as was the Emancipation Proclamation, to which it has many features of strangely-close resemblance. Hostilities were commenced, not to gain political rights which had been withheld, but to prevent the loss of a political independence already enjoyed. The national grievance was that the people's rights had been infringed. The attempted infringement provoked the war; the war conserved those rights through independence. A comparatively slight degree of change was necessary to transform the colonial to State governments. The people of each took things as they were. They all curtailed the powers of the Executive more or less, and generally broadened the basis on which the Government rested; but in no one State did this go to the extent of introducing universal suffrage. This is a comparatively recent comer among us. Jefferson in after-years could speak very slightly of the progress then made toward true democracy.

So far, then, as the State governments were concerned, the Revolution made but slight immediate change in them. The great change was made in the character of the General Government. The war produced the first great and decisive movement toward centralization. Extreme jealousy of the authority of the General Government had always been a characteristic of the colonies; but in the first flush of enthusiasm against its aggressions, a General Government was constructed of unlimited authority. The Continental Congress which declared independence, and declared by that act that the colonies were an independent people, was elected under no limitations; its powers were coextensive with the objects for which it was brought into existence. For the time, the demand of the people was for nationality. They elected a Congress to give them this. We remember Patrick Henry's famous exclamation that he was no longer a Virginian but an American. It was a fire of fusion which burned fiercely through all the country; but it was a fire destined soon to burn out. Long before hostilities had ceased,

reaction against the impulse to centralization had reduced the General Government to insignificance. It had come to be regarded with a jealousy scarcely less than had been felt toward the Crown Government ; and we find, a little later, the Virginian orator who had so eloquently declared the throwing down of all State barriers, vehemently opposing the adoption of the Constitution, as proposing a system of government too centralized for liberty. The outcome of this reaction was the Articles of Confederation, in which the attempt seemed to be made to restrict the General Government to the same powers and usages it had been conceded that the Crown Government could exercise. At best, it was an attempt to make the forms of the past serve the needs of the present ; and the omission to give, what the Crown Government had, a power of coercion, made failure immediate and certain. In this we have the first movement to centralization and the reaction which followed it. The second movement was the adoption of the Constitution.

Universal disorder, powerlessness, and threatened dismemberment of the nation compelled the adoption of the Constitution. Practically, there had been no General Government since the reaction against the Continental Congress had begun. The State governments only had an existence. The eminent men who framed the Constitution proposed to give the national Government the forms and a like degree of power with that of any one of the State governments. The Constitution did not create new, it redistributed existing powers. It was a reorganization it proposed to effect, not a subversion. There was no function of government that the Constitution vested in the United States which was not already exercised in the fullest activity by the governments of the several States ; or partially and ineffectively by the then existing Congress, which in embryonic forms had judicial as well as legislative powers. Nevertheless, the majority of the people, the farming and planting classes especially, saw in the new instrument only a proposition to establish a monarchy disguised under republican forms. To them it seemed that "the cradle of the Constitution would be the grave of republican liberty." A national Executive was the great bugbear. It looked too much like a king. Neither could they see, nor could any man see, exactly to what extent the powers of the national Government could be pushed under this new system ; and most assuredly the Constitution would have been rejected, had not its rejection seemed to cast aside the last hope that remained of saving the country. It was adopted reluctantly, under the pressure of universal distress. In

this we have the second great movement toward centralization. It was less radical than the first, but it was more permanent. The reaction was not long in coming ; and it came despite the incalculable benefits the Constitution conferred on the country. In creating a real, potent, and practical national Government to control the States, it gave to the country what it needed—rest and stability. At the close of Washington's second term an immense improvement had taken place in the affairs of the nation. Its agricultural and commercial wealth had increased beyond all former example ; its foreign relations had been placed on a vastly better footing than they had been under the Confederation. Confidence had returned to trade ; commerce had expanded. Nevertheless, though these things were due to the success of the Federal party, which had saved the nation from dissolution and ruin, in proportion as the burden of distress was lifted from the country, the forces of reaction against the policy of federation ran stronger. The Constitutional or Federal party grew weaker and weaker, until, twelve years after the adoption of the Constitution, the party which had so bitterly opposed its adoption elected Jefferson to the Presidency and obtained complete control of the Government. They held it with but slight interruption from 1801 to 1860. During that time the ideas which Jefferson represented continued to work in the public mind, until another great crisis gave another powerful impulse toward centralization.

I suppose that no lengthy argument will be demanded here to prove that the national Government received such an impetus through the civil war. Had the Government been confined in its operation strictly by the terms of the Constitution, there must today have been two or more confederacies dividing what were once the United States. It disregarded statutory limitations ; it assumed every power deemed essential to the preservation of the national life. Its authority for the time being was strictly analogous to that exercised by the Continental Congress anterior to the adoption of the Articles of Confederation. What was done was done because the people temporarily consented to it. An immense moral force would be acquired by the Government simply from the fact that it had exercised these extensive powers ; but, from the necessities of the situation, much of this moral force was given concrete shape by certain amendments made to the Constitution, which permanently vested in the General Government large rights of control over what before were exclusively State concerns. The full scope

of these amendments still remains to be judicially decided. They have, however, been found broad enough to authorize the virtual creation and maintenance, and the summary dissolution, of State governments. But whatever may or may not be the complete fullness of the powers which the General Government derives from them, they stand to-day as the enduring evidences in the organic law of the nation of the third and last great movement toward centralization which has taken place in a century of our history.

It can scarcely be necessary to inquire whether this movement has also been followed by a corresponding reaction, because the simple fact that the Republican party is now a minority in both House and Senate is of itself sufficient evidence. If we compare the progress of this reaction, so far as it has gone, with that which followed the last preceding movement toward centralization (i. e., the adoption of the Constitution), it will be found to be a little slower and yet wonderfully close. The terms of Presidents Lincoln and Johnson must be excluded from the comparison, in that they were both concerned with war. We must begin with Grant, whose famous "Let us have peace" struck the keynote for the country. General Grant went in on a flood-tide of popularity, the Republicans being then at the height of their power. Like Washington, he was the successful soldier of the war. At the close of his first term, the opposing political party was still so weak that they did not dare to hope for success with a candidate of their own, though the Republican party was split with disaffection. Grant was reelected by an overwhelming majority; Washington was reelected unanimously, though great fears were felt that he would not be. But at the close of the second terms of both Grant and Washington we find a vast change come over the spirit of the parties. The Democratic party, though confronted by the united strength of their opponents, went into the canvass with Tilden against Hayes as confident and aggressive as were their predecessors when they nominated Jefferson against Adams. We know the disputed result; but this much is undisputed, that Tilden was defeated by one vote only; and we know that by one vote Jefferson was defeated. The next Presidential election will be the same in the order of progression from the first election of Grant as that of 1800 was from the first election of Washington, when Jefferson was elected. It happens also that the election of that year turned on the vote of New York, as the next one will. The battle-ground of the contest was this State, and will be again.

The question which now presents itself is whether the processes of reaction from the centralizing movement of the civil war have so far exhausted their force that they may be overcome by new forces arising favorable to the Republicans. If not, they should produce their legitimate result in the election of a Democratic President in 1880.

Let me briefly recapitulate. I have said that the political movement of the nation had been in two lines of direction. In the line of bringing all classes of the people to a political equality, this movement has been in accord with the Jeffersonian idea, and we find that the successive changes of statutes and constitutions tending to this result have in all cases been received with great popular favor, whichever party had the credit of them. But in respect to the several impulses toward the Hamiltonian idea, of a strong central Government, this does not appear. They have come from no popular liking for them, but under sharp and severe pressure. The effort being made, reaction has followed. It followed the first great outburst for nationality, and stripped the Continental Congress of nearly all its powers; it followed the acceptance of the Constitution, and overthrew the party which had secured its adoption; it has followed the civil war, and the party which brought it to a successful termination is a minority in the national councils. In each of these instances the student of history, in surveying the whole ground, can see many reasons why such reactive processes should not have taken place, and only one why they should. But that one is more powerful than all the others. It is that the majority of the people are by instinct Democratic and only by reason Republican. That is to say, they are temporarily the one and permanently the other. The Republican represents the party of action. When a great work has to be done, this party will be in the ascendancy; when it has been done, the Conservative party succeeds and enjoys the fruit. This also is noticeable: There is never any undoing of the work done. The people took back the powers they gave the Continental Congress, but they did not return to their allegiance to the British Crown; they overthrew the Federal party, but they did not disturb the governmental system that party had established; they have reduced the Republicans to a minority, but no sane man questions the validity of the constitutional amendments or reasserts the doctrine of secession. Reaction in politics is in the nature of rest after effort; and so far as it is now acting it must be calcu-

lated as a force working in favor of the party which represents the Jeffersonian idea of government.

I count among the forces working against this, the feeling of alarm aroused in the country by the action of the present Congress. When the plainest dictates of common sense pointed out as the proper course a policy of quiet and political inactivity, only a blind greed to grasp fruits already ripening to their fall could have prompted the measures of the extra session. Its folly, I believe, is now generally recognized ; but not before it had turned the eyes of the people once more to General Grant as the man to rescue the country from threatened dangers. A cry for "the strong man" is heard. Such a cry was heard toward the close of President Adams's Administration, and we have the evidence that the Federalists desired to again put Washington in nomination, as General Grant is talked of now. Just as it is now, it was the fear of danger from the South which prompted the movement. And the danger then was about as great as it is now. The work which the Nationalists of 1776 did, which the Federalists of 1789 consolidated, has never been undone. The work which the Republican party has done, no other party will ever undo.

CUTHBERT MILLS.

VII.

RECENT LITERATURE.

Hector Berlioz.
The Edinburgh Reviewers.
Seargent S. Prentiss.

MR. APTHORP has done an important service to art in collecting and translating a volume of selections from the writings of Hector Berlioz.* Works on the history and theory of music are perhaps quite numerous enough, but in literature, properly so called, music has been surprisingly barren. The essays and criticisms of Berlioz are so bright, so sensible, so intelligible, and in many respects so sound, that at first sight it seems strange that the task Mr. Apthorp has now so happily accomplished should not have been undertaken before. But in truth it is only within a very short time that the world has begun to understand the proper place of Berlioz even as a musical composer. It can not be said that he was neglected in his own day ; on the contrary, he made a great noise in the world as he acted his fitful and stormy part in the drama of life ; he was listened to with a curiosity which artists of original and independent mind do not easily succeed in attracting, and he was fully appreciated by some of the greatest musicians of the time, by Liszt especially, by Paganini, and by Schumann. Still, the public was very far from comprehending him while he lived ; and it is probable that the interest now shown in his works in France and America is owing in no slight measure to Liszt and Wagner, who, with truer poetic genius, have labored in the school of which he was one of the founders.

Mr. Apthorp has very properly made his sketch of the composer's life principally out of the Autobiography. Sometimes in its bitter pages—and oftener in the essays and letters of travel—we have a

* Hector Berlioz. Selections from his Letters, and *Æsthetic, Humorous, and Satirical Writings*. Translated, and preceded by a Biographical Sketch of the Author, by William F. Apthorp. New York : Henry Holt & Co. 12mo, pp. x.-427.

glimpse of the characteristics which made Berlioz inexpressibly dear to his few personal friends ; but most of what he has written about his life is a record of suffering and despair. He had a passion for music almost from infancy, and his parents thwarted him in it, being resolved that he should be a doctor. He taught himself to play on a shrieking old flageolet ; he quarreled with his father ; he left home with his mother's curse ; he supported himself while studying at the Conservatoire by singing in the chorus of a second-rate theatre ; he married twice, and was wretched in both unions. Hunger, sorrow, tumult, hatred, filled his wretched and laborious life. There are few books more distressing than the brilliant volumes in which, with dramatic force, with quick observation, with keen humor, with strong and vivid phrase, the splendid and unhappy master has described his triumphs and his trials, the agonies of his sensitive heart, the paroxysms of his despair, his mocking skepticism, his savage contempt for the imbecility and dishonesty of men, his longing for a death which he saw nothing beyond. On the last page he wrote the lines from "Macbeth" :

"Life's but a walking shadow ; a poor player
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more ; it is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing."

And yet in reading his *Mémoires* one can hardly resist the suspicion that they are not exactly true. There is possibly some allowance to be made for theatrical exaggerations and for the grim enjoyment which certain people find in the analysis and demonstration of their own anguish. We may be pardoned for doubting some of the incidents of the furious journey of Berlioz from Florence toward Paris, bent upon killing "two guilty women and one innocent man"—with suicide to follow. He tells us that he equipped himself with female disguise for the better execution of his project, forgot the costume in changing carriages, bought another on the road, suddenly came to his senses, and, stopping at Nice, sat down to write the overture to "King Lear." We may hesitate to believe in the heart-breaking affection he professes for his unfortunate first wife, when he confesses in the same breath that he found elsewhere the peace which he could not enjoy at his own fireside. We can not persuade ourselves of the reality of the frenzy with which he records the end of this unhappy woman, separated from

her faithless husband, paralyzed, speechless, a deserted wreck. "Destruction, hell-fire, and all the cataclysms of nature," he cries; "blood and tears, my brain congeals in my skull at the thought of these horrors. God is stupid and cruel in his infinite indifferences. Shakespeare! Shakespeare! thou alone art the God who is kind to artists' souls; fold us to thy bosom, father, kiss us!" We are not even convinced of the historic fidelity of his narrative when he describes the more decorous passion of his declining years, and tells how at the age of sixty-one, after a long and varied experience of domestic infelicity, he presented himself before a widow of sixty-seven whom he had loved and forgotten just half a century earlier, and with much ceremonious emotion renewed the illusions of his youth.

There was one torment, however, in the life of Berlioz, which the *Mémoires* probably do not exaggerate. He submitted for twenty years to the drudgery of writing a weekly *feuilleton* for the "*Journal des Débats*." The labor of producing a fixed amount of copy at stated intervals must have been a real pain to him, but the worst part of the critic's duty was, doubtless, listening night after night to performances which filled him with rage and disgust. Some of the fruits of this long toil, collected in Paris in several volumes, are given in Mr. Apthorp's judicious selections. There are passages which glow with generous appreciation and poetic enthusiasm, essays sparkling with wit and fancy, criticisms loaded with rare knowledge tersely and clearly expressed, humorous conceits, droll and pertinent anecdotes, pages of honest anger and savage sarcasm. He begins his *Soirées d'Orchestre* with the grotesque invention of "a lyric theatre in which it is the custom for the musicians of the orchestra, of whom many are men of wit, to indulge in reading and even in chit-chat of more or less musical nature during the performance of mediocre operas—that is to say, that a good deal of reading and talking goes on." Often the extravagance and wild drollery of the essay suggests not so much the exuberance of good humor as the revolt of a sensitive spirit against a task which has become almost unbearable. Nearly all the wit has a bitter flavor; but the criticism for the most part is wholesome. Prejudiced as he was on some points, Berlioz had a high ideal in art, and if he frequently failed to reach it in his music, it was always discernible in his writings. Some of his more serious essays are well worth bringing together in another volume of translations. Perhaps Mr. Apthorp, one of the few American critics who unite literary aptitude with

an adequate knowledge of music, may be tempted to undertake it.

The correspondence of the late Macvey Napier* shows a curious picture of the interior of a most interesting literary circle. Mr. Napier was editor of the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*" and of the "*Edinburgh Review*," succeeding Jeffrey in the latter post in 1829, and reigning over the great Whig periodical until his death in 1847. He corresponded copiously with his contributors—with Brougham, Macaulay, Jeffrey, Carlyle, McCulloch, Bulwer, Sir James Stephen, and others of less note—and the contributors seem to have confided to him with extreme frankness not only their criticisms on the Review, and their occasional complaints of his management, but also their private opinions about one another, and now and then, their judgments of themselves. Napier's administration of the Review was adroit and fortunate, and some of the brightest years in its history fall within the period of his control. There was a strong bond of union between the editor and his staff. The very freedom and abundance of the fault-finding which appears in these letters is an evidence of good understanding. It was an indulgence which the writers allowed themselves as a matter of course, and there is no sign here that Napier took it amiss.

His position, however, was by no means an easy one. Brougham in particular was a perpetual torment. As one of the founders of the Review, the most lavish of its contributors (he sometimes wrote six articles in a single number), and the oracle of its politics, he felt himself to be the most important of the company, and he asserted his prerogative the more vehemently, no doubt, because he was half conscious of the superiority of Macaulay. When he heard that Macaulay, then in Paris, was writing for the Review a paper on the Revolution of 1830, he insisted that Napier should rescind the engagement. "I must beg," he writes, "and indeed make a point of giving you my thoughts on the Revolution, and therefore pray send off your countermand to Macaulay. . . . I have already begun my article, and it is of great importance that it should stand at the head." Macaulay, who had already expended a month's labor on the paper, was of course highly displeased. "I always knew," he says, "that in every association, literary or political, Brougham would wish to domineer. I knew also that no editor

* Selection from the Correspondence of the Late Macvey Napier, Esq. Edited by his Son, Macvey Napier. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. xvi.-555.

of the 'Edinburgh Review' could, without risking the ruin of the publication, resolutely oppose the demands of a man so able and powerful. . . . The present constitution of the 'Edinburgh Review' is this, that at whatever time Brougham may be pleased to notify his intention of writing on any subject, all previous engagements are to be considered as annulled by that notification. . . . I would sacrifice much to your convenience. But I can not tell you how my heart and soul rise up against the thought of sacrificing anything to his love of domination." Macaulay declared that he would write no more for the Review, and was persuaded with some difficulty to reconsider this resolution. Mr. Napier wrote to Lord Brougham some time afterward: "All the embarrassments that have occurred in my management of the Review have arisen from my desire to secure the continuance of your assistance. The fact is—and I have ample means of establishing it—that I have on more than one occasion put its existence to hazard from my yielding more to your wishes than others thought I ought to have done." Yet we find Brougham complaining to Napier: "Ever since you succeeded to the management of the 'Edinburgh Review' I have found that my assistance was reckoned, justly, God knows, a very secondary object, and that one of the earliest friends of the journal, and who had (Jeffrey will inform you) enabled it to struggle through its first difficulties as much as any one or even two of the contributors, was now next thing to laid upon the shelf. This is the common lot of those who, in any concern, outlive their contemporaries, and no one, I must say it for myself, in this world has less of personal punctilio about him, or cares less for such trifles when in pursuit of a great object. But, at the same time, I really do feel that I ought not to be merely made a hack of, and 'offered' such and such books; that is, whatever nobody else likes to do. Yet it does so happen that of late years this is my position. Dr. Southey, I assure you, is considered in a very different way by the 'Quarterly Review.'" Empson "has hinted to me," wrote Macaulay, referring to another matter, "that Brougham has been plaguing you. Really that man is the devil." Jeffrey told Napier that Brougham was always so jealous of new contributors that he found it prudent not to let him know their names.

By most of the Edinburgh set the services of Macaulay were cordially and even enthusiastically applauded, and it is pleasant to remark the unaffected delight with which men, who might have been suspected of a little jealousy for their own fame, watched the

splendid course of this most brilliant of reviewers. "What mortal," exclaimed Jeffrey to Napier, when he read Macaulay's celebrated essay on Lord Bacon, "could ever dream of cutting out the least particle of this precious work to make it fit better into your Review? It would be worse than paring down the Pitt diamond to fit the old setting of a dowager's ring. It is altogether magnificent—*et prope divinum*. Since Bacon himself, I do not know that there has been anything so fine. I have read it, not only with delight, but with emotion—with throbbings of the heart and tears in the eye." "He has always been improving," wrote Mr. (afterward Sir James) Stephen; "and in the paper on Lord Bacon he shows powers of a far higher order than in any other of his writings. It is the most considerable performance of its kind which has appeared in my day, and would have conferred a lasting place in English literature on him, had he written nothing else." "I may differ with Macaulay," said Bulwer, "but his genius in this article, as in all else, is of a prodigious and gigantic character. He is formed to be the man of his age." Carlyle, not lavish of compliments, declared him "always spirited and emphatic, worth reading even on a worn-out matter." Lord Cockburn, although he believed him to be, "as a corrupter of style, more dangerous to the young than Gibbon," nevertheless "rejoiced in all his deliveries." "Delighting, as I always do, in his thoughts, views, and knowledge, I feel too often compelled to curse and roar at his words and the structure of his composition." Only one of Mr. Napier's correspondents was always angry and dissatisfied. Brougham hated Macaulay, and Macaulay detested Brougham. The Chancellor was savage in his criticisms on the Bacon essay, in which he found "ignorance," "no science at all," an inability to reason, and a style characterized by garrulity rather than copiousness. The essay on Lord Clive "merited execration"; and the admission of "Macaulay's most profligate political morality" to the "Edinburgh Review," almost broke his heart. "No, no; all the sentences a man can turn, even if he made them in pure taste, and not in Tom's snip-snap taste of the Lower Empire, all won't avail against a rotten morality. The first and most sacred duty of a public man, and, above all, an author, is to keep by honest and true doctrine—never to relax—never to countenance vice—ever to hold fast by virtue." Of the essay on Sir William Temple, Brougham wrote: "Macaulay's is an excellent paper, only he *does* take a terrible space to turn in. Good God! what an awful man he would have been in Nisi Prius!"

When Macaulay returned from India, he did not call on Brougham. "As he is the second or third greatest bore in society I have ever known," wrote the Chancellor, "and I have little time to be bored, I don't at all lament it; but I certainly know that he is by others despised for it, as he is pretty sure one day to hear." On another occasion he says: "He is absolutely renowned in society as the greatest bore that ever yet appeared. I have seen people come in from Holland House breathless and knocked up, and able to say nothing but 'Oh, dear! oh, mercy!' 'What's the matter?' being asked. 'Oh, Macaulay!' Then every one said: 'That accounts for it. You're lucky to be alive,' etc. Edinburgh is now celebrated for having given us the two most perfect bores that have ever yet been known in London, for Jack Campbell" [the author of the "Lives of the Lord Chancellors"] "in the House of Lords is just what poor Tom is in private society."

The feeling on Macaulay's side was almost equally strong, but it was not malevolent, and his estimate of Brougham's contributions to the Review was not distorted by his personal antipathy to the writer. Upon many of these essays he placed a very high value. He spoke of Brougham, however, as "an habitual and incurable traitor," "squandering the remains of his public character in an attempt to ruin the party of which he was [once] a member." "He has done wonders this session," he writes to Napier in 1838. "A mere tongue, without a party and without a character, in an unfriendly audience, and with an unfriendly press, never did half so much before. As Sydney Smith says, 'verily, he hath a devil.' . . . As for Brougham, he has reached that happy point at which it is equally impossible for him to gain character or to lose it." We find nothing in the letters of the other Edinburgh Reviewers to mitigate the harsh judgment pronounced by Macaulay. Jeffrey, who was on much better terms with the Chancellor, sustains it; and the others, when they speak of Brougham at all, show no liking for his society and no respect for his character. Nor do Brougham's own letters leave an altogether pleasant impression. Macaulay, on the other hand, appears in this correspondence to singular advantage—frank, manly, generous, amiable, and modest.

There are some amusingly characteristic letters from Bulwer; there are two notes from Thackeray, who mourns "for several lovely jokes and promising *facetie* which were born, and might have lived," but for the mutilating scissors of the editor—"Oh, to think of my pet passages gone for ever!"; there are tremendously em-

phatic letters from Dickens ; and there are letters of Carlyle's, much gentler than one would have expected from that rugged philosopher. As an illustration of the fallibility of a trained literary judgment, the following extract from one of Jeffrey's letters to Napier is worth preserving: "I fear Carlyle will not do, that is, if you do not take the liberties and the pains with him that I did, by striking out freely and writing in occasionally. The misfortune is, that he is very obstinate, and, I am afraid, conceited, and unluckily in a place like this he finds people enough to abet and applaud him to intercept the operation of the otherwise infallible remedy of general avoidance and neglect. It is a great pity, for he is a man of genius and industry, and with the capacity of being an elegant and impressive writer."

The Memoir of Seargent Smith Prentiss, by his brother, George L. Prentiss,* was originally published in 1855. It is reprinted now, with no other change than a new preface, after the book has long been out of circulation, and the fame of its subject has become little more than a vague tradition. Prentiss died at the age of forty-two, leaving no permanent memorial of his brilliant career. He was an orator of transcendent powers, of whose eloquence only a few poor fragments have been preserved ; a politician who shunned office, and occupied himself rather in the brief excitement of election campaigns than in the lasting work of legislation. As the generation which fell under the extraordinary charm of his personal influence passes away, it is inevitable that he should sink to a much lower place in the list of American celebrities than rightly belongs to him. The republication of this Memoir, however, will freshen for a while the fading portrait of a man who ought not to be forgotten. Some of the public questions with which Prentiss concerned himself have again become vital topics of the day. Repudiation, banking, the sentiment of Union, the spirit of nationality, the manipulation of Federal patronage, are once more among the chief issues of American politics, and there are speeches made by Prentiss forty years ago which need little change to adapt them to the circumstances of the present day.

Even as a story of adventure the life of Seargent S. Prentiss is well worth reading. He was born in Maine, and after spending two years at Bowdoin College he went West to seek his fortune.

* A Memoir of S. S. Prentiss. Edited by his Brother. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 2 vols., 12mo, pp. 382, 581.

Hundreds of the best young men of New England set forth on just such a quest in those days, and the experiences of this lame lad of eighteen, who rode away from the farm one afternoon with just money enough to reach the Ohio, and no definite plan for earning a living after he got there, were probably not uncommon. "The wagon and Old Gray were at the door; a huge trunk filled with a two years' outfit, and many a token of maternal and sisterly affection, was in its place; amid numerous tears the farewell embrace was given; then climbing quickly to his seat, his manly countenance bright with hope, and followed by devout benedictions, he rode away toward Portland. . . . If I were now to witness one quietly departing for the moon, it could hardly appear so wonderful as his setting out for the far West then seemed to me." After a short stay in Cincinnati he made his way to Natchez. He became tutor to a planter's family; he read law in his spare hours; and after admission to the bar he removed to Vicksburg. Before he was thirty he had earned a fortune in his profession, and had made himself one of the most famous men in the United States. His most remarkable achievement was a speech delivered in the House of Representatives in support of his own claim to a contested seat. "From the moment Mr. Prentiss opened his mouth in the House of Representatives the public press throughout the Union resounded with his praise; descriptions of his person and speeches, scraps of his private history, anecdotes of his wit and humor, formed for several weeks no small part of the correspondence from Washington. . . . Wherever you traveled, North, South, East, or West; wherever you found yourself, in parlor or steamboat saloon, in stage-coach or hotel, the chance was that you would catch the name of S. S. Prentiss. The desire to see and hear him was just as strong in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston as in the backwoods of Mississippi; and his eloquence seemed to have an equal charm for the most cultivated and the most illiterate, of both sexes and of every age." But, although he burst into Congress with such a sensation, he accomplished little after he got there. He hated the life of the capital, and he had no toleration for political intrigues. After the triumph of the repudiation party in Mississippi, he indignantly left the State, and he devoted his last years to the practice of law in New Orleans, and to a struggle with his debts.

The Memoir is composed principally of Prentiss's private letters to his mother, and his brothers and sisters. They show him to

have been a man of warm and tender heart, boundless generosity, simplicity, and truth. Although they are singularly deficient in ease, grace, and narrative or descriptive power—for Prentiss was a very commonplace writer—they open for us an interesting view of the state of society in the Southwest in what now seems almost a dark and barbarous age. To complete the picture we must turn to the abundant reminiscences by personal friends with which Mr. George Prentiss has enriched his volumes. Cards, whisky, and dueling-pistols were then considered the necessary equipment of a Mississippi gentleman, and Prentiss accommodated himself in some degree to the manners of the people among whom he lived.

JOHN R. G. HASSARD.

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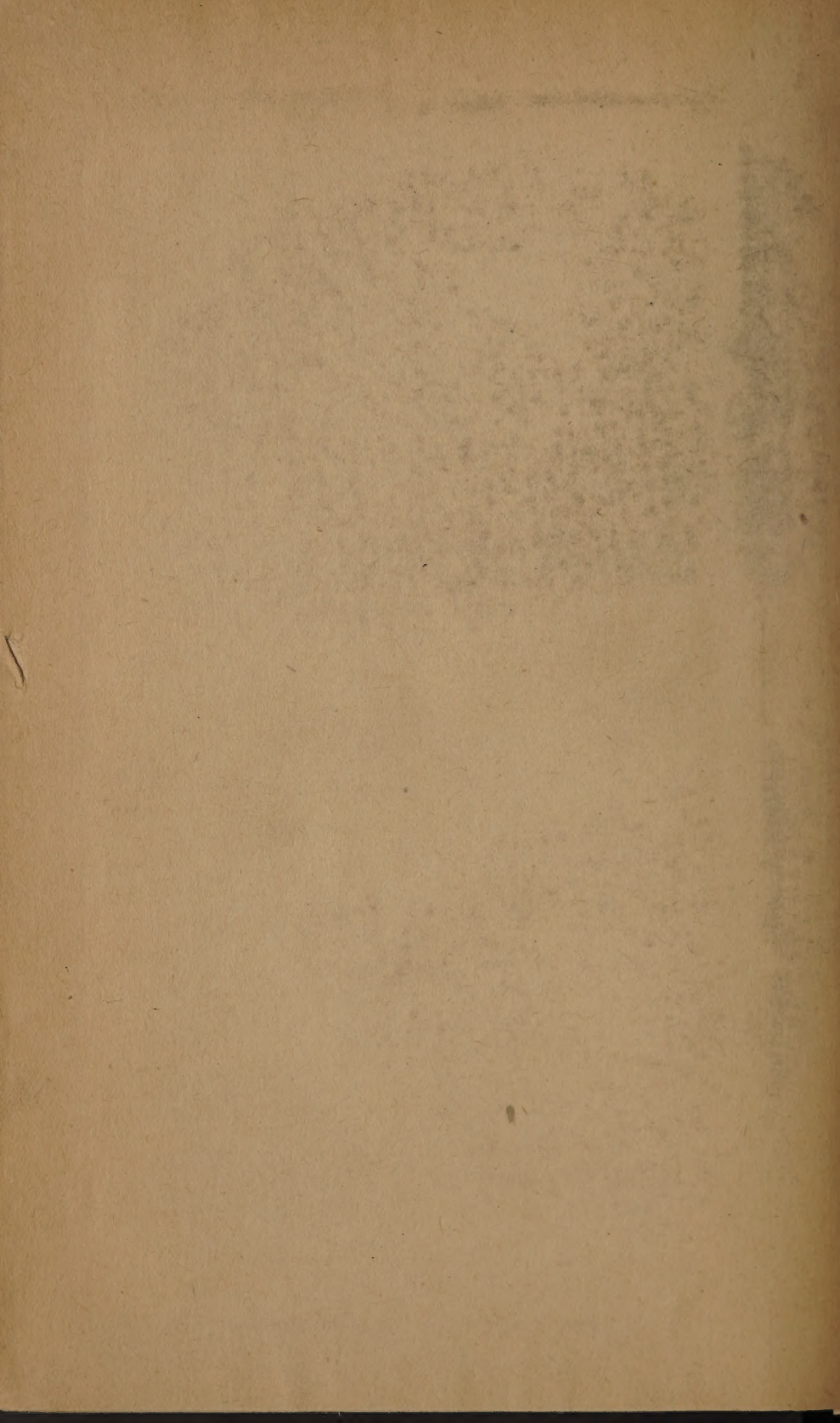
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